This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

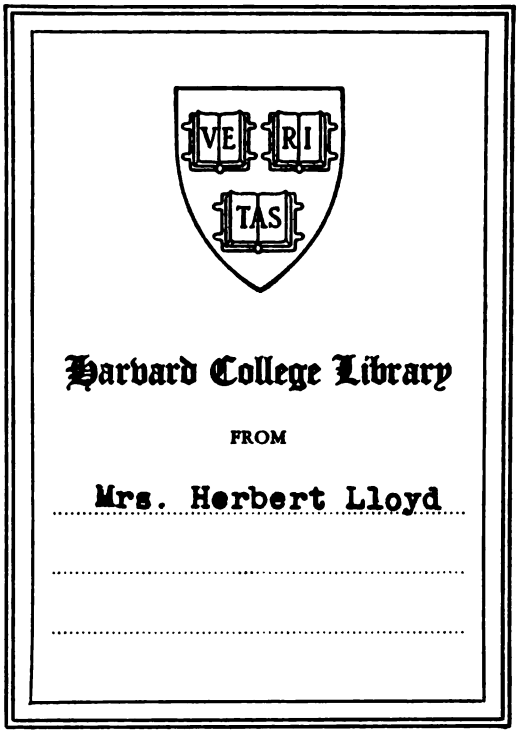
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

US 2330.2
8



469
470
516
517
522
532
530
532
569
622
631
635

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

By JOHN BOYD THACHER

General Synopsis of the Work

PART I.—"The First Historians of America"—Peter Martyr and Bartolomé de las Casas.

PART II.—"Introduction"—A critical inquiry into the character of Columbus.

PART III.—"The Man"—Biography of Columbus up to the time of his going to Portugal.

PART IV.—"The Purpose"—Showing the influences and adoption of the project.

PART V.—"The Event"—Describing the Discovery from the Admiral's *Journal*.

PART VI.—"The Announcement"—Including the earliest publication of the news and the Papal recognition.

PART VII.—"Exploration"—Giving details of the subsequent voyages of Columbus with the import of his larger discoveries.

PART VIII.—"Personality"—An attempt to classify into types the portraits of Columbus, and to reproduce in facsimile all his known handwriting.

PART IX.—"Los Restos"—Tracing the remains of Columbus and fixing the present repository of the precious relics.

PART X.—"Arbor Consanguinitatis"—The Family Tree of Columbus with its blood-lines allianced to Royalty.

APPENDIX.—Containing the Majorat, the Will of Columbus, and Miscellaneous Documents.

Christopher Columbus

HIS LIFE, HIS WORK
HIS REMAINS

AS REVEALED BY

ORIGINAL PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

TOGETHER WITH AN

Essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé de las Casas, the First Historians of America

By

JOHN BOYD THACHER

AUTHOR OF "THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA," "THE CABOTIAN DISCOVERY," ETC.

VOLUME I

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press
1903

US 2330.2
B

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

COPYRIGHT, 1903
BY
JOHN BOYD THACHER

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

To
HENRY HARRISSE

PREFACE

WHEN we undertake a study of Christopher Columbus and his work, we meet at the outset two historians upon whom we are dependant, Peter Martyr of Anghera, and Bartolomé de las Casas. Therefore we take the reader into their presence at once. These men are of themselves interesting characters. Peter Martyr was the first epistolary writer of his time. Bartolomé de las Casas, by years of devotion, deserved the title of Apostle to the Indians.

This Work has a double purpose,—*first*, to give the reader of to-day, as far as practicable in exact fac-simile, such published knowledge of the Discoverer and the discovery as was available to a reader at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, *second*, to give the reader of to-day such knowledge concerning the discovery as has come to the world since that time. A faithful study of the first printed accounts of the discovery will enable us to appreciate the opinions formed by the scholars and writers of that day, of what Columbus had accomplished and of what had been accomplished by other and subsequent explorers near to his time. A faithful study of what has since been learned of the great event will throw light upon the personality of the man in whom as the discoverer of a New World, we must always be interested.

Many of the documents introduced here appear for the first time in English. Some of the books given in fac-simile have never before been reproduced. The earliest published news concerning the First, Third, and Fourth Columbian voyages reached the world through books now represented in each instance by a unique example. Of the first two editions of the book giving the earliest account of the First Voyage, each is represented by a single example. These all, together with the

earliest published account of the Second Voyage, are reproduced in fac-simile, and, with the exception of the Folio Spanish Letter of the First Voyage, they are here given for the first time. Bibliographical notes concerning nearly all the books mentioned in this Work have been added, that the librarian and collector may be guided in the efforts they are making to acquire rare and precious Americana.

The entire *Journal* of Columbus is here printed directly from the text of Navarrete, with the corrections and additions found in the *Historia* of Las Casas.

No attempt has been made to correct quoted matter in Latin, Spanish, or Italian, except in instances where the careful student might be misled. The original text has been followed literally in order to furnish to bibliographers and students exact descriptions of original texts, by which they may verify examples of the same when sought for their own libraries.

The field of research and the attending rewards are perhaps not exhausted. Within a few years new manuscripts of Columbus have been found. In the present Work, it is believed, is a fac-simile reproduction of every known letter or document in the hand of the Discoverer.

The Author acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. Guido Biagi of the Laurentian Library at Florence, through whose interest he has been permitted to photograph the Quarto Spanish Columbus Letter preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and the *Libretto* and *Lettera*, both of which are in the San Marco Library at Venice. He begs also to express his thanks to those in charge of the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library for the intelligent assistance given him in reproducing certain pages and titles from books in that valuable collection.

The author desires to express his sense of obligation to the Duchess of Alba for her courteous permission to reproduce the letters and documents of Columbus in her family archives.

To the publisher of *Christopher Columbus, His Own Book of Privilege, 1502*, the late Mr. Benjamin F. Stevens, London, the author is indebted for permission to photograph a few of the interesting features from his reproduction of the Paris Codex.

J. B. T.

ALBANY, N. Y., October 21, 1902.

CONTENTS

PART I.—THE FIRST HISTORIANS OF AMERICA

PETER MARTYR

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Student and the Academy	3
II.	The Lecturer at Salamanca	7
III.	Soldier and Diplomat	12
IV.	Babylon on the Nile	16
V.	The Dead Queen and the Mad Princess	22
VI.	Tranquil Years	27
VII.	The Decades	34
VIII.	The Epistolæ	45
IX.	The First News	53
X.	"The New World"	62
XI.	News from the Second Voyage	65
XII.	The Soil of the New World	71
XIII.	The Religion of the Indians	79
XIV.	The Pacific and End of the American Letters	83
XV.	Hallam and Two of his Charges against Peter Martyr	86
XVI.	The Third Charge of Hallam and its Refutation	95

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

XVII.	A Spanish Saul of Tarsus	113
XVIII.	The New Paul	118
XIX.	Man's Inhumanity to Man	121
XX.	The Idol of the Christians	127
XXI.	Cowl and Cell	134
XXII.	The Land of the True Peace	139
XXIII.	A Monitor	144
XXIV.	The Bishop of Chiapas	149
XXV.	Disputations	153
XXVI.	The Historian of the Indies	157

Contents

PART II.—INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER PAGE

XXVII.—Introduction 163

PART III.—THE MAN

XXVIII.—The First Genoese Biographers 189
XXIX.—The "Polyglot Psalter" 202
XXX.—An Imaginary Family Tree 213
XXXI.—The Land of his Nativity 230
XXXII.—The Minor Claimants 234
XXXIII.—Genoa the Birthplace 249
XXXIV.—The Date of his Birth 264
XXXV.—1446 the Probable Date 277
XXXVI.—The Youth of Columbus 286

PART IV.—THE PURPOSE

XXXVII.—Discoveries by the Portuguese 293
XXXVIII.—The Letter of Toscanelli in the Spanish, Latin, and Italian Versions 301
XXXIX.—The Import of the Letter 317
XXXX.—The Story of the Pilot 325
XXXXI.—The Three Witnesses 339
XXXXII.—No Individual Fabricator 345
XXXXIII.—The Geographical Conceptions of Toscanelli . 348
XXXXIV.—Paolo Toscanelli 355
XXXXV.—Toscanelli, the Scientist 370
XXXXVI.—The Philosopher and the Navigator . . . 376
XXXXVII.—The Voyage to the North 381
XXXXVIII.—The Marriage of Columbus 395
XXXXIX.—Columbus in Spain 409
L.—The Junta 417
LI.—Beatriz Enriquez 421
LII.—The Triumph of Columbus 427
LIII.—The Capitulation 437
LIV.—The Equipment 452
LV.—Cost of Equipment 481

PART V.—THE EVENT

LVI.—The Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands 493
LVII.—The Journal of the First Voyage 512
LVIII.—The Landfall 587
LIX.—Watling Island, the True Guanahani . . 598
LX.—The Journal—continued 604

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

AN IMAGINATIVE BUT SATISFACTORY PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. REPRODUCTION OF THE ETCHING MADE BY HENRI LEFORT IN 1891 FROM THE PORTRAIT PRESERVED IN THE NAVAL MUSEUM AT MADRID . . . . . *Frontispiece*

(The rights to this etching are owned by Messrs. Knoedler & Co.)

TITLE-PAGE OF THE ALCALA EDITION OF PETER MARTYR'S "EPISTOLÆ" 44

TITLE-PAGE OF THE ELZEVIER EDITION OF PETER MARTYR'S "EPISTOLÆ" 46

PORTRAIT OF BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS 112

HOLOGRAPH OF LAS CASAS GIVING DIRECTIONS FOR THE PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK 156

TITLE-PAGE OF THE "POLYGLOT PSALTER" 202

FAC-SIMILE OF TWO PAGES OF THE "POLYGLOT PSALTER" HAVING THE BEGINNING OF THE FAMOUS NOTE TO PSALM XIX. . 206, 207

GATE ST. ANDREA, GENOA, REPRODUCED FROM HARRISSE'S "CHRISTOPHE COLOMB" 258

HOUSE OF COLUMBUS, VICO DRITTO DEL PONTICELLO 37, GENOA . 262

PORTRAIT OF PAOLO TOSCANELLI 366

FAC-SIMILE OF TOSCANELLI'S HOLOGRAPH GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE . 370

FAC-SIMILE OF TOSCANELLI'S HOLOGRAPH MAP IN A GRADUATED RECTANGULAR OUTLINE 370, 371

THE ZENO MAP 388

THE CANARY ISLANDS AS GIVEN IN THE "COSMOGRAPHIA" OF PTOLEMY, PRINTED AT ROME IN 1478 492

THE CANARY ISLANDS AS GIVEN IN THE WALDSEEMÜLLER MAP FROM THE "COSMOGRAPHIA" OF PTOLEMY, PRINTED AT STRASBURG IN 1513 492

PAGE

MODERN MAP OF THE CANARY ISLANDS 492

MAP INDICATING THE OUTWARD COURSE IN EACH OF THE FOUR VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS 512

WATLING ISLAND, SHOWING THE LANDING-PLACE OF COLUMBUS . 530

PART I

THE FIRST HISTORIANS OF AMERICA

PETER MARTYR

CHAPTER I

THE STUDENT AND THE ACADEMY

THE traveller who makes the journey through the beautiful Italian lake Maggiore, sees in the town of Arona, on the western bank, at the south end of the lake, a lofty statue erected to the memory of St. Carlo, that Cardinal Borromeo who was so active during the later sessions of the Council of Trent. The fields, the hills, the very lake itself once belonged to the powerful Borromeo family [1] and the people of the lakeside look on this statue of bronze two and forty feet in height and can speak of no other great man sprung from the region round about. And yet, here was born Peter Martyr, the first historian of America. His name was given him in honour of the Dominican Inquisitor, Peter Martyr, who was assassinated by the Vaudois, whose memory was greatly venerated in Milan and whose tomb, a grand work of mediæval art within a chapel designed by Michelozzo Michelozzi, is still seen in the church of San Eustorgio.

An excellent description of Arona, the birthplace of Peter Martyr, is found in the epistle he wrote from Saragossa to Petrus Fagiardus, August 10, 1502.

The date of our Peter Martyr's birth is not absolutely fixed but we shall place it on February 2, in the year 1457, since we read in one of his epistles: "Septuagesimus quippe annus, cui nonæ quartæ [sic] februarii anni millesimi quingentesimi

[1] Pope Pius IV. was the uncle of Carlo Borromeo and his nephew Frederico Borromeo, also a cardinal, founded the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

vigesimi sexti proxime ruentis dabunt initium." Navarrete[1] accepts this date. Peter Martyr claimed distinguished descent and traced his house back to the Counts of Angleria, who in turn traced their family back to legendary kings and fabulous princes. The best expression of faith in the faded glories of one's ancestry is to lift one's self out of present untoward surroundings by education and cultivation. This, Peter Martyr set about with courage and zeal. In Milan, about the time of his youth, a powerful ray of learning was illuminating the darkness of the Middle Ages. Francesco Alessandro Sforza, made Duke of Milan in 1450, drew about his Court men famed for their learning, and it was for his daughter that Constantine Lascaris, the great Greek scholar, composed a grammar. Another famous scholar was Francesco Philelpho, who lectured on philology and Italian and Latin poetry. The upturned intellectual ground filled the air with the perfume of learning and the eager lungs of Peter Martyr breathed thereof and expanded with a new life. He went to Rome when about twenty years of age for the purpose of study. During the pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII., Peter Martyr was Secretary to Francesco Negro, a countryman of his own and who was then Governor of Rome. The devotee of learning often surrounds himself with the forms and ceremonies and the spectacular effects of worship and religion. The sober scholar can never quite put off the gown and hood of the performing student. When Peter Martyr went to Rome he found firmly established an Academy where grown men of real learning were playing the parts of the philosophers of antiquity. The Florentine scholar Buonaccorsi called himself Callimachus. The Roman Marcus became Asclepiades, the Greek. Marino of Venice, who might have

[1] Navarrete, *Biblioteca Maritima*, vol. ii., p. 529.

In the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xxxix., p. 401, in his will, one reads that he was born *en la Villa de Arona, que es en la Ribera de Lago Verbano*. The illustrious family to which he belongs takes the name from the little village on the opposite side of the lake,—Angera. In the will of Peter Martyr this village is called Anguera.

Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, says he was born in 1459.

Niceron in his *Memoirs*, vol. xxiii., p. 209, puts his birth as early as 1455.

In a work printed in German at New York in 1879, *Petrus Martyr der Geschichtsschrieber des Weltmeeres*, he is said to have been born February 2, 1445, an evident error.

J. Bernays, in his *Petrus Martyr Anglerius*, Strasburg, 1891, also adopts this date of February 2, 1457.

been satisfied with the illustrious origin of his own appellation, assumed the name of Glaucus. Not the least famous among the sodales of this school was Platina, Bartolommeo de' Sacchi, who wrote *De Vitis Pontificum*. But by far the most illustrious of all was its head, Julius Pomponius Lætus, a member of the powerful Neapolitan family of Sanseverini. He was born in 1435 at Amendaloro, in Calabre, and died in Rome on the twenty-fifth day of May, 1497. There are writers who say that Pomponius Lætus was of unlawful issue and that he was not recognised by his family. When he became illustrious through his own exertions and merits, he in turn declined to bear the family name. A passage in a letter of Peter Martyr is interpreted as alluding to this question of his friend's birth, where he says: "Pomponium Lætium, quem ego ut virtutis, non fortunæ alumnum observo." In the very year in which Peter Martyr was born, Pomponius Lætus took possession of the chair vacated by Lorenzo Valla and then founded his famous Academy, whose students were frequently called Pomponiani. As the founder of an order of philosophers it was incumbent upon him to distinguish himself no less by the assumption of his part on the stage than by his pretension to erudition. Thereupon he became Diogenes and clothed like him in frayed and open tunic he paraded the streets of Rome and taught in his little home under the Quirinal.

Shortly before the appearance in Rome of our author, the Academy had been visited by the severity of ecclesiastical inquiry, and Pope Paul II., suspecting the wearers of pagan names of holding pagan sentiments, hesitated not to put both Platina and his high priest of the institution to the pains of torture that he might test their adherence to the Christian faith. They must have passed the ordeal with a display of real or dissembled piety, for Pomponius returned to the chief chair in his Academy and continued to receive his companions and his pupils. Among these was probably Peter Martyr. Many of his letters are addressed to Pomponius and the virtue and learning of the latter are the subject of important passages in many others. He was on terms of intimacy with the Archbishop of Milan, Jean Arcimboldo, and with the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, to both of whom he addressed many of his letters. He was not only an attendant at the feet of scholars, but young as he was, he was sought by

others to impart to them the knowledge he had already gathered from the wise and learned. Thus two men of the Church, already arrived at high preferment, studied literature under him. The one was Alonso Carillo, Bishop of Pampelune. The other was Petro Inghirami, Archbishop of Braga, a protégé of the royal family of Portugal. He refers to his literary teachings in one of his letters to the latter: "Non hæc à me profecto, quum ambobus Juvenalis aliquando divinam illam, quæ proxima est à secunda, satyram aperirem, sed adulatione nihil esse ingenuo fœdius didicistis."

CHAPTER II

THE LECTURER AT SALAMANCA

NINE years had Peter Martyr been in Rome when he met a Spanish nobleman whose friendship and influence changed the current of his life and made his genius to flow in other fields and among another people. This man was no other than the Count of Tendilla, the famous Iñigo or Inarcho Lopez de Mendoça, whom Peter Martyr frequently addresses in the *Epistolæ*. This member of the Mendoça family was the Ambassador to the Roman See from the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, one of the illustrious captains of Spain and an especial favourite of the Queen. His estates in Castile yielded him an income of 15,000 ducats a year [1] and he lived in a style becoming his position. The Count of Tendilla [2] induced the young student to accompany him to Spain [3] when he left Rome on August

[1] As Velasco, the Constable of Castile, Pimental, Count of Benavente, Cordova, Duke of Sessa, Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, each enjoyed an income of 60,000 ducats, or an eighth of a million of our money, the patron of Peter Martyr could not be said to be the wealthiest man in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. See L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*.

[2] There was another Iñigo Lopez de Mendoça, Marquis of Santillana, one of the brightest literary lights of the reign of John II. His salon was an Academy and not only harboured the learned of Spain, but received men of genius and science from every great centre of Europe attracted by the character of Mendoça and his reputation as a poet and a wit. He presented to the world the pleasing spectacle of a statesman adorning a public life full of arduous duties with the practice of the arts and the cultivation of the flowers of literature.

[3] Some writers have declared that Peter Martyr was physician to Louis XI. of France and his Ambassador to the Pope at Rome. Louis XI. died in 1483 and certainly his historians do not make mention of any physician of that name. And much has been written about this King's leeches. No monarch ever so feared and rewarded his medical attendants. One of them, Angelo Cattho by name, was both physician and astrologer, and him Louis made Archbishop of Vienna. Olivier le Daim, once called Olivier le Diable, had been his barber and physician, and him he raised to the dignity of Ambassador to the Court of Burgundy. The celebrated John Cottier was his favourite physician, to whom he monthly gave 10,000 crowns, and whose office it was to assure the King that he had successfully driven away the terrible phantom, Death. When the King was angry with him and threatened to drive him away also, the astute physician would inform him that it was written in the stars his royal soul should depart his body within eight days from that on which he discharged his physician.

29, 1487. Introduced by so great a patron, the Queen accepted his services at once and employed him in teaching the youthful nobles of her Court.

When the revival of learning spread through Europe, the wave movement was from Italy into Spain. The teachers were either native Italians or Spaniards who had been taught in Italy. Both Ferdinand and Isabella encouraged literature and the arts. The King, when a youth, had competent masters, but fortune led him at an early age from the library to the camp. Lucio Marineo Siculo, himself a protégé of the King, declares that the latter had a natural aptitude for learning and deplores the necessity for his abandonment of study. He says that Ferdinand had scarcely learned to read and write when the alarms of war called him to take up arms. Isabella, on the contrary, was a student. She had enjoyed the instruction of one of her own sex, the famous Beatrix Galindo, called La Latine, whom the Queen afterwards married to Francisco Ramirez. The Queen knew not only the Latin of Cicero but the Latin of the Renaissance and that employed by the writers of her own day. In her library, besides the numerous books of devotion and religion, were the works of Plutarch, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, and even Terence. We know she could at least read the Latin of our author, for in one of his epistles written to the Spanish sovereigns from Venice, on the first day of October, 1501, Peter Martyr facetiously refers to the Queen's reading aloud to Ferdinand the context of his letters and, "*sensusque qualescunque fuerint*, explaining the meaning if happily they had any." The Spanish nobility, devoted to military glory through the long years of the civil wars and the conflicts with the Moors, cared but little for letters and the cultivation of the mind. The King and particularly Isabella were impressed with the power of the intellect to at least supplement the work of the sword, and in every way encouraged the youth of their Court to classical and scientific study. Their own children, the Prince Juan, his sisters Isabella, Catherine, and Joanna, and likewise Alfonso, the illegitimate son of Ferdinand, all had the best masters the royal resources could find in Spain. We have already spoken of Lucio Marineo,[1] the

[1] Lucio Marineo Siculo wrote *Cosas Memorables de España*, printed at Alcala in folio in 1530. He was born in 1460 and died in 1533.

Italian scholar. Two other of his countrymen, Antonio and Alessandro Geraldini,[1] were charged with instructing the young royal Princess afterward condemned to long years of sorrow and madness.

It was into such a Court and into an intellectual field where attempts at culture were already made, that Peter Martyr was introduced by his patron Mendoça. The field and the atmosphere were congenial and the young Italian found his new fortune smiling and promising. A chair in the University of Salamanca, the intellectual centre of Spain, was offered him, but he declined, contenting himself with lecturing before the students from time to time. In a letter written from Salamanca and dated September 28, 1488, our author describes his reception in the University and his first appearance before the students and professors. The students—the University held some two thousand students—were noted for their restiveness and the noisy methods they employed to interrupt uninteresting lecturers, so that a speaker might think twice before he ventured to speak once. It was the custom to exact an extemporaneous address upon a topic chosen at the moment by some one in the

[1] Antonio Geraldini, born in 1457, was a Papal legate and is said by his brother to have befriended Columbus. As Antonio died in 1488, if the assertion is true he must be numbered among the earliest of the few friends whom Columbus attracted to himself. In a letter of consolation addressed to the elder brother Alessandro, dated from his tent—he was then with the camp—August 23, 1489, Peter Martyr gives us an insight into his spiritual character such as we do not see often repeated throughout his correspondence. He has evidently but lately heard of the death of Antonio and he hastens to offer his sympathy. His reflections are pious, his expressions of Christian faith are simple and sincere, and throughout the epistle he reveals a nature uncorrupted by the cold teachings of the Pomponian Academy. He is a Christian minister speaking words of religious consolation to a fellow Christian.

"Cum itaque extra patriam, is est, in hæc peregrinatione, Deum tota mente coluerit, amaverit, adoraverit, ipsius Dei Justicia liquefieret, nisi nunc illum in proprio sinu super choros cælestes gaudentem beatumque, Deus ipse foveret."

"And since, when he was still this side the vale, that is in this present world, he so loved and adored God with all his powers, Divine Justice would be a vain thing if now the great God himself did not enfold him rejoicing and happy within his own bosom above the celestial choir."

The brother, Alessandro Geraldini, was born in 1455 and died in 1524. Peter Martyr, in a letter to Antonio, speaks to him of Alessandro as "thy younger brother," but the biographers make the latter two years the elder of the two. He composed a work entitled *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Æquinoctiali*, but which was not printed until 1631, when it was published at Rome with notes by Onuphrius Geraldinus. He declares himself to have been a warm friend of Columbus and his observations are often quoted by historians, but his voice is not regarded as authoritative nor his assertions as reliable. He was made Bishop of San Domingo and an epitaph found on a tomb in the Chapel of Christ, in the Cathedral of San Domingo, declares that he is buried there: *Hic Jacet R^mus Alex. Geraldinivus, Patricius Rom. Eps. II. S. D. Obiit Anno Dni. MDXXIIII., die VIII. Mensis Marcii.*

audience. Between his friend Lucio Marineo Siculo and himself, a pleasant little comedy was prepared in which the former was to rise and propose that the young stranger should speak to them on the Second Satire of Juvenal. It fell out as planned and in the presence of the unsuspecting throng of students, before any embarrassing subject could be suggested, Lucio Marineo begged to offer as a theme fit to test the extemporaneous oratorical genius of their visitor, a certain piece of satirical writing found in the works of the Roman Juvenal. It was accordingly voted that this should be the subject of his discourse, and when Peter Martyr recovered from his surprise at being thus suddenly called to speak on an unexpected theme, he proceeded to enthral his audience with his eloquence and for more than an hour the orator held the wild students spellbound so that no cry was uttered, no foot moved. It was a triumph of genius, no less meritorious because it was prepared and not fashioned on the moment. Indeed there is no such thing as absolutely finished spontaneous oratory. We know of no orator, ancient or modern, who has ever sustained a long flight of consecutive eloquence on the moment's call. The appearance of improvisation may be there, but back of it is the studied speech and rounded phrase. Peter Martyr was thus successfully introduced into the student life of the Spanish University and the youths, with loud acclamations of delight and appreciation, bore him in triumph to the domicile of his host. It is doubtful if the standard of Latinity was as high as that of some European Universities, since we find Arias Barbosa saying,

"Vix duos tresne Salimanticæ inveniri qui latine loquerentur, plures qui hispane, quam plurimos, qui barbare: we find ourselves here at Salamanca where scarcely two or three speak the Latin tongue, many that speak Spanish, and a far greater number who speak a jargon."

And yet this one scene of University life discloses a classical atmosphere in which the elegances of the language must somewhat have flourished. This University was one of the four oldest in Europe and was already established in the year 1200. It has an interest for the American student since it was here in the late winter of 1486 or the early spring of 1487 that Columbus came to explain his theory and to advocate his project. The Court of the Spanish sovereigns was then holding in Sala-

manca.[1] Columbus himself was lodged in the convent of St. Stephen nearby. Nothing could be more natural than the consideration of this cosmographical question at that time and in that place. The presence of learned professors and an opportune moment counselled an examination of the plan and proposition submitted by Columbus. The world has been taught to believe that this conference resulted in hostility to Columbus and the rejection of his theories. Writers have confounded the results of two geographical congresses, this one held at Salamanca in the winter of 1486 and 1487, and one held at the Camp of Santa Fé in the latter part of the year 1491. So far as the University of Salamanca had lot or responsibility in deciding the feasibility of the project of Columbus, it was favourable and not hostile. Diego de Deza, a priest of the Order of Saint Dominic, was at that time Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca and tutor of the Spanish Prince. This powerful priest warmly approved the project of Columbus. There never has been found in the records of the University any allusion to this conference nor is there any contemporaneous assertion that the conference was purely a University affair.[2]

[1] *Memorial ó Registro breve de los lugares donde el Rey y Reyna Católicos estuvieron cada año desde el de MCDLXVIII.*, in MSS. Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No. 6964, folio 121, and also printed in the Ribadeneyra Collection.

[2] Washington Irving has relied upon the account of this Council as given by Antonio de Remesal in his *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chiapa*, published at Madrid in 1619, 133 years after the event described. The eminent American historian has assumed that the account of this Council given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* printed in Italian at Venice in 1571, referred to the hearing accorded his father in Salamanca. The *Historie* does not mention Salamanca nor the year in which the Council was held. But it does contain a curious explanation of the possible reason why the project of Columbus was not more warmly advocated. He says:

"Ma, percioche la cosa douea trattarsi più con fondamento di dottrina, che con parole, o fauori, le altezze loro la commisero al Prior di Prado, che poi fu Arciuescovo di Granata, commandogli, che insieme con gl' intendenti della Cosmografia s'informassero di cio, a pieno & poi gli riferissero quel, che sentissero. Ma percioche in quei tempi non vi erano tanti Cosmografi, quanti son' hora, coloro, che si ridussero, non intendeuano quel, che doueuano, ne lo Ammiraglio si volea lasciar tanto intendere, che gli auuenisse quel, che in Portogallo gli auuenne, & gli rubassero la beneditone."

"But since the matter was to be treated more with a foundation of knowledge than with words or favours, their Highnesses entrusted it to the Prior of Prado, who was afterwards Archbishop of Granada, commanding him, together with the cosmographers, to inform themselves fully in regard to it, and then relate to them [their Highnesses] what they thought. But as in those times there were not as many cosmographers as there are now, those who were assembled did not understand what they ought, neither did the Admiral desire to allow them to understand as much, since what befell him in Portugal might befall him here and they would rob him of the benefits" [of his ideas].

One ought not to reflect upon the intelligence of a jury in not supporting a party to a contention when that party deliberately withholds its case.

CHAPTER III

SOLDIER AND DIPLOMAT

PETER MARTYR interrupted his professional life to bear the sword and shield of Mars, and two years after his coming into Spain he was present at the siege of Baza, and in his correspondence relates glowing particulars of that famous conflict with the Moslem rulers and the glorious triumph of the Christian soldiery. He paints with his pen the irresistible advance of the 80,000 Christian troops, the spirited defence of the dark-skinned Moors, the brilliant escort of the Queen, the bravery of the Spanish chivalry, the heroism of the Moslems yielding only to the will of Allah, the humble devotion of El Zagal, the Moorish Prince, and the magnanimity of Ferdinand, the Spanish King.

Our versatile author went from the field of battle back to his library and lecturer's desk, and then turned his talents towards diplomacy. In 1497 he was selected to go upon a diplomatic mission to Bohemia and although the order was recalled and the journey abandoned, his mind was given to international matters of concern and dispute. In 1501 his great opportunity came and he was sent upon an Embassy to Egypt. For several years, indeed since long before the siege of Granada, the Sultan of Egypt had threatened the destruction of the sacred sepulchre. Indeed, when one considers the defeat and humiliation of the Moors, the brothers in faith with the sovereign of Egypt, one wonders at the moderation of the latter and his failure to take quick and terrible revenge, for the destruction of the Christian Mecca would have astounded and horrified not Spain and Rome alone, but all Christendom.[1]

[1] We have stood on the spot which the Christian world venerates as the sepulchre of the Saviour and we have marvelled at the moderation of the Mohammedan in

But now, after many years, rumours of trouble broke out afresh, and the Spanish sovereigns resolved to send an accomplished and dignified Ambassador to the Egyptian Court to bring about a peaceable understanding between the two nations. On August 14, 1501, Peter Martyr set out from Granada. Dominicus Pisanus, the Venetian Ambassador in Spain, strongly advised his making the journey by land, as the sea at that time was infested with pirates. Following this advice, Peter Martyr made his way to Barcelona and from there followed the coast of the Mediterranean to France. On September 2, 1501, he dates a letter from the little town of Salsas, situated near the frontier and the strategic key to the mountain passes. He travelled along the shores of the Gulf of Lyons, through the maritime Alps, over the Ligurian coast, traversing Italy from Genoa nearly to the Adriatic. The land had its perils as well as the sea, not merely the discomforts of rough roads and ill lodgings, but in the north of Spain and the south of France there raged a dangerous plague more terrifying than the pirates. Escaping this and other land hazards, he came safe and sound, as he says, to Padua on the twenty-ninth day of September. Here he sold his beasts of burden for a small sum and took boat for Venice, which he reached in the middle of the night of the last day of September, having been seven and forty days on the journey. When his eyes open on the following morning he says he has truly entered a city wonderful as a dream,—*urbem miraculo parem.*[1] He marvels at the houses built not on streets but water-ways, and at the boats swiftly gliding along the canals. He visits the churches and palaces. He talks with the Venetians about their government, the choice of their Council, the power of the Doge, the method of building fortifications, the arsenal, the ships both of the sea and of the city. He studies their commerce and marks the commodities, the cloths, the spices, the treasures which their tireless ships bring back to them from the Eastern countries. His time is not all taken in sight-seeing. He has a mission to perform. Venice

preserving it all these centuries. It has been the object of warfare for ages between the followers of Christ and the followers of Mahomet. And yet with an exhibition of virtue unmatched in their antagonists there has scarcely been marred a stone of that sacred place. Their conduct shines with a heavenly light when contrasted with the treatment of the Jews by the Christians.

[1] Epistola CXXIX.

was in a sense bound to France by promise and by treaty. He is introduced to the Senate, and by all his arts and the powers of his eloquence he beseeches the Republic to side with his sovereigns against Louis XII. in the quarrel which is pending and the conflict which is impending. The Venetians at least were neutral and now and then, as under the walls of Trani, provided a fair duelling ground to the Spaniards and the French. It was here the Chevalier Bayard and one companion held seven Spaniards until night gave a mutual victory.

Time passes and he must hasten on his way. Across the Gulf of Venice, at Pola, in Istria, a fleet of eight galeaceæ [1] had its sails spread for a southern journey through the Mediterranean to Alexandria. In one of these vessels Peter Martyr embarked, a few days only after his arrival in Venice. Storms, contrary winds, and heavy seas followed their way through the waters of the Adriatic and Ionian seas. At Zara, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, they were compelled to put into harbour by the force of the winds, and an opportunity was given our author to visit the tomb of the prophet Simeon and to behold the body preserved, it was alleged, without the embalming process. Passing by the islands of Greece they reached Candia on the 5th of December. Here the traveller visited the labyrinth of Minos, the ruins of which he found in the interior of the island, some twenty-five miles from the city of Candia. Leaving Candia on December 17, 1501, and turning their prows to the south they arrived at Alexandria on the twenty-third day of the month. Here he becomes the guest of the Spanish consul Philippo de Paredes, and while he indulges in a revery over the past glories of the home of the Ptolemies, his arrival produces discord and dispute in the Egyptian Court.[2] Quansou Ghoury, one of the few rulers in this world's history who have

[1] The galeazza was a great double galley, armed and built for carrying much merchandise. Venice, at this time, had some 300 sea-going vessels with 8000 sailors, 3000 smaller boats with 17,000 men, while her fleet of 45 great galleys carried no fewer than 11,000 men. Her population then exceeded that of to-day and the whole world acknowledged her to be the centre of commercial interests. But she was even then conscious that her supremacy was threatened and that the new route to the Indies, discovered by the Portuguese, was destined to divert a great part of her valuable commerce.

[2] He exclaimed: "Proh dolor! illustrem, maximam, habitatoribus repertissimam, pulcherrimem opulentissimamque quondam Ptŏlemærum sedem Alexandriam collapsam, dirutam majore ex parte desertam, miserando spectaculo deploravi": "Alas, I have grieved over the unhappy spectacle of this Alexandria, this city illustrious,

ascended a throne protesting against the honour, was inclined to receive the Spanish Ambassador with a degree of cordiality, but the Spanish treatment of his fellow worshippers, the Moors, and the burning of the Egyptian fleet[1] at Calicut by the Portuguese, had so embittered the Mamelukes and the faction in power that for a time the Ambassador despaired not only of a written safe-conduct being given him but of his life itself. Under the protection of two Mamelukes and accompanied by all the Spanish merchantmen he could find, he travels from Alexandria to Rosette, where he takes boat up the Nile.

vast and populous, beautiful and rich, once the home of the Ptolemaic Kings, now dismantled and for the most part deserted."

The soul of this Italian scholar might well cry out against the carelessness which suffered 750,000 precious manuscripts to be destroyed by fire in the time of Julius Cæsar and the vandalism with which the Khalif Omar in the year 641 commanded the second library to be burned. It is said that the 300,000 manuscripts then destroyed heated the 4000 public baths of Alexandria for the period of six months. A philosopher of the time, Philoponus, ventured to protest, when there came the well-known answer of the Khalif, the very precipitate of ignorance and fanaticism: "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed."

[1] It is possible that the reference to burning the Egyptian fleet, found in Peter Martyr's letter No. 185, is to be relegated to Vasco da Gama's second voyage and to the month of October, 1502.

CHAPTER IV

BABYLON ON THE NILE

In the night of January 31, 1502, Peter Martyr draws up his boat at the Bûlâk side of Cairo, the Egyptian Babylon as it was called to distinguish it from the great Syrian capital. With the coming of the day there appears on the shore to speak with him a converted Spaniard, a native of Montoblanc, near Valencia, Ludovicus Batensis by name, who had become an important man among the Egyptians, adopting their faith and customs and changing his name to Tangaribardinus. He takes the Ambassador under the shelter of his wing, bearing him away to his own palace and testifying in every way his real attachment to the Spanish sovereigns. Together they mount to the citadel, passing the silent but frowning groups of Mamelukes. In the third court upon a high throne richly carpeted, they behold Quansou Ghoury, the Sultan of Egypt. Paulus Jovius, in his *Elogia*, has given us an engraved portrait of this remarkable man and it might have been drawn from the description made by Peter Martyr.[1] The interview was formal. It was devoted more to ceremony than to diplomatic considerations. Out of compliment to the Spanish sovereigns, their Ambassador was not required to prostrate himself but was permitted to be seated in the sacred presence. The journey of a Christian envoy to and from the palace and the reception

[1] "Is est vir natus annos circiter quinque & quinquaginta, patrio more barbatus, nec densa tamen aut oblonga nimium barba, vultu jucundo, facie pingui suffuscula, aspectu ferox aliquantulum, oculis reductis, parvis, gravi motu, statura, uti à sedente colligere potui, plusque mediocri": "He is a man about fifty-five years of age, wearing a beard after the manner of his country, though it is neither thick nor bushy, of a pleasing countenance, of an aspect somewhat spirited, with a rich brown complexion, eyes small and set well back in the head, sedate in his movements, of a stature, so far as I could judge from where I sat, rather above the medium."

[PETER MARTYR.]

accorded him aroused intense rage among the Mamelukes, and this sentiment was easily communicated to the populace until a revolt was in the air. The Sunday following had been fixed upon for another audience when would be discussed the mission on which our author had ventured so far from Spain, but when Sunday came the popular feeling compelled a private audience and he was conducted early in the morning and secretly to the royal apartments. Here the Sultan and Peter Martyr harangued each other through the mouth of an interpreter, the former reproaching the Spaniards for taking Granada and Peter Martyr declaring that the King only had his own again. Quansou Ghoury knew that his own throne was none too stable and that there were other nations with covetous eyes turned on his country and on Syria. His imagination saw a Spanish fleet coming to his rescue whenever a foreign foe landed on his territory or whenever the low rumble of domestic revolt developed into the sounding of arms. The alert Ambassador read his thoughts:

"Aperito igitur mentis oculos, serenissime imperator, et sortem, quæ sese tibi obtulit, opportunam apprehendito libertiquæ animo ea perficito, quæ mei reges exoptant: et forte hæc sedes tua quæ subtili vitro fragilior est in adamantinum robur ex hoc nostro commercio convertetur": "Open then the eyes of thy soul, mighty ruler, and take advantage of this opportunity which fortune and the good-will of my sovereigns offer thee, and perchance this throne of thine, more fragile than brittle glass, may be hardened into adamant under our alliance."

Quansou Ghoury wished to be convinced and this last appeal made it easy for him to yield. Calling the Mamelukes to an assembly, the Sultan explained the advantage of an alliance with the Spanish nation, and soon the chiefs adopted his opinion, and notaries were sent to Peter Martyr to put in writing the solemn promise of the Sultan to protect the lives and property of the Christians within his realms, the particular protection of the religious order established in their monastery on Mount Zion, the right to repair and rebuild the sacred temples and churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, in Beyrout and Ramleh. Throughout the Holy Land the reliques of the Hebrews and the Christians were to be respected and maintained inviolable. Surely this was a great ambassadorial triumph. The States of Genoa and Venice never obtained such concessions

nor ever made so good a peace. Now the Spanish orator might walk abroad by day and view the ancient city without molestation. Accordingly in the early hours of the morning on Tuesday, February 7, 1502, Peter Martyr and his companions pass out of the sleeping city of Cairo, past Bûlâk and Gîzeh, making their way through the palm trees which hide from their view the coming wonders, finally to emerge on the plain and to behold in the light of the early sun the mighty pyramids of Egypt. There comes to his mind a descriptive verse of the poet Martial, who, he reminds the sovereigns, was a Spaniard from Baubola on the river Xalon. He does not quote the verse, but it was doubtless the opening lines of the *Spectacula:*

> " Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis:
> Assyrius [1] jactet nec Babylona labor."

" Let barbarian Memphis keep silence on the wonders of her Pyramids and let not Assyrian toil vaunt its Babylon."

Our author sends his companions to mount the largest pyramid while he himself goes around about the monstrous pile. He measures one of its four sides by pacing and finds it is equal to 315 of his own steps.[2] He evidently had read his *Herodotus* and *Pliny* and partially accepted the story of the Great Pyramid having taken twenty years and the employment of more than 300,000 men in its construction.[3] He inquires if the pyramid be solid or hollow and speculates as to what may be contained within its silent depths.[4] The Egyp-

[1] The adjective *Assiduus* appears in the edition printed at Milan in 1478 by Philippus de Lauania. The reading *Assyrius* is accepted by Andreas Alciatus, Junius, and Scotus. This latter appears to us the better, as it differentiates between the Egyptian Babylon and the Assyrian metropolis, in which latter city was another of the wonders of the world, the Hanging Gardens.

[2] *Ex pede Herculem* and we can reckon that since the sides of the pyramid measure each 755 English feet, the passus of Peter Martyr was a trifle less than 29 inches and thus we construct a figure a little above the medium stature.

[3] Herodotus relates that in the construction of the Great Pyramid 100,000 men worked in one party at a time, for three months, and then were relieved by another party of 100,000 men for three months, these again being relieved by another lot of 100,000 for the same period, giving way in turn to the first lot. But Peter Martyr places the number employed at 20,000. He also speaks of the bread, onions, and leeks consumed, a story first reported by Herodotus from an inscription which once existed on the exterior of the pyramid and which gave the exact sums expended in supplying the workmen with food.

[4] The Gîzeh pyramids were opened by the Persians in the fourth or fifth century before the Christian era and when Egypt became a Roman province it is more than likely that they were again entered. The Great Pyramid was opened by the Khalif

tians tell him that long ago a Moor effected an entrance on the south-east side and about midway up its side. Into this passage-way, then still existing, Peter Martyr sends some of his companions and they find a chamber which would seem to be the famous room of the sarcophagus. Two others are found, the chambers of the King and Queen. The description does not indicate the entrance known and used to-day. Every pyramid so far opened has its entrance facing the north, and that leading into the Great Pyramid is about forty-five feet from the ground. If the old entrance had been half way to the top it would have been at a height of some 230 or 240 feet, making it impossible to reach the tomb of the sarcophagus by an inclined passage without steps. After having examined the pyramid he was conducted to the Sphinx, which he describes as the body or trunk of a marble colossus lying on its breast, with its ears and nose destroyed by the ravages of time. He measured its head and found it to be fifty-eight passūs in circumference. No allusion is made to its name or the meaning of the monument and in several respects his account is inaccurate. On the top of the pyramid they found a stone platform capacious enough to hold thirty men. Nevertheless the description by Peter Martyr of his visit to the Gîzeh pyramids is not the least interesting which travellers have given us of those marvellous places of ancient burial. Ingenious theories have been suggested to account for their erection, but as they are found only in cemeteries, we believe with Peter Martyr and with the old historians, *Pyramides sepulchralia veterum habitacula fuisse legitur.*

Another excursion is undertaken the following morning, Wednesday, February 8, 1502, to Matariyyeh and Heliopolis. At Matariyyeh he saw the place where it was said the Holy Family rested when they came into Egypt in the time of Herod. He saw also an orchard of balsam trees. These trees, according to legend, were watered from the well in which the Virgin Mary washed the clothes of our Lord. The precious oil from these balsams had been used in Christian ceremonies and the

Mâmûn in the ninth century (A.D. 813–833) only to find that others had entered it before. It is said that he discovered treasures. In the twelfth century Melik El-Kamîl set himself the task of destroying entirely the third pyramid at Gîzeh, but when months had passed the result of his labours was one alone of its four sides stripped of its covering.

antiquarian in Peter Martyr is now merged in the ecclesiastic as he listens to what is told him of its properties. These balsams no longer exist in Egypt. They were said to grow nowhere else than in Egypt and the last of them died in the year 1615.[1] Our author also stood under the tree which is said to have sheltered the Holy Family and which was also called the tree of Pharaoh. *Ea vero est quæ à nostris Sicomorus*[2] *dicitur, terræ illius arbor peculiaris.* Peter Martyr thought it like a large fig tree and he preserved for the sovereigns three dried specimens of its fruit. Here mass was said by the guardians of Mount Zion—of the Order of St. Francis—who had accompanied the Ambassador. On February 21, 1502, Peter Martyr had his third and farewell interview with Quansou Ghoury. His reception by the Sultan, his Court, and the populace differed greatly from his first introduction. Now there were no honours too great to pay him who represented their ally King Ferdinand. He was given a blue silk robe,[3] embroidered with gold in a marvellous fashion and bearing Arabic letters interwoven. The Sultan then ordered his courtiers to accompany the Ambassador wearing his robe through the city to his dwelling-place. He was brought also to the great Mohammedan cemetery, where was extended him the courtesy, then almost unknown as paid to a Christian, of entering the sacred enclosure. It was a feast day among the followers of Mahomet and all the world of the Prophet was present. What a contrast between his secret travels at night through the Egyptian Babylon, fearing lest an enraged mob would destroy him and his European companions,

[1] The balsam tree of this variety is said to have been scarcely above a cubit high with two barks, the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. The latter, when macerated in the mouth left an oily taste and an aromatic odour. When incisions were made through both barks a liquid flowed from them, and this was carefully collected and distributed among the churches, a single drop qualifying the water used in the ceremony of baptism. The legend as reported and believed by the common people was that when the Virgin washed the linen of the Divine Infant the waters imparted to the trees around about the healing and blessed properties of the balm.

[2] There is to-day at this same spot a grand old sycamore tree which the guardians of the place preserve as a source of no little revenue to them, but Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge declares it to have been planted sometime toward the end of the seventeenth century.

[3] The Spanish historian, Juan de Mariana, says, in speaking of this embassy of Peter Martyr:

"He did his message discreetly and obtained of the Sultan all he desired . . . and at his return was made Dean of Granada, where he afterwards died and ordered that he should be buried sitting on a chair with a *Casula* or vestment made of a rich silk the Sultan gave him."

and the triumphal procession escorting the richly robed Christian Ambassador amid the hallowed sepulchres of the departed faithful! Beneath the blue robe there walked a cunning Italian diplomatist and he deserved his triumph.

On February 27, 1502, the Ambassador embarked upon the Nile for his return journey, reaching Alexandria on the fourth day of March. He remained in the city of the Ptolemies until the twenty-second day of April, when he took ship, again embarking upon a vessel of the kind called galeacea. Venice was reached on the last day of May and the Ambassador was again in Europe and among Italian friends. He resumed his epistolary habits and dated some of his letters *Ex Urbe Aquis Circumsepta.* He was in Milan in the latter part of June and on the ninth of August he was once more in Spain writing from Saragossa in Aragon. Thus ended the journey of Peter Martyr, the Ambassador, and thus had success crowned his labours. He made a treaty in which his master, the Spanish King, gave nothing and received everything. The crusade which Christopher Columbus dreamed of organising, equipping it at his own expense from the revenues of his office and lands in the New World, was now no longer needed. Christendom had obtained the assurance of the Mohammedan ruler that the Holy Sepulchre and its worshippers should be henceforth safe and secure. A European fleet in the Nile and a European army on the shore might have wrung from an angry but conquered Sultan the promise of future protection. A single Spanish Ambassador, an adopted son, alone but for a few unknown merchants, asks audience of the ruler of Egypt and Syria and lo! the suit is granted and the protection is assured. Peace had a mighty victory. The blue robe with its silken texture given by the Sultan symbolised harmony and pacification. A mailed coat and a jangling scabbard might not have obtained concessions half so good. While we have most to do with Peter Martyr, the Historian, we must be permitted to inscribe our admiration for Peter Martyr, the Ambassador.

CHAPTER V

THE DEAD QUEEN AND THE MAD PRINCESS

Two months after his return to Spain, Peter Martyr was made tutor in the liberal arts for the young nobility,—*Mæstro de los cabelleros de su corte en las artes liberales*. His salary was thirty thousand maravedis, about one hundred and eighty-five dollars, a ridiculous remuneration, but we must remember that the money of that day had nearly twelve times the purchasing power of to-day, and the salary probably represented but one of many honorariums. It was an honourable office, Lucio Marineo having been his immediate predecessor. Thus he was connected still more closely with the Court.

When Queen Isabella died he was one of the funeral escort bearing her remains to the city of Granada from Medina del Campo, where she had breathed her last on November 22, 1504.[1] This was a memorable journey. From the day the cortège left Medina del Campo, the day after the Queen's death, storms beat upon them and the hostile elements seemed to bar their way. The rains fell and the winds blew with such violence that the lives of the little cavalcade were constantly imperilled.

[1] This was in accordance with the desire expressed in her will. "Let my body be interred in the monastery of San Francisco which is in the Alhambra of the city of Granada, in a low sepulchre, without any monument except a plain stone, with the inscription cut on it. But I desire and command, that if the King, my Lord, should choose a sepulchre in any church or monastery in any other part or place of these, my kingdoms, my body be transported thither, and buried beside the body of his Highness."

The bodies of the King and Queen sleep side by side in the royal chapel of the Cathedral of Granada. The speedy marriage of King Ferdinand with Germaine de Foix has served to cut deeper into the monument of Isabella the story of her faithful love for the King, her Lord.

Historians generally give November 26, 1504, as the day of the Queen's death, but we have followed Peter Martyr, who was in the Court at the time.

Streams which ordinarily were mere threads or perhaps most often almost dry, now swelled themselves to the volume of the Tagus. The heavens opened—*vastus cælorum hiatus*—pouring forth veritable floods. All gates save that of pity were loosened of their fastenings. The beasts of burden were exhausted and fell by the wayside. The horsemen driven into deep ditches scarcely extricated themselves. There was never a mile in which they did not force themselves past threatening death. The sun never shone by day and the night knew not the stars. Altogether Peter Martyr describes it as a journey more full of peril and horrible fears than the entire way followed by him from Granada to Venice and thence to the Egyptian Babylon. It was on Christmas Day [1] when the tired escort rode into the city of Granada and deposited the body of Queen Isabella in its grave.

It was the purpose of Peter Martyr to return soon to the Court, but it was some time before his purpose was fulfilled. On April 15, 1505, he writes to Michael Perez Almazan, then Secretary of State, that at his request he will again repair to the Court, and on May 14, he is again with the King and the Court in Segovia. He finds the political complications most interesting and exciting. King Ferdinand has had probated the will of the Queen, before the Cortes and in the presence of the people. By this the Princess Joanna and her husband, Philip of Burgundy, were made the legitimate rulers of Castile; but if the Princess should develop any incapacity King Ferdinand should act as Regent. This strange being, the Princess Joanna, was adjudged to be already in that state of irresponsibility contemplated in the will, and accordingly the Cortes declared the King Regent of Castile. The Archduke, Philip of Burgundy, had his own party especially strong among the Castilian nobility, and by its adherents he was induced to proclaim himself the only qualified governor for the kingdom of Castile. Austria was using its influence for Philip, the son of the Emperor Maximilian. France under Louis XII. was only too glad to see clouds of revolt rolling down on the throne of

[1] Historians again give December 18 as the day when the funeral cortège arrived in Granada. It was the habit of our author to sit himself down to write directly he arrived at a suitable place and to describe events while they were still fresh in his mind. On December 25, 1504, he wrote to the Prince Ferdinand an account of his journey begun, as he says, on November 23 and then just completed.

her old enemy Ferdinand, and yet the French King could not look with entire pleasure on the prospect of Philip eventually ruling over a rich and united Spain, with her possessions in a new world, as well as over Austria, Burgundy, Flanders, and the Empire. The picture glowed with too much colour. Louis had a sister married to Jean de Foix of Narbonne, and the couple had a daughter Germaine, young and attractive. By espousing her, Ferdinand would have transferred to his title the claim of France to the kingdom of Naples, which kingdom had for years been a source of dispute and disquietude to the Spanish crown. Envoys and plenipotentiaries were accordingly sent to Louis by Ferdinand, and a treaty was signed at Blois, October 12, 1505, which included this disposition of the dispute between France and Spain. The following month, November 24, 1505, at Salamanca, an agreement was made between Ferdinand and Philip, by which Castile was to be governed jointly by the King on the one hand and Joanna and Philip on the other, but by which one half the revenues should go to Ferdinand. The following spring, March 18, 1506, Ferdinand was married to Germaine de Foix, in Dueñas, the very town from which thirty years before he had gone forth to marry Isabella. Of all these events, if not in shaping them, certainly in recording them, Peter Martyr was an important part. No history of Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century can be written which omits his relation of the public affairs of Spain and the private affairs of Ferdinand. Day by day, to the Archbishop of Granada, to Count Tendilla, Pomponius Lætus, Michael Perez, and others, are these events described with an honest attempt to tell the truth about men and about things. Peter Martyr admired the King and always wrote of him with intense loyalty. At the same time he permitted himself to criticise his public and private conduct with much freedom.

Of all the mortals who walked on the high places of the world at the beginning of the sixteenth century none was quite so strange a being as Joanna, second[1] daughter of Ferdinand

[1] The oldest daughter Isabella had been affianced when three years old to the Dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VIII. She was, however, married in 1492, to Alonzo, Prince of Portugal, a youth of great promise, but who died a few months after his marriage, leaving a most unhappy and unfortunate widow. For international reasons she married Emanuel, soon after his succession to the crown of Portugal. This Prince, on coming to the throne, had evinced pity and consideration for the

and Isabella and wife of Philip, son of Maximilian, Emperor of Germany.[1] The French gave her husband the name of Philippe le Beau. The wife has gone down into history as Jeanne la Folle. Peter Martyr had known the Princess in her girlhood. He had watched her mind develop under her tutors and the illustrious guardians of her mental forces. He had seen her in her devotional exercises and had reports of her spiritual growth under the guidance of Fernand de Talavera, the Archbishop of Granada. He had witnessed her departure on August 22, 1496, for Flanders, where she was to meet her affianced husband, a Prince Charming to an unwedded Princess, but a Prince destined to make of his bride a jealous and unhappy wife. Nowhere does Peter Martyr speak of the appearance in her extreme youth of the idiosyncrasies which developed later into a form not far removed from positive madness. Like the good Spaniards themselves, Peter Martyr rejoiced in the man child born to Philip and Joanna at Ghent on the twenty-fourth day of February in the year one thousand and five hundred. This Prince was destined in the person of Charles V. to become one of the most powerful of kings and emperors. To his mother his arrival was of no more account than that it served to keep her husband nearer her for a time. Her only affection was for Philippe le Beau. It was an absorbing passion, demonstrated publicly, until, by its heat, it exasperated Philip, and made

Jews who had fled into Portugal when the sovereigns expelled them from Spain in 1492. He now issued a proclamation restoring to liberty all of that people who had been enslaved in his dominions. Isabella demanded as the price of her hand the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, and love outweighed justice. Accordingly this unhappy people fled from Portugal as, a few years before, from Spain. Isabella died soon after her marriage and her sister Doña Maria sat upon her throne.

[1] The Princess Joanna was the second daughter and third child of Ferdinand and Isabella and was born in the city of Toledo, November 6, 1479.

The peripatetic character of the Court of Spain is illustrated in the birthplaces of the royal children. The Princess Isabella, the eldest daughter and the first-born, saw the light of day on October 1, 1470, in Dueñas. The only son, Juan, Prince of the Asturias, was born June 30, 1478, in Seville. Joanna was born in Toledo, November 6, 1479. Three years later the Princess Doña Maria was born in Cordova. The Princess Catherine, the last of the children and the future Queen of England, was born in Alcala, December 5, 1488. A strange fatality seemed to follow these daughters. All were married and all were unhappy in their domestic relations.

In his Letter No. CCI. to Pomponius Lætus, and dated from Ocana, February 14, 1499, Peter Martyr says:

"Siderum curſus emulatur hæc noſtra curia, Pomponi, perpetuo namqʙ in motu eſt alias prope diem terras (vti fertur) viſemus."

"Our Court, Pomponius, is like the courses of the stars, for it is in constant motion. Soon, they say, we go into other quarters."

him ridiculous in the eyes of the world. In January, 1502, Philip and Joanna went into Spain, where they were received as the future sovereigns by the Cortes of Aragon and Castile. The dull ceremonial life of the Spanish Court was not inviting to the Austrian Prince and a few months were enough to content him with his visit. Then, too, there seemed to be an epidemic of fever seizing his followers, who from change of climate and food were peculiarly susceptible to its power. In September of that year, disregarding the appeals of his wife and of her royal father and mother, Philip went back into Flanders, passing through France. Joanna soon after gave birth to her second son, Ferdinand, and from that time Peter Martyr records the unmistakable exhibition of a disordered mind. Her grandmother, Isabella, the wife of John II. of Castile, had in her time showed a demented condition and her mental disturbance may have passed over Isabella, her daughter, to reappear in Joanna, her granddaughter. Our faithful chronicler, Peter Martyr, minutely records her career after Philip's death, when she wanders about the country by night with the body of her husband, refusing to enter cities or houses and sometimes declining even to dismount from her horse lest she be made a prisoner, opening the coffin from time to time to assure her doubting mind of the presence of the corpse, exhibiting the dreadful power of her jealousy by forbidding women to approach within a certain distance of her dead husband, finally resting at Tordesillas on the Douro, where a tomb was made for the remains of Philippe le Beau and where for fifty dreary years a living grave was found for Jeanne la Folle.[1]

[1] There have been writers who regard Joanna as sane in mind and as a martyr to religion. They declare that she placed herself in secret rebellion to the Church. When in Flanders, instead of accepting the confessors assigned her by her mother, she chose her own. The religious movement under the German reformers had not yet begun, but here and there, even in Spain, doubt and discontent were troubling the souls of many. If Joanna had ever been in real rebellion against the Church, the world would have known it. Men and women who are big enough to protest at the established orders of State or Church are big enough to record their protest in loud and piercing tones that reach down the ages. If Joanna was sane enough to think for herself, she was sane enough to know that there never was a day from that when Peter Martyr started with her mother's body from Medina del Campo until her own death in 1555 when a blast upon her bugle would not have rallied around her the nobles and people of Castile ready to effect her release and enforce her will.

CHAPTER VI

TRANQUIL YEARS

ANOTHER decade of years passes and now in the opening years of the reign of a new monarch, Peter Martyr finds a series of events unrolling themselves worthy of his facile pen. Charles the First of Castile and the Fifth of that name of Austria and the Empire, was entering upon his inheritance and to him our author paid an honest court. The character of Ximénès, a cardinal in sandals, a warrior without a sword, a Crassus in a monk's gown, did not appeal to him and he does not hesitate to indulge in criticising him and in railing at his work. The magnificent generosity of the Cardinal and his splendid contribution to learning and the arts in establishing the University at Alcala afford the satirist an item for ridicule.[1] During the regency, the aged Cardinal suppressed a large number of the pensions which were eating up the resources of the kingdom, but it is on record that he wrote to Charles suggesting the continued payment of that set down to Peter Martyr. There does not appear to have been any personal animosity against the great statesman. The late King himself had not been over-fond of the Cardinal and our author had perhaps something of his prejudices.

Spain under Charles had for King a ruler whom its people only shared. He belonged also to the people of Flanders and when the Spaniards called him to come to them he turned reluctantly from Gand and Bruges.

[1] Crepidatus hic noster Cardinalis Hispanus, cujus animus in nostræ legis aversos pronus semper fuit, stimulis Regem agitavit, licet ejus rei cupidum, ut in oranum urbem, quandoquidem arcem ejus Mazalchibir, & magnum portum possidemus, provincia caparetur. Ad id se pecunias mutuaturum obtulit est namque uti nostri, crasso Romano pecuniosior, quia thesauris cogendis inhiaverit.—Epistola CCCCXIII.

Spain was soon to become a province of an empire. Just now she was in sore trouble. The people were burdened with taxes and between them and the order of nobles was an implacable feud. Then there arose a brotherhood of men called Germanada or Communeros, and a revolt was spread throughout a large portion of the kingdom. City after city, Segovia, Zamora, Madrid, Toledo, Burgos the rich, Medina del Campo, the home of the merchants, all raised the standard of insurrection. Charles had made the Cardinal Adrian [1] his Regent and this vice-ruler found himself in Valladolid without money or men, without power or authority. Peter Martyr narrates this civil war with fairness and spirit. He recognises the offence of revolution, the wildness of mob-rule, and the danger to the ship of state when the pilot is thrown overboard and inexperienced hands are upon the tiller. But he also realises the sufferings of the masses, the wrongs inflicted upon the many by the few, on the common people by the nobles, and he would fain be the means of restoring peace to his adopted land. He proposes an arbiter. Who can be so fair and just as the Sovereign Pontiff, father alike of king and peasant, noble and plebeian? The Apostolic Nuncio, Vianesi Albergati, undertook his pacificatory labours. He wrote a letter to the rebels or Junteros, and as the letter was in Latin Peter Martyr went before the Junta and translated it into pure Castilian. Thus we see our author intimate with the young King and future Emperor as he had been with his royal grandfather, influential at Rome so that the Pope at his instance empowers his Nuncio to arbitrate a bitter national quarrel, an acceptable companion among the nobility, and *persona grata* to the associated insurrectionists. His situation was like that of a modern reporter of the press who passes freely from army to army and from the Court to the barricades. The Papal Nuncio was a man of nervous temperament and failed in his undertaking, and the battle of Villalar decided the defeat of the rebellious Commu-

[1] Adrian, son of Florentius Boyens, was a native of Utrecht. He was educated at the Pope's College at Louvain and it is said of him that he studied and read the night through by the dim light of the church lamp which was kept constantly alight. Maximilian made him tutor to his grandson Charles, and the latter, when he became Emperor, made him his Regent in Spain, and when Leo X. died, influenced a sufficient number of the members to have him selected as Pope by the Sacred Conclave, the election occurring on January 9, 1522. Adrian had never been in Italy, it is said, until he took possession of St. Peter's chair on August 30, 1522.

neros. But the effort for peace gives us a pleasing picture of our author.

When Adrian of Utrecht, the Cardinal Bishop of Tortosa, was elected Pope, we can imagine the hurried whispers of ambition to the ears of Peter Martyr. Was there any preferment to which he might not reach? Here was a new Pope, not only his warm personal friend but one not born an Italian and not yet identified with Italian interests, in no way pledged to a particular distribution of fortune and of place. At heart Peter Martyr was still a son of Italy. Like many men who in their middle life and old age turn their thoughts back to the scenes of their youth, he thought of Arona and the beautiful Lake Maggiore, and visions of official or churchly station near his old home beckoned his fancy across the mountains to the land of his birth. The prospect was inviting. The clouds in the evening sky as he sat in his garden at Valladolid were tinted by the setting sun with colours now purple like the robe of a bishop, now red like the hat of a cardinal. Alas! the preferment was like the clouds, thin, vapoury, fleeting. He could not say he had been neglected. We have already seen that he was appointed on December 15, 1502, to be preceptor in the liberal arts to the youth of the Court. A few years after he was made Prior of the Cathedral of Granada and rents from a rich abbey in Jamaica were bestowed upon him.[1] In 1507 he was given the living of Renera which brought to him sixty gold ducats per year. Again in 1516 he was presented with the benefice of the parish of Lorca in the diocese of Carthagena. His preferment did not depend on the Queen, for after her death he was made Apostolic Protonotary and member of the Council of the Indies, as is seen in the epistle on the verso of the title-

[1] These revenues, as we shall see in his letter dated from Toledo, June 13, 1525, almost his last letter, were dedicated to the building of a stone church in the town of Seville in the island of Jamaica. Over the door of this church there was once this sentence.

"Petrus Martyr ab Angleria, italus civis mediolanensis, protonotarius apostolicus hujus insulæ, abbas, senatus indici consiliarius, ligneam prius ædem hanc bis igne consumptam, latericio et quadrato lapide primus a fundamentis extruxit."

"Peter Martyr of Angleria, an Italian, citizen of Milan, Apostolic Protonotary of this island, priest, member of the Indian Council, erected from brick and square stone this church, formerly a wooden structure and twice consumed by fire."

The letter of Peter Martyr is so appropriate at this point and contains matter so personal to him that we introduce it here instead of in the chapter treating of the *Epistolæ*. It is numbered DCCCXIIII. in the edition of 1530.

Dccc xiiii.

P.M.A.M. Archiepiſcopo Cuſentino.

ANobis ad Indos, ab Indis ad nos frequentior eſt claſſium concurſus, quam ſarcinario rum iumentorum a nundinis ad nundinas. Sexto Kalendis Maii vela fecit vna claſſis nauium. xxiiii. In ea Ioānes Mendigurrenus Cantaber, familiaris meus tibi notus vehitur. Mitto ſalutatum ſponſam meā Iamaicam inſulam, fœlix regnum, ſeptuaginta leucarū longitudine, ab Oriente in Occidentem, latitudine triginta, vbi non hyems rigida non æſtas torrida, vbi fere nullū eſt diei & noctis diſcrimen, quod proxima ſit æquatori ad gradus octo decim, & paulo plus, paulocz minus pro latitudine. Vbi toto anno frondeſcunt, & vna fructibus onuſtæ acerbis & maturis arbores, vbi ſemper prata floreſcunt. In particularibus latius, ſunt in ea inſula erectæ duæ coloniæ quas licet paucis habitate ciuibus, vult Cæſar ciuitatum nomine ac prærogatiuis frui. Sibillam appellant vnam, Oriſtanam alteram. In vtracz, quod ex trabibus & paleis eſſent erecta, combuſta ſunt templa. Statui vt e redditibus meis prima riæ, quæ Sibilla eſt, lapideum inchoetur templum, & lapideum ſaltem fiat ſacrariſum, in quo tuta ſit cum ornamentis euchariſtia, ne tanto vlterius diſcrimine ſubiiciātur. Tantundem meo ſupplicatu mādat Cæſar expendi. Is me⁹, vt œconomi & in redditib⁹ colligēdis q̄ſtoris officio fungatur, miſſus eſt a me. Optādū eſtvt fœlicib⁹ ſulcēt Oceanū auſpiciis. Ēn dū iſta verſarē, Lupicus me⁹ ab Corteſio, quędā & magna Cæſari ad aurē dicēda portat. Ea prętermittamus in præſentiarū detegentur aliquādo, publica ſunt hæc. Cōtra magiſtratuū regiorū aſſenſum Fernādus Corteſ⁹ it cū exercitu valido ad delēdū Chriſtophorū Olitū ab ei⁹ imperio alienū. Hinc ſtrages expectatur Hiſpanorū, hinc labefactatis eorum virib⁹, timetur Indorū defectio, ſunt impatientes Hiſpani nō priores modo, ſed necz pares æquo animo ferūt. ad eūdē tendūt locum Giſgōſalus & a Petro Ariç putati cōtinentis gubernatore prefectus alter, nomine Frāciſcus Fernādez. Miſit & mari Corteſius in Olitū e ſuis ducib⁹ vnū nomine Frācīſcus delas Caſas ſub ſpe freti reperiendi. Tendunt omnes. De Indis ſatis nunc, alas plura. . . . . .

LETTER DCCCXIIII.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF COSENZA

"From us to the Indies and from the Indies to us is a constant line of vessels more frequent than the heavily laden beasts of burdens passing from market to market. On April 26 a fleet of twenty-four ships set sail. In this is carried John Mendigurrenus, a Cantabrian [region of Biscaya] a friend of mine and known to you. I send my salutations to my spouse, the Island of Jamaica: that happy domain seventy leagues in length from east to west and thirty in width, where there is neither cold winter nor unbearable heat; where there is scarcely any difference of night and day, and which is situated near eighteen degrees of latitude, a little more or a little less, from the equator. Where throughout the entire year the trees are in leaf and laden with fruits at one and the same time green and ripe. The fields are in perpetual flower. These things are in detail elsewhere. There have been established in this island two colonies which, while inhabited by few colonists, the Emperor desires shall enjoy the name and privilege of cities. They call one Seville, the other Oristiana. The churches in both of these cities, built of timbers and straw, are burned. So I have determined to devote the revenues from my first church which is in [this] Seville for rebuilding the church of stone, so that at least there shall be a stone sanctuary in which the vessels of Eucharist shall no longer be subject to dangerous risks. For this purpose at my prayer the Emperor has ordered this expenditure. He [Mendigurrenus] is sent by me in the office of Overseer and steward of the revenues collected. It is desired that the ocean passage may be under happy auspices. While I have been engaged with these matters, my Lupicus has carried from Cortez for the Emperor's ear certain grave news. We pass over those for the present. They will be disclosed hereafter. These things are published abroad: that Fernandus Cortez

page of his *First Decade* printed in 1511.[1] On the 5th of March, in the year 1520 he was selected to fill the post of Royal Chronicler with a salary of 80,000 maravedis and no paid or unpaid historian ever chronicled more faithfully the passing events than Peter Martyr of Angleria, the first historian of America. In 1524 he was appointed by the Emperor, Secretary of the Council of the Indies.

The salary attached to this office of Royal Chronicler, as we calculate the maravedi, would have been equivalent to $493 in our money of to-day. The purchasing power of this sum in the sixteenth century must have been ten or twelve times its present power. Add to this his other salaries and revenues and we are prepared for the lavish manner in which our historian is reported to have lived.

Peter Martyr, although he followed the Court from place to place, had his home in Valladolid. His house was spacious, his gardens delightful, his domestics many, his table hospitable. Lucio Marineo visited him and with an unusual curiosity took the opportunity to pry out the house. He writes:

with an efficient army, with the approval of the authorities went against Christopher Olid to destroy him as encroaching on his province. The overthrow * of the Spaniards is expected. Their men are weakened and the defection of the Indians is feared. Neither those Spaniards in command nor their followers are able to bear themselves hopefully. Gil Gonzalez † and another leader Franciscus Fernandez sent by Pedro Arias, the Governor of the Continent, are destined for the same place. Cortez has sent by sea one of his leaders named Franciscus de las Casas ‡ against Olid—all are going in the hope of discovering the strait. This is sufficient for the Indies—more another time. . . .

Dated Toledo, June 13, 1525.

[1] In the introduction to his *History of the New World*, Juan Baptista Muñoz refers in a note to the statement of Casaus in his *History* that Peter Martyr was raised to this dignity in the year 1518 while the Emperor Charles V. and his Court were at Saragossa, and the latter declares that he himself was present when the diploma was given him. This may simply have been a confirmation under a new ruler of a previous appointment, for we know he was already a Counsellor when the *First Decade* was printed in 1511.

* The massacre did not take place, for Olid had already been killed by Francisco de las Casas, whom Cortez marched to relieve. See *Bernal Diaz*, paragraphs 122, 150.

† The expedition of Gil Gonzalez had already been made: as to the second captain cited by Martyr, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, he had just founded in Nicaragua the city of New Granada, the city of Léon, at the eastern extremity of the Lake Managua, discovered the river St. John and assured himself that it emptied into the Atlantic.

‡ Francisco de las Casas was conquered by Olid and made prisoner, but he plotted the death of his conqueror, surprised him at table, and killed him without mercy. He immediately took command of the colony and founded Truxillo, which during a long time was the capital of Honduras.

No one could be more hospitable than Martyr, no one could receive his friends with more cordiality. Entering the bedroom I cast my eyes about on all sides. When I had thoroughly examined all the nooks and corners, I approached the bed, which was covered with silk and purple stuffs. At the foot of the couch was an open piece of furniture, most rare, costly, and of the greatest taste, most beautifully polished and of most perfect construction. In one corner was no small quantity of gold and silver: in another many finely bound books; in the centre of the room were many other objects of great value, all negligently preserved: which might easily tempt the most incorruptible of men.[1]

Peter Martyr did not neglect his table. The same writer recalls the foods and viands with which the table abounded: "peacocks, turtle doves, partridges, pheasants, quails, carp [or perhaps thrush], fig-peckers, heath-cocks served in the form of pyramids, and every other known kind of dish."

While Adrian was Regent, about the time of the battle of Villalar, Peter Martyr wrote him for permission to join him at Lucronia, but the former replied to him under date of July 28, 1521, advising him to remain in Valladolid and thus closing his letter:

"Vale, felix mi Martyr, cujus hortenſibus deliciis & paſſerculorum concentibus magis invideo, quam miſerear ſolitudine, holera ſic fovere ac rigare cura, ne nobis iſtuc euntibus emarcuerint" : "Fare thee well, my happy Peter Martyr: I am more envious of thy delightful gardens and their singing birds than concerned for thy solitude: foster well and water thy good vegetables, that they be not withered against our coming."

Old age was coming speedily upon our author and in the early summer of the year 1526 he found himself with the Court at Granada, but enfeebled and oppressed with infirmities. Sensible of the approach of death he dictated his last will and testament on the twenty-third day of September, 1526, disposing of his estate with the minutest care. To almost every member of his circle of relatives some testimony of his love was bequeathed, while his friends received presents and his domestics legacies. The bulk of his property went to his brother George and to his favourite niece Laura. He enjoins upon his friend Gaspard Rotulo, a rich Milanese, the care of marrying Laura into some good family and if possible to some one in Arona.

[1] Lucii Marinei Siculi *Epist. familiarium libri XVII.*, Valladolid, 1514. Liber quartus 31.

The document disposed of furniture, clothing, articles of decoration, many and various. His robe was bestowed upon Hernand Fernandez, his faithful servant, while to one of his intimate friends he left his favourite mule, Pardilla. He prepared for his funeral, and, although his official condition and ecclesiastical offices would have obtained for him a free burial, he set aside three thousand maravedis to defray its cost and assuage the grief of the mourners. He appointed the number of masses to be said and the number of candles to be burned and designated the costumes of mourning to be worn by his servants in his honour. When October came he died in Granada, close by the Court, the movable scene of his active and useful life. Perhaps it was a more fitting end than if he had passed away in the northern town where were his garden and his flowers and his singing birds. He loved men and their activities better than the quiet and the beauty of the field. He was buried in the great church in Granada and over his tomb were inscribed by his fellow members of the Cathedral chapter these words reciting his virtues and his offices:

" Rerum Ætate nostra gestarum
Et Novi orbis ignoti hactenus
Illustratori Petro Martyri Mediolanensi
Cæsareo Senatori
Qui Patria relicta
Bello Granatensi miles interfuit
Mox Urbe capta
Primum Canonico
Deinde Priori hujus ecclesiæ
Decanus et Capitulum
Clarissimo Collegæ Posuere Sepulchrum Anno MDXXVI."

CHAPTER VII

THE DECADES

WE turn from the life of Peter Martyr to examine some of his literary labours. While the *First Decade* of his *History of the New World*—to be here reproduced from its first publication—is known to be his work, the reader must know it was surreptitiously printed at Venice in 1504. The book was first printed under the name of Peter Martyr in 1511.

1511

It is a folio volume of 74 leaves as follows: title /a/, a*ii*, a*iii*, a*iiii* + 4 blank [i.e., *without signatures*]; b, b*ii*, b*iii*, b*iiii* + 4 blank; c, c*ii* + 2 blank; 2 blank leaves with the map and errata; d, d*ii*, d*iii*, d*iiii* + 4 blank; e, e*ii*, e*iii*, e*iiii* + 4 blank; f, f*ii*, f*iii*, f*iiii* + 4 blank; g, g*ii*, g*iii* + 3 blank; h, h*ii*, h*iii*, h*iiii* + 4 blank; i, i*ii*, a*iii* [sic pro i*iii*] i*iiii* + 4 blank; k, k*ii*, k*iii* + 3 blank.

The title[1] is on the recto of the first leaf:

" P. Martyris Angli
Mediolanensis Opera
Legatio Babylonica
Occeani Decas
Poemata
Epigrammata.
Cum Preuilegio."

[1] Copies differ, one from another. Harrisse, following the copy in the Carter-Brown library, has *Oceani* in the title instead of *Occeani* [as in the author's copy] and no periods at the end of line six and of line seven. In the copy preserved in the Library of the Department of Public Works in Madrid, the word is printed *Occeanea*, but the wording of the title is quite different.

That is to say: *The Works of Peter Martyr of Angera in the Duchy of Milan, the Embassy to Babylon, the Decade of the Ocean, Poems, Epigrams. With Privilege.*

On the verso of the title is a letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoça, *Litterarum Cultor*, covering twenty-five lines.[1] The

[1] In the Library of the Department of Public Works, at Madrid, and in the Lenox Library are copies with the following title:

"P. Martyris ab
Angleria
Mediolanensi
Opera.
Legatio Babilonica
Occeanea Decas.
Poemata.
Cum Privilegio."

In this copy the letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoça, which, as in the first copy, occurs on the verso of the folio *a*, consists of twenty-seven lines instead of twenty-five, and adds several sentences to the letter. Harrisse, upon the strength of having found in the Madrid copy the two supplementary leaves containing the maps and the table of errata, regards this as the first issue, but we place it second to the copy mentioned in the text as the map is sometimes found in both issues and as this contains a more elaborate epistle to Mendoça, particularly in the author saluting him not only as his "Companion in peace and war" but as "Treasurer of Granada [after the expulsion of the Moors] and Captain General of the Kingdom." The introduction of added honours indicates a subsequent issue. In other respects the issues are alike, even to perpetuating the error of *aiii* for *iiii*, showing that only the first leaf, with the title and the letter to Mendoça, was altered.

There have been found no copies with the page containing the errata for the poems missing. No one would have prepared a list of errata for the poems without at the same time preparing one for the obvious mistakes in the *Decade*.

Our theory is that the book was first issued with the two leaves, the one containing the map and the other containing the errata of the *Decade:* that the Spanish Government, Ferdinand the King being at that time in Seville, strongly objected to the issuing to the world of any map or chart exhibiting the lands of the New World and that thereupon Peter Martyr caused the one mischievous leaf with its innocent companion to be withdrawn from the book, only a few copies having escaped to gladden the heart of the collector of to-day. It is well known how jealously the Spanish Government guarded its maps and charts. This explanation, this daring act of publishing a map of the new found regions, might account for the author's strong repudiation of any responsibility for its publication.

The following are the two renderings of the passage in the letter to Inarcho Lopez de Mendoça and which, with the modified title, makes the only difference found in some copies of this edition:

"Bello paceq̃ inſignis comes ſalue. diſtuli ad te mittere operum in mea officina tam libero q̃ irretito pede decuſſorum exemplaria: que ꝑlr̃as te diu cupijſſe mihi ſignificaſti: vt ea ceteris tue bibliotece voluminibus commiſceres: que habes in numera: q̃ fero reperi qui ea excriberet. . . ."

[Harrisse B. A. V. No. 66.]

"Bello paceq̃ inſignis comes ? prime [amaris eiectis] granatenſis arcis p̃fecte ac regni ipſius [vt hiſpane loquar] capitanee generalis ſalue. Diſtuli ad te mittere operum in mea officina tam libero q̃ irretito pede vecuſſorum exemplaria: que ꝑlr̃as

recto of the twenty-first leaf contains the famous map[1] of the Western world. On the verso of this same leaf is the letter to Cardinal Ximénès. The next leaf is devoted to a table correcting errors which had occurred as far as signature *f*. On the verso of the seventy-third leaf, or the next to the last, is the colophon:

"Impreſſum Hiſpali cũ summa dilgencia per Jacobũ corumberger alemanũ. Anno. Milleſſimo quingenteſſimo xi.[2] mẽſe vero Aprili."

The water-mark is the *Hand and Wrist* with a five-pointed star at the end of the fingers, measuring 93 mm. in length and 26 mm. in width at the wrist. This water-mark differs from those in use by the printers of Lorrain, Gouda, and Lyons and is somewhat similar to [although not identical with] that used by Meynardo Ungut and Stanislao Polono,[3] in Seville. The

te diu cupijſſe mihi [que habes innumera] comiſceres nõ quia fas eſſe putẽ poſſe me a tuis mãdatis referre pedẽ quõ te duce me cõtulerim in hiſpania ſiſꝙ lr̃arũ ? cultor ? obſeruator: ſ̃ꝫ ꝙ fero reperi qui ea excriberet. . . ."

[Harrisse B. A. V. Additions No. 41.]

[1] It is said by some that this map was made by Nuño Garcia de Toreno in Seville and reference is made to it in the second book of Xeres—*Conquista del Peru*—[Venice, 1534].

[2] Historians and writers who know nothing of the science of bibliography, frequently mistake the date at which a work is published. Morelli, Zurla, and even Hain [No. 10,863] have asserted that the *First Decade* of Peter Martyr was printed in 1500. This assertion they support by a passage in Peter Martyr in the seventh book of his *Second Decade*,—printed for the first time in 1516 at Alcala,—where he complains that his work had been previously printed without his permission. This does not refer to the Seville edition of 1511, but either to the *Libretto* printed at Venice in 1504 or to the *Paesi*, printed in Vicenza in 1507. As Peter Martyr inveighs against Portugese writers and writers of Portugese voyages the inference is that it is the latter work which is drawing his wrath. The *Libretto* speaks only of the voyages to the New World. The *Paesi* on the other hand includes all that the *Libretto* contains and in addition it gives the relations of the voyages made by Gama, by Cadamosto, and by Pietro di Lintra under Portuguese auspices to India and Africa. No edition of the *Decades* is known prior to the one printed at Seville in 1511, and the erroneous statement is due to a misinterpretation of Peter Martyr's complaint or to a careless reading of the colophon of the Seville edition, where the date *Fifteen hundred* is printed in full *Millessimo Quingentessimo*, followed by XI. in Roman numerals. The additional figures carrying the date into the second decade of the sixteenth century were perhaps not observed.

Nor do we think Peter Martyr, in his letter to the Emperor Charles V., dated September 30, 1516, and which prefaces his edition of 1516, intends to intimate that the *First Decade*, printed in 1511, was without his authority. His words are: *Duas Decades Addidi Primæ quæ me Inconsulto Prælis fuit Impressorum Exposita.* As the *Libretto* and the fourth book of the *Paesi* give nearly the greater part of the *First Decade*, the complaint might very naturally refer to one of them, probably to the *Paesi*.

[3] In the first of the two imprints of these printers mentioned below he is called Stanislao, while in the Boetius he is called Lançalao Polono.

types used are for the most part those employed by these last mentioned printers in their editions of *Vergel de Consolacion* and *El Libro de Boecio de la Consolaciō Philosophical*, both printed at Seville in 1497. The printer of the *First Decade*, Jacobus Cromberger, or Corumberger as it is here printed, obtained his type from the above mentioned printers and improved it by adding some capitals in woodcut borders and some letters to replace those worn out. Twenty lines of the types of each printer measure 96 mm. and thus we are enabled to identify the source whence Cromberger procured his type and probably his press. This Jacobus Cromberger has an interest for us. He had set up his press in Seville as early as 1508 and in 1526 he took into partnership with him Juan or Johannes Cromberger,—probably his son,—who first introduced printing into the New World, in the city of Mexico about the year 1540.[1] This last died in 1544.

As the title promises, the book presents first an account of Peter Martyr's embassy as the representative of their Catholic Majesties, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, to the Sultan of Egypt, undertaken in the year 1501. His journey, in which we have already followed him, was from the royal city of Granada through Spain and the south of France, across Italy to Venice, where he was well received by the Republic, whose affections for his country were being seduced by France and which he fastened more firmly to Spain. From Venice he went to Alexandria, where he successfully discharged his mission.

Then follow the two unnumbered leaves with the map on the first and the *Errata* on the second. This may be the proper place for the map, but it is not the natural location for a table of errata. The last folio in the book is the continuation of the errata here begun, but that they were not made at the same

[1] Some bibliographers claim this honour for Johannes Pablos and some would have it that printing had been practised in Mexico as early as 1535, but no book exists with a date earlier than 1540 and the name of Johannes Pablos does not appear in any book for at least eight years after this date. This latter printer is called Johannes Paulus Brissensis in his *Speculum Conjugiorum*, although we think he printed the *Regula Christina*, dated 1547, the last book known to have been printed by Johannes Cromberger being dated 1544. [Examples of all these are in the author's library.] Just as Hain was mistaken regarding the 1500 edition of Peter Martyr—not having himself seen a copy—so the early writers on American printing who have reported the *Escala Spiritual* of 1539 are likely mistaken. They themselves never saw a copy.

time is evident, for the continuation is on the left hand of a two column space, while in the leaf found here the reading extends across the page. We are therefore of the opinion that these two leaves were originally placed in this portion as found in our copy, and in some of the subsequent examples they were purposely transferred to the end of the book.

The map is of great rarity and of the first importance in American cosmography.[1] As this map gives a large part of the coast of Florida and as Juan Ponce de Leon did not explore this coast until some time subsequent to February 21, 1512, the date borne by his letters patent, it serves as an argument to enforce the claims of Americus Vespucius that this region was visited by him on his first voyage nearly fifteen years before. On the back of the map are twenty-five lines explaining to his patron Cardinal Ximénès the meaning of the sketch and describing four islands and the lands intended to be depicted.

Peter Martyr begins the first book of his *First Decade* on the recto of folio d and finishes it with the twentieth line of f*viii*, the last two leaves containing his Epilogue written to Iñigo Lopez Hurtado de Mendoça.[2] On the recto of folio g*i* is a further epistle to Cardinal Ximénès, after which follow the various poems [3] and epigrams promised on the title. From the recto of folio h*i* to the end of the book there are two columns on each page.

Peter Martyr was a historian and not a biographer. He tells us in this, his *First Decade*, that Christopher Columbus was a Ligurian.

Christophorus Quidam Colonus Ligur Vir Regibus Proposuit et Suasit se ab Occidente Nostro Finitimas Indie Insulas Inventurum. He does not tell us where in the Cisalpine territory,

[1] See the author's *Continent of America*, where it is described in full and given in fac-simile.

[2] Navarrete, in his *Historia de la Nautica*, relates that a marriage was contemplated between the daughter of this Mendoça and Louis, the grandson of Christopher Columbus.

[3] These poems seem to have been arranged and edited by Antonius de Leprija, better known under his Latin name of Nebrissensis, the most famous classical scholar of Spain in that day. In the very year of the Columbian discovery he published his *Gramática Castillana*, which made him the authority on Spanish philology and composition.

Humboldt—*Examen Critique*—Vol. ii., 293—says that Leprija retouched the style of the *Decades*, but without examining the statements made therein. Other writers do not think that any hands save the author's touched the different books.

whether in Piedmont or Genoa[1] or Lucca, our Columbus was born. He tells us nothing about his life, nothing about his personality. When Richard Eden translated into English and published the *Decades* at London in the year 1555, he took a liberty with the text and makes Peter Martyr say:

Christophorus Colonus [otherwise called Columbus], *a gentilman of Italy, born in the citie of Genua, persuaded Fernando and Elyzabeth, Catholike Prynces, that he doubted not to fynde certayne islandes of India, etc., etc.*

In the seventh book of the *Second Decade*, published at Alcala in 1516, in alluding to Vicente Yañez Pinzón, Peter Martyr says: *Is Christoforo Colono Genuensi Postea Almiranto in Primo Nauigatione fuerat comes.* It is curious to note that when Richard Eden came to put this into English he omitted the reference to his having been a Genoese. Peter Martyr certainly had a personal acquaintance with Columbus.[2] He was with the Court at Barcelona when the Admiral returned from his first voyage and immediately wrote about its results to Giovanni

[1] In the *Historia de L'Indie Occidentali*, published in 1534, composed from the joint works of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, Columbus is said to have been born in the ancient and noble city of Genoa.

[2] In the second book of his *First Decade* Peter Martyr says:

"Prope diē [vti ſpo] a me cetera q̄ detegentur habiturus scripsit. n. ad me p̄fectus ipse maritimus: cui sum intima familiaritate deuinctus sese mihi latissime quecūq; fors ostēderit ſignificaturū."

"Very soon, as I hope, you shall have other news as matters are made known, for the Admiral himself—with whom I am on terms of intimacy—writes me very freely of whatever things of importance come to pass."

In Epistle CLIII., written December 29, 1494, to Pomponius Lætus, the historian says:

"Urbem Condere Colonus, Uti ad me Nuper Scripsit, Nostras Sementes Jacere, Animalia Nutrire Nostralia Incipit."

"Columbus has begun to build a city, as he has lately written me, to plant seed-corn and to rear our native animals."

In several other letters he mentions a correspondence with the Admiral.

Navarrete on page lxviii. of his first volume declares:

"Pedro Mártir de Angleria is another of the contemporary writers who should be consulted in regard to the events of the first voyages and discoveries of Columbus, because he was intimately acquainted with him even before the conquest of Granada, and was present in Barcelona when the Sovereigns received Columbus on his return from his first voyage. He received information in regard to all the occurrences from Columbus himself and from others who accompanied him: and he wrote everything daily, according to his custom, from the time he came to Spain and was presented to the King and Queen in Saragossa in the beginning of the year 1488.

In regard to this matter, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, in speaking of the writers who relate the first events of the Indies without having seen them or with small reflection and knowledge, adds: "Among whom, in regard to these first events, to no one should more faith be given than to Pedro Mártir, who wrote his *Decades* in Latin, being in Castile at that time: because what he said in them touching the beginning was by the assistance of the Admiral himself, the first Discoverer, to whom he spoke many times, and inquired of those who were in his company, and of the

Borromeo and shortly after to the Count Tendilla. His writings show that he made it his practice to interview not only the leaders of an expedition but the followers as well, the common sailors, that he might obtain all possible information concerning the voyages. He knew he was writing for posterity. He expected that a permanent character was to be given his work.[1] Yet with it all he never describes the personal appearance of Columbus nor says a word concerning his origin or his introduction into Spain, except that in the *First Decade* he denominates him a Ligurian by birth, and in the *Second Decade* he refers to him as "a Genoese."

He does not even tell us where and when the Admiral died, although in the first book of his *Second Decade* he begins a sentence, "But Colonus being now departed out of this life. . . ." In the tenth book of his *Second Decade* he indirectly refers to his death. In an interesting passage where Peter Martyr describes how he secretly closeted himself with the Bishop of Burgos, surrounding themselves with instruments and globes and charts, or seamen's cards, one of which was drawn by Americus Vespucius, the historian says: *Colonus, the Admiral, while he was yet alive and had explored these regions, made a beginning to another map.*

The *First Decade* came under the notice of Pope Leo X.,[2]

others who made those voyages in the first place. In the other matters relating to the development and growth of these Indies, his *Decades* contain some falsehoods."

Navarrete continues.

"It is a pity that a man so learned and devoted to writing should be so careless and negligent in rectifying his narrations and correcting his books, as Don Bautista Muñoz shows, advising that prudent reflection be employed in reading his works in order to avoid errors and equivocations resulting from the facility and lightness with which he wrote."

We shall discover many errors and even some confusion of dates in the writings of Peter Martyr, but we hope to show that he was a painstaking, and, on the whole, reliable historian.

[1] In one of his letters he declares that he is not willing to leave Spain because there he finds the sources of news of the West Indies and that these advantages give him the hope of bequeathing his name as a historian to the latest posterity.

[2] In letter CCCCCLIX. of the 1530 edition, written to Pope Leo X., and dated from Guadaloupe December 26, 1515, Peter Martyr says:

"Ea relatum eſt S. tuam ipſam ipſam Cardinalibus pleriſq́, & amata ſorore aſtantibus, amota menſa, ſerena fronte, ad laſſitudinē vſq́ legiſſe vniuerſa."

"The story is told that thou thyself in the presence of thy beloved sister and many Cardinals, didst read with cheerful countenance, the cloth being removed, the whole of the book until weariness overcame thee."

The story, as generally related, is somewhat embellished by allusions to burning candles and the small hours of the night.

Writers are fond of telling the story of Pope Leo sitting up through the long

and so interested his Holiness that he caused word to be sent by some learned persons to Peter Martyr, urging the continuance of his writing, and as the historian says in the first book of his *Second Decade*, which is dedicated to the Pope, he "thought it good to satisfy the request of these wise men, especially since they have used the authority of your Holiness' name."

Allusion has been made to the complaint of Peter Martyr that his *First Decade* was printed without his authority and knowledge. In the first book of his *Second Decade*, printed at Alcala in 1516, he says:

In Decadis Nostræ Oceaneæ Narratione Quæ me Inconsulto per Christianum Orbem Impressa Vagatur: 'In the relation of our ocean decade, which was disseminated throughout the Christian world in printed form without consulting me, etc. This sounds

hours of the night reading aloud to his sister the *First Decade* of Peter Martyr. This story brings to mind two contradictory accounts of the Pope's vision. In the facetious work attributed to Sieur des Accord—frequently printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—it is recorded that the Pope caused the numerals MCCCCLX. to be written as signifying the year of his pontificate and that some did thus interpret the numbers as initial letters: *Multi Cardinales Cæci Crearunt Cæcum Leonem Decimum*. While he certainly was not blind, it is generally conceded that he did possess peculiar sight, holding printed or written matter almost against his eyes to read it, and yet by aid of a concave glass being able to watch the flight of a hawk soaring through the sky. Lucas Gauric relates that he read letters by bringing them close to his nose and eyes, but also relates the strengthening of his sight by means of a crystal glass. The story of the Indies, as told by Peter Martyr, is interesting enough to hold the attention of the reader whether he be Pope or layman, whether he be near-sighted or blessed with the vision of the hawk.

Pope Leo was born Giovanni de' Medici and was the son of Lorenzo, the Magnificent. According to Panvinius—Onuphrius—who continued Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, Pope Innocent VIII., who only created eight cardinals during his entire pontificate, soon after the marriage of his son, Francesco Cibo, to Maddalena, the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, conferred the Cardinal's hat upon her brother Giovanni, then not yet thirteen years of age. When his family was driven out of Florence, the young Cardinal went into France and Germany. Pope Julius II. made him Apostolic Legate, in which character he was present at the battle of Ravenna, where he was captured by the French. On the death of Pope Julius he hastened to Rome and on the eleventh day of March, in the year 1513, he was elected to the chair of Saint Peter, at the age of thirty-seven years. Some writers, like Guicciardini, say he was chosen by a combination of the younger cardinals, who agreed among themselves to choose the first Pope from out of their own number. Others, like Pallavicini, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, and Antonius Varillas, in his *Anecdotes of Florence* seem to think he was elected as a temporary compromise between the several factions, all agreeing that the Cardinal Giovanni, although young, was so enfeebled by the life he had led as to give them hope of his early demise, during which brief period of waiting they might strengthen their several camps. He lived for nine years after his election and raised his family again to their high estate. History does not record if the wife of Francesco Cibo was that sister to whom Pope Leo read Peter Martyr's fascinating narrative of Columbus and his discoveries.

like a genuine protest against the publication of his *First Decade* and is simply incomprehensible in view of the following formal document of privilege which was printed in Spanish on the verso of folio a*ii* in the edition of 1511, the very issue objected to by the author:

Doña Joanna, by the grace of God, Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Granada, of Toledo, of Galicia, of Seville, of Cordova, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarbes, of Algesiras, of Gibraltar, and of the Canary Islands, and of the Indies and islands and main-land of the ocean-sea: Princess of Aragon, and of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem: Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy and of Brabant, etc.: Countess of Flanders and of Tyrol, etc.: Lady of Vizcaya and of Molina, etc.:—

To all the Mayors, Assistants, Alcaldes: and other Justices and Judges whatsoever, of all the cities, towns and places of my realms and Seignories, and each one and whatever one of you, to whom this, my Royal Order shall be shown or the copy of the signature of the Notary Public,—Salutation and Grace:—

Know that the protonotary, Peter Martyr, through my Council made relation to me by his petition, saying:—that he had written certain works, especially a book in which is contained the things which are found in the ocean-sea and its newly discovered islands, and another which is called, *Babylonian Itinerary* which contains the Legation to the Sultan of Babylon and another called *In Ianum* in which is contained some tales, and another called *Inaco* which treats of the peace which was made between the Pope Innocent, of happy memory, and the King, Don Ferdinand of Naples, and other books and verse where he has made epigrams on diverse things of war and peace and moralities,—which he wishes printed as being very profitable books and containing great instruction: Therefore having supplicated me to order that he should be given license and privilege for the same: and that no other person positively should be able to print them in these my realms nor carry them away in order to print them, or sell them in other realms, without his permission, or as my pleasure might be: it being seen by the members of my Council, it was agreed that this, my Royal Order, should be given to you for the said reason, and I approve it and by these presents give license and privilege to you, the said protonotary, Peter Martyr, in order that you or whomever you authorise, for the space of five years immediately following, may be able to print the said books and cause them to be printed, as above declared: and I order and maintain that during the said time, no other person or persons shall dare to print or sell the said books, or take them from these my realms in order to print them, or sell any in these my realms, without your power and license, under penalty of my displeasure and a fine of 50,000 maravedis, the half for you, the said protonotary: and the other half for my exchequer: Which said penalty, I order you, the said my Justices, and each one of you, to execute and cause to be executed on the persons who shall oppose or

act contrary to what is contained in this my Royal Order, during the said time, and neither one of you shall disregard it in any manner under penalty of my displeasure and a fine of 10,000 maravedis for my exchequer.

Given in the city of Madrid, the 6th day of the month of January, in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1511.

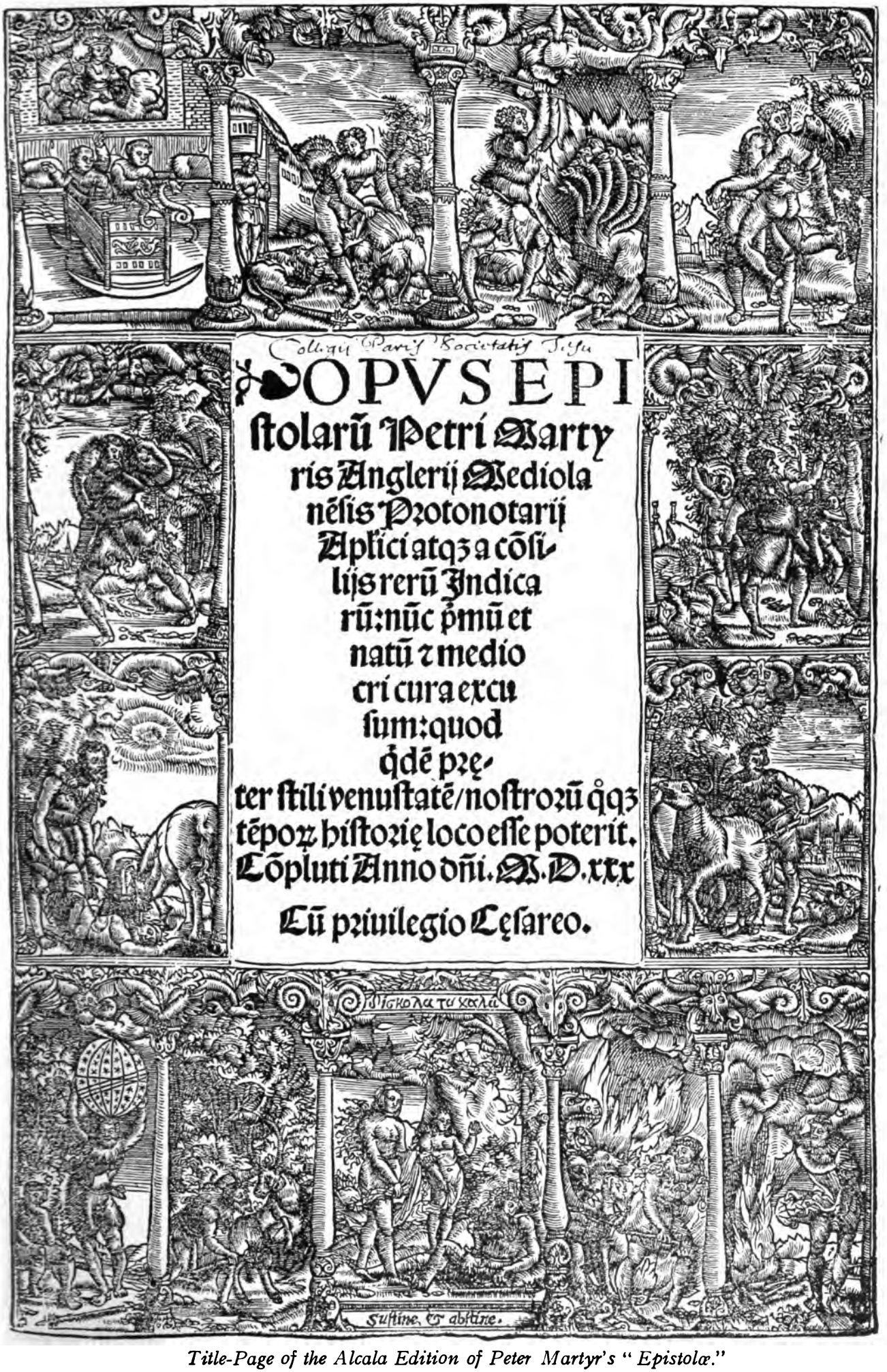
The unfortunate Queen Joanna, at the time this privilege was granted, was not in condition to perform any public act, and the use of her name was simply an administrative fiction. Her husband Philip had died in 1506, and soon after she had been placed by her father, King Ferdinand of Aragon, in her palace at Tordesillas, where she passed nine and forty dark and useless years. During all that time she performed no public duty, signed no royal document, transacted no official business, what thoughts she had centring on the tomb of her husband in sight from the windows of her palace, a miserable woman, an irresponsible Queen, dead to her kingdom, her father, and her son. At the beginning of January, in the year 1511, the very year and the very month of the issuing of this privilege, King Ferdinand, who had bound himself to act for his unhappy daughter in all things pertaining to the kingdom of Castile, was in Seville, where this book was awaiting authority that it might issue from the press and be, as its author afterwards said in his complaint, "disseminated throughout the Christian world." Yet the old official form with its exalted titles is sponsor for the book in the Queen's name. Even when the Prince, her son, held the reins of government, it was the Queen's name, until her death, which usually came first in the documents and records of the realm.[1] While the Queen's part in this privilege was a fiction, it is difficult to understand how Peter Martyr could claim the same discharge from responsibility. The petition must have been his prayer, the relations of the Embassy and the *Decade* must have been made by him, and who but the author could or would collect scattered and various children

[1] We find an exception to this in that interesting example of Americana entitled: *Suma de Geographia Q Trata de Todas las Partidas ? Prouincias del Mundo:* etc., etc., by M. F. de Encisco, printed at Seville in 1519 by Jacobus Cromberger. In this the royal privilege is issued in the name of the King [Charles V.], the son of Joanna, and is dated from the city of Saragossa, September 5, 1518. This work is believed to be the first book on America printed in Spanish, taking its place, however, after the folio and quarto Spanish Columbian letters and the Spanish privilege in the 1511 edition of Peter Martyr.

of his brain to be united under one bond and by royal privilege and decree introduced into the world ?

On the recto of f*vii*—unmarked—is the perpendicular epilogue written to Iñigo Lopez de Mendoça in which he makes a further recital of events in the New World, with descriptions of its geography and its people and which shows that the author did actually prepare his *First Decade* apparently for the purpose of publication in accordance with the above petition.

It is a strange fatality that the first writer of the history of the New World should find his work seized and given to the public on two occasions, according to his own complaint, without his consent. The first occasion was when Trivigiano printed that portion of the *First Decade* containing the three voyages of Columbus in the *Libretto* of 1504. The second was the publication of the Seville edition of the *First Decade* in 1511, for the appearance of which the author seems to apologise, but for which we must hold him responsible and accord him our thanks.



Title-Page of the Alcala Edition of Peter Martyr's "Epistolæ."

CHAPTER VIII

THE EPISTOLÆ

PETER MARTYR was the most voluminous epistolary writer of his time and there have come down to us no less than 812 of his letters, commencing in 1488 and ending only with his declining years, some more elaborately composed than others, but all filled with interest and life. Johannes de Vergara, who was his familiar friend, declares that his letters were sometimes written with such celerity that two or more would be commenced and completed while servants were laying the cloth for dinner. Vergara may have referred to letters of a more ordinary correspondence, but historians have seized upon this assertion of his friend to explain the sometimes rude and unfinished style of his composition. These letters were published at Alcala in 1530, and in 1670 Daniel Elzevier reproduced them from his famous family press at Amsterdam. They are of interest to us because some of them describe the earliest events of American history and were indited, not years after the occurrence of these events, but immediately upon the news reaching the Court or coming to the notice of our author. Taken, therefore, in connection with his composition of the *First Decade*, they become a supplementary and essential part of his history.

1530. The colophon on the recto of folio CXCIX reads:

"Excuſum est hoc volu
men Epiſtolarum Petri Martyris Mediola
nenſis citra controueſiã eruditiſſimi
in celeberrima & in omni literarũ
genere maxime florenti Aca
demia Complutenſi in
Ædibus Michæ
lis de Eguia
Anno a
Chriſto
nato.
M. D. XXX."

[COLOPHON.]

"This book, containing the Epistles of Peter Martyr of the Duchy of Milan, is completed and published in a manner beyond the cavil of the most learned, in the most celebrated Academy of Complutum [commonly called Alcala], which excels in every sort of polite learning, in the establishment of Michael Eguia in the year of our Lord 1530."

This is a folio, the title being in large woodcut border, as will be seen in the reproduction on the opposite page. After the title the folios are marked ✠ii, ✠iii, ✠iiii, ✠v, one unnumbered leaf, ✠✠i, ✠✠ii, ✠✠iii, ✠✠iiii, ✠✠v, one unnumbered leaf, making twelve leaves, containing the Index. On the recto of *A* begin the epistles and the leaves are numbered consecutively in Roman numerals until we come to the first of several examples of grotesque pagination: what should be folio LXXVII. is written LXXII.; folio LXXIX. is LXXVI.; folio C is XCIX., making two leaves with this number; folio CXLII. is written CXL.; folio CLVII. is CCCXLI.; folio CLXII. is CLXIII., followed by the real CLXIII.; folio CLXXXVIII. is written CLXXXVII., thus duplicating the number of the preceding leaf; folio CXCIX. is CXCIII.; following this the leaves go on duplicating the numbers from this second CXCIII. until we come to the last folio, CXCIX., making in all 205 leaves.

Each epistle is numbered in Roman numerals beginning with No. I, addressed to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza dated from Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], January 1, 1488, and running through to No. 816, written *Ad Marchionibus* but without place of address or date. The previous letter, No. DCCCXV. [wrongly written DCCCVX.], is written from Toledo and is dated April 25, 1525. What should be letter No. DCCCVIII., written *Ad Marchionibus* and dated from Mantua Carpentana [Madrid], February 18, 1525, is not numbered. The letters vary in length from two epistles of four lines each to one covering nearly three pages. They average two letters to each page.

There has been carelessness in printing these letters. In 1670 there issued from the celebrated Elzevier[1] press at Amsterdam, when Daniel Elzevier printed alone, a second edition

[1] The title of this Elzevier edition is here given in exact fac-simile, but the size of the folio itself in the original is 356 mm. by 215 mm. The side margins of this magnificent product of the press when Daniel Elzevier printed alone are not less than 49 mm. in width.

OPUS EPISTOLARUM

PETRI MARTYRIS

ANGLERII MEDIOLANENSIS,

Protonotarii Apoſtolici, Prioris Archiepiſcopatus Granatenſis, atque à Conſiliis Rerum Indicarum Hiſpanicis, tanta cura excuſum, ut præter ſtyli venuſtatem quoque fungi poſſit vice Luminis Hiſtoriæ ſuperiorum temporum.

Cui acceſſerunt

EPISTOLÆ

FERDINANDI de PULGAR

Coætanei Latinæ pariter atque Hiſpanicæ cum Tractatu Hiſpanico de Viris Caſtellæ Illuſtribus.

EDITIO POSTREMA.

AMSTELODAMI, Typis ELZEVIRIANIS.
Veneunt
PARISIIS,
Apud FREDERICUM LEONARD, Typographum Regium,
cIↃ IↃC LXX.

of these Epistles [1] and constant difficulty is found in identifying the letters in the two editions so far as their numbers are concerned. The first difficulty comes from the letter on the recto of folio A*iii* of the first edition addressed to Petrus Cobarruvias and dated from Quero or Quesada April 17, 1488. This letter has no number in the first edition, while in the Elzevier edition it is called No. XII. This enumeration makes a difference in the numbering of the letters throughout the latter edition. It is evident that the printer of this first edition has misplaced some of these letters. Letter No. LXVII., which will soon invite our study, is dated from Jaen, April 5, 1489. The letter No. LXVI., immediately preceding this, is also dated from Jaen, December 13, 1489, while the previous letter, No. LXV., is dated from Guadalajara, December 13, 1488. On the other hand we find letters No. LXXX., dated Jaen, January 4, 1490, No. LXXXI., dated Jaen, January 8, 1490, and No. LXXXII., dated Jaen, January 6, 1490. Letter No. LXXXIII. is dated Alcala, August 24, 1490.

The year 1491 was an unprofitable epistolary period for Peter Martyr and only two letters are dated in that year, both from the Camps before Granada. Letter No. XCI. is of interest since it is dated March 11, 1492, and is the first of

[1] This edition was prepared by the celebrated scholar Charles Patin, from a copy of the first edition printed at Alcala in 1530. Charles Patin was born at Paris February 23, 1633, and was the son of even a still more celebrated father, Guy Patin, Professor of Physics in the Royal College of Paris. Charles Patin, at the age of fourteen, wrote and published Greek and Latin theses on the several parts of philosophy. Between the years 1662 and 1682 he wrote and published in various countries no less than twenty-five important works. It is probable he read and prepared the letters of Peter Martyr for this edition either in Holland or Switzerland. The copy of the 1530 edition from which this was made was loaned by William Lamoignon, who was first President of the Parliament of Paris, and who sent his copy to Charles Patin in Holland. Because of this civility Daniel Elzevier prefaces his edition with a letter of praise to the illustrious Frenchman.

Nic. Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus.*, Madrid, 1788, vol. ii., 373, says that when F. Barbarini was nuncio to Spain from his brother, then Pope Urban VIII., about 1630, this 1530 edition had become so rare that he had to pay a very high price for even a manuscript copy, the work itself being unattainable. It is, of course, a very rare volume. The Elzevier edition is also getting to be quite rare and when we said that the reader should prefer the first edition we referred only to its historical importance. Bibliographically speaking, he should not rest content until he possesses both the Alcala and Elzevier editions. And then he should set himself the task of collecting the 1511 [with the map], 1516, 1530, 1533, 1555—English—and 1612 editions of the *Decades*. When he has all these he may ask for and wear with complacency the button of the Legion of Honour of the Brotherhood of American Collectors.

these epistles written from within the city of Granada. In the Elzevier edition of 1670 this letter is No. XCII. and the reader will have to observe the different enumeration in that edition. Harrisse advises the use of the Elzevier edition, in which counsel we cannot join, since in the end to verify any event or passage one must refer to the original edition, the one we are now considering, and especially since this is now to be found in the largest and best American libraries.

There is no letter No. CXIV. in the 1530 edition. Letter No. CXV., *Ad Bracharensem*, and dated from Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], Kalendas, Septembris M. CCCCXCII., is correctly numbered and at this point, and for this one letter, the numbers agree in the two editions. The next letter in the 1530 edition written to Bartholomeus Scandianus and dated Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], in Kalendas, Septembris M. CCCCXCII., is No. CXVII.—thus omitting entirely any No. CXVI.—which in the Elzevier 1670 edition is correctly numbered CXVI. From now on the 1530 edition is one number ahead of the 1670 edition. The letter to the Count of Tendilla, written from Burgos, and dated May 9, 1497, has no number in the 1530 edition, but is numbered CLXXV. in the 1670 edition, thus putting the numbers again in agreement. In the edition of 1670 letter CLXXXVII. is called CLXXXVIII., thus duplicating this latter number. The letter written to the Bishop of Braga and dated from Complutum [Alcala], June 5, 1498, duplicates the number of the preceding letter and is wrongly numbered CXCI. in the 1530 edition and rightly numbered CXCII. in the 1670. Thus we find the latter edition one number ahead of the 1530 edition. The letter to Petrus Fagiardus, dated from Cæsar Augusta [Saragossa], August 10, 1502, is a duplicate No. CCXLVI. What should be letter CCXLVII. is numbered CCLXVI., while the next written to the Archbishop and dated Toledo, September 11, 1502, is No. CCXLVIII. in the 1530 edition, and No. CCXLIX. in the 1670 edition, thus again placing the latter one number in advance of the former in numbering the letters. This enumeration continues until we reach the letter written *ad Fernando Aragonis*, and dated from Granada, December 25, 1504.[1] This letter in the 1530 edition is

[1] This is wrongly dated *Octavo Kalendas Januarii, M.D. IIII.* It should be *MDV.*

numbered CCLXXVI., while in the 1670 edition it is correctly numbered CCLXXX. The next letter begins the *Liber Decima Octavus* of the *Epistolæ*, and is No. CCLXXX. in the 1530 edition and No. CCLXXXI. in the 1670 edition. We have no further difficulty until we come to the beginning of *Liber Vigesimus*, when we find the folio numbered LXXII. instead of LXXVII. The contagion of error spreads to the epistles themselves, and the first letter is numbered CCCXXIIIII., while the following, written to Johannes Ruffus and dated from Turricremata, January 12, 1507, is numbered CCCXXV. In the 1670 edition this is called CCCXXVI., thus again putting the latter edition one number ahead. The next error occurs on the folio with signature KVII. [unmarked], which is numbered LXXVI. when it should be LXXIX. This error in the number of the leaf does not affect the numbering of the epistles. On the folio with signature L., numbered LXXXI., the numbers are again confused. Sometime in April, 1507, Peter Martyr became a guest in the country house of the Furnilli, or Fornilli, family, and twenty of the letters are dated from there. The letter dated June 17, 1507, is No. CCCXLVIII.; the next one, dated June 28, 1507, is No. CCCLXXI.; the one immediately following that, and dated July 5, 1507, is No. CCCL. This in the 1670 edition is No. CCCLI., or one number ahead for that edition. Letter CCCLVII. in the 1530 edition is dated from Furnillo sexto idus, Augusti MD. XXVII., instead of MD. VII. This advantage of one number for the 1670 edition is maintained until on the verso of the folio with signature MIIII., numbered XCII., the printer drops ten numbers and the letter which he should have called CCCCXIX.—even according to his strange numbering—he numbers CCCCIX. This shortage of ten continues through the next folio until the first letter on folio XCIIII. is numbered CCCCXXIX., corresponding to CCCCXXX. in the 1670 edition. Thus the two editions are again one number apart, the 1670 edition being ahead. On duplicate folio XCIX.—which should itself be marked *C* since it is the one hundredth leaf—the letter written to Fagiardus and dated from Seville, June 8, 1511, is numbered CCCCXLIIII., when according to his prevailing enumeration, it should be CCCCLIV. The next letter is numbered CCCCLV., while the corresponding letter in the 1670 edition is numbered CCCCLVI., thus again

putting the latter edition one number ahead. On folio CXII. the letter dated Lucronium, October 27, 1512, is numbered CCCCCXVIII., when the one immediately preceding is No. CCCCC. The following letter is numbered CCCCCXIX. The next is numbered CCCCCII. in the 1530 edition, while the same letter is No. DIV. in the 1670 edition; thus the latter is two numbers ahead. This relation is maintained until on folio CXVII., letter No. CCCCCXVIII. is the duplicate number of the preceding, and the following letter dated from Valladolid, June 5, 1513, is numbered CCCCCXIX. in the 1530 edition and DXXII. in the 1670 edition, thus placing the latter three numbers ahead in the system of enumeration. The letter beginning on the third line from the bottom on the verso of folio CXVII. has no number, but the following letter on folio CXVIII. is numbered CCCCCXXII. in the 1530 and DXXV. in the 1670 edition, thus keeping the latter edition three numbers ahead.

On the verso of folio CXXI., the letter addressed to Ludovicus Mendocius and dated from Valladolid, March 3, 1514, is numbered CCCCCXLIIII., notwithstanding the letter immediately preceding this is No. CCCCCXXXIII. The corresponding letter in the 1670 edition is No. DXXXVII. The next letter in the 1530 edition is numbered CCCCCXLV., corresponding to DXXXVIII. in the 1670 edition, where the year is given as M. D. XIII. instead of M. D. XIIII. Then the letters resume their old relation, the next following being CCCCCXXXVI. in the 1530, and DXXXIX. in the 1670 edition, a difference still of three numbers in favour of the latter edition. What should be letter CCCCCLIV. in the 1530 edition has the number CCCCCLV., while the following letter is also numbered CCCCCLV.; the following letter is numbered CCCCCLVI. in the 1530 edition, and DLIX. in the 1670 edition. In the 1530 edition *Liber Vigesimus Octavus* ends with the letter numbered CCCCCLXI. written to Marchionus Bellecensis and dated from Guadaloupe the day before the Kalends of January, 1515. This letter in the 1670 edition is DLXV. In the 1670 edition *Liber Vigesimus Octavus* ends with the letter DLXV. *and Liber Vigesimus Nonus* begins with letter DLXVI. written to Ludovicus Marlianus, and dated from Guadaloupe, January 23, 1516. The arrangement is curious in the 1530 edition. Letter CCCCCLXIII., written to the Marquis Mondeiaris [Ludovicus

Mendocius] from Guadaloupe, January 22, 1515, forms by itself *Liber Vigesimus Nonus.* Then another *Liber Vigesimus Nonus* begins with letter CCCCCLXV., written to Ludovicus Marlianus, and dated Guadaloupe, January 23, 1516, corresponding to the same letter beginning *Liber Vigesimus Nonus* in the 1670 edition and there numbered, as we have said, DLXVI. Thus the latter edition is one number in advance of the 1530 edition in its enumeration and this relation is continued until we reach, on the verso of folio CXXXI. in the 1530 edition, the letter addressed to Marlianus and written from Madrid, August 10, 1516, which is numbered CCCCCLXXV., corresponding to the same number [DLXXV.] in the 1670 edition, the two editions agreeing for the first time since almost the beginning of the book. This proper enumeration was too harmonious for the printer of the 1530 edition, and when he arrived at the letter addressed to the Marcioni, from Valladolid, November 10, 1517, instead of the number DCII., which it should have had, he gave it the number DCIII., thus placing the same letter in the 1530 edition one number ahead of that in the 1670 edition. This relation we find maintained until we reach the letter written to the Marcioni, dated December 10, 1519. In the 1530 edition this letter is without any number, while in the 1670 edition it is numbered DCL. In both editions the following letter is numbered DCLI., thus again bringing the two editions together in their enumeration. There is no change until we come to the letter written to the Great Chancellor from Valladolid, March 19, 1521, and which, in the 1530 edition, is without any number. It should have been numbered DCCXVI. The following letter in the 1530 edition is numbered DCCXVII. in both editions, and this identical enumeration proceeds until on folio CLXXII. we reach a letter written by Alfonsius Valdés to Peter Martyr, and to which the printer gave the number DCCXXIII., regarding it as a separate letter, although it is simply enclosed in the preceding one numbered DCCXXII. The printer of the 1670 edition understood this fact and included it in letter DCCXXII., but this error confuses the numbering again and the same letter in the 1530 edition is now one number in advance of that in the 1670 edition. Confusion soon again reigns in the printing establishment of Michael de Eguia, in Alcala, for when he begins *Liber Trigesimus Quintus* with the

letter to the Marcioni, or Marquises, written from Valladolid, and dated January 27, 1522, he gives it no number. If he had then gone on with a succeeding number the two editions would have been together, but the next letter he numbers DCCLII., while that same letter in the 1670 edition is DCCL. Thus the 1530 edition is two numbers ahead, but this is only maintained for a short distance. The letter written to the Marcioni from Valladolid, February 13, 1522, has no number whatsoever in the 1530 edition, while in the 1670 edition it is DCCLIII. The next letter in the first edition is numbered DCCLVII., while it is DCCLIV. in the 1670 edition, thus placing the same letter in the 1530 edition three numbers in advance of that in the second edition. This relationship is maintained until we reach the letter written to Pope Adrian VI., from Valladolid, August 13, 1523. This should be, even according to the printer's wild system of enumeration, DCCLXXXV., but he has made it DCCLXXXVI., and as the numbering in the 1670 edition has flowed regularly along, it places the 1530 four numbers in advance of the second edition. The first letter in *Liber Trigesimus Octavus* is not numbered in the 1530 edition. In the 1670 edition it should have been numbered DCCCIV., the letter next preceding, the one which closes *Liber Trigesimus Septimus*, having been numbered DCCCIII., but the printer, for the second time, lost control of his enumerating powers, and in humble imitation of his brother of the press in the sixteenth century, calmly added an extra number to his enumeration. Thus the Alcala, or 1530 edition, is three numbers in advance of the Elzevier, or 1670 edition, until the epistles end, the last being number 816 in the 1530 edition and 813 in the 1670 edition. As a parting exhibition of unconventionality, however, the Alcala printer called letter DCCCXV. by the unusual number DCCCVX. There are exactly 812 letters in this *Opus Epistolarum*. While the 1670 Elzevier edition evidently intended to improve the orderly arrangement of the first edition, it made the two errors mentioned, duplicating the number CLXXXVIII. and beginning book 38 with numbering the first letter DCCCV. instead of DCCCIV., as it should be. Notwithstanding the difficulty in numbering the letters in the first edition, we still insist on recommending the student to refer to it whenever he can find it, in preference to the edition printed by the Elzeviers.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST NEWS

GRANADA had surrendered on January 2, 1492, and a detailed account of the form and ceremony on the part of the Spanish conquerors in taking possession of the city might have been expected from such an observer, but Peter Martyr does not give us this account. In the first few letters from Granada he tells us much of the Jews and the public feeling which drove them first from commerce and then from Spain. His language would seem to indicate an earlier date for their formal expulsion than that of March 30, 1492, as given by historians, but we must remember that the discontent of the Christians over the wealth and power of the Jews had long existed and that the King and Queen had been importuned before to banish every unbaptised Israelite from the land. While history is compelled to fix upon Ferdinand and Isabella [1] the official responsibility for this fanatical and cruel act, their reluctance to take the step and the bold demand of the Inquisitor General, the Dominican Torquemada, expressing no doubt the feeling of the Spanish people, relieve them of something of the moral accountableness for the deed.

Letter CXXXI., addressed to Borromeus, is dated from Barcelona, May 14, 1493. It begins with a reference to the attempt on the life of Ferdinand, which occurred on the seventh of the preceding December, and which left the King long in a critical condition, but Peter Martyr exclaims, "The King still lives, escaped from the wicked deed which was hatched

[1] It must be remembered that there had been instituted in various of the Spanish cities Municipal Ordinances directed against the Jews and that these were not agreeable to the Queen, who recognised their injustice if not their impolitic character.

in the Infernal Regions."[1] The next passage in the letter contains the first reference to the discovery and the discoverer:

"Poſt paucos inde dies rediit ab antipodus occiduis Chriſtophorus quidam Colonus vir ligur, qui a meis Regibus ad hanc prouintiam tria vix impetrauerat nauigia, quia fabuloſa quę dicebat arbitrabuntur, rediit, precioſarum multarum rerum, ſed auri prȩcipue, quę ſuapte natura regiones illę generant, argumenta tulit, ſed aliena omittamus, Comes egregie, omittamus."

"A few days after there returned from the Western antipodes a certain[2] Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, who with barely three ships penetrated to that province which was believed to be fabulous: he returned bearing substantial proofs in the shape of many precious things and particularly of gold which is a natural product of these regions: but, Illustrious Count, we must pass over foreign matters."

It is well known that the Admiral, on his return from his first voyage, landed at Palos after the noon hour on Friday, March 15, 1493. The student cannot help complaining because Peter Martyr, so prolix in describing other events, has failed to tell us what we most want to know from him, the reception given Columbus and what passed between him and the King and Queen, in whose presence the young historian was also permitted to stand. But in this very paucity of matter is a

[1] Peter Martyr, in letter No. CXXVI., written on December 8, 1492 (wrongly dated November 8, 1492), the day after the attempted assassination of the King, gives an interesting account of that wild deed. From that we learn that the wretch's name was Cagnamares, a native of a country village near Barcelona, some sixty years of age, who crazily dreamed he should become King if Ferdinand were dead. The next letter, No. CXXVII., contains further news of the King's health, but it is wrongly dated XIX. Kalendas Januarii, MCCCCXCII. Of course the year should be 1493.

[2] Humboldt (vol. ii., p. 293, note) in commenting on this phrase, remarks:

An already acquired reputation and the long life of the most popular Greek prose-writer did not suffice to prevent the *nescio quis Plutarchus* of Aulus Gellius. *Noct. Att.*, xi., 16.

Humboldt has done an injustice to the author of *Noctes Atticæ*. In the passage quoted, it is not Aulus Gellius who is speaking, but "a certain person unlearned and ignorant of Greek," to whom Aulus Gellius is explaining certain Greek words, and it is this unlettered Greek who says *nescio quis hic Plutarchus*.

If there is any one author known to Aulus Gellius, it is Plutarch. He begins his first book by referring to him and indeed Plutarchus is the very first word printed in his work. In chapter xxvi. of Book I., we read:

"Sed quod et Plutarchus noster vir doctissimus et prudentissimus senserit non ab re est, ut id quoq; audias."

"But it is not immaterial what our Plutarch, a most learned and careful man, thought, and this you shall now hear."

Again in Book IIII., cap. xi., Aulus Gellius says:

"Plutarchus quoq; homo in disciplinis gravi auctoritate in primo librorum quos de Homero composuit."

"Plutarch, a man of great authority in teaching, in the first of the books he composed on Homer, etc."

proof of the genuineness of his epistles. If they were manufactured afterwards, or if they were changed and improved long afterwards, surely this particular letter would have tempted a decided elaboration. And if he was given to literary deception, some previous letter would have invited the insertion of a spirit of prophecy.

We come now to an important letter:

EPISTOLA CXXXIIII

P.M.A.M.Comiti Tendillę & Archiepiscopo Granatensi. cccclii

ATollite mentem sapientissimi duo senescentes,audite nouū inuentum. Meministis Colonum ligurem,institisse in castris apud Reges.de percurrēdo per occiduos antipodes, nouo terrarum Hemisperio,meminisse oportet.Quia de re vobiscum aliquando actū est.Nec sine vestro,vt arbitror,consilio rem hic aggressus est.Is rediit incolumis,mira se repisse prędicat:aurum,auriſodinarum in eis regionibus argumentum ostentat. Gosamium aromaticę,tū oblonga,tum teretia,caucaseo pipere acutiora,detulit.Quę,simul & coccineas arbores suapte natura tellus parit,occidentem secutus,a gadib? milia passuum,vti prędicat,quinqꝫ milia,in plures incidit insulas.Inter eas vnam captauit,quā maioris esse ambitus,q̄ Hispania vniuersa,asseuerat.Homines reperit natura contentos,nudos,cibis depastos natiuis,& pane radicali,ex Spitamalibus quibusdam fructetis internodiis plenis,quę ipsi terra suis contegunt temporibus,ex quorum internodiis singulis,singuli turgescunt globi,in piri,aut cucurbitulę similitudinem.Hos maturos,vti nos rapas,& rafanos eruunt,ad solem siccant,scindunt,terunt in farinam,pinsunt,coquunt,comedunt,vocant hos globos agies.Cœtera ex arboribus,vt plurimum edulia,a nostratibus diuersa. Quadrupes nullum insula gignit,præter immensos lacertos,minime tamen noxios,& cuniculi quoddam paruuli genus,quod nostros mures emulat. Reges habet gens hęc,& alios aliis maiores,fudibus, arundinibusqꝫ adustis pręacutis,& arcubus,intra se certant. Viget inter eos,quamuis nudi sint,imperii cupido, vxores ducunt, Quid colant pręter numen cœli,nōdum didicit.Tria colono dederatis nauigia, in eius insulæ littore, illisum super rupe aquis cooperta, plana, grandius amissit, cum duobus reliquis minoribus regressus est, octo & triginta viros,qui interea dum ipse reuertatur ad eos,locorum naturā scrutentur,in insula reliquit,commendauitqꝫ regulo eius puintię, quā triuit, noīe Guadcanarillo, nudo & illi,maior paratur classis,redibit.Quę succedent per me,si vixero,scietis.Valete Barchinonę,Idibus Septembris.M.cccccxcii.

Mira & nouis terris,& nudis gentibus.

LETTER 134

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Count Tendilla and the Archbishop of Granada:

Attention, you two most wise and venerable men, and hear of a new discovery. You remember Columbus, the Ligurian, who persisted when in the camps with the sovereigns, that one could pass over by way of the Western Antipodes to a new hemisphere of the globe: it is important you should recall it. Because the deed was in a measure due to you both. And I hold it true that without your counsel the thing had not been done. He

is returned safe and declares he has found wonderful things. He displays gold, a token of the gold mines in those regions. He brought away with him cotton, and spices both oblong in shape and smooth sharper than the pepper of Caucasia. The ground naturally produces all these things as well as the trees of scarlet dyes. Travelling westward five thousand miles from Cadiz as he relates, he happened upon many islands. Among these he captured one which he asserts is greater in circumference than the whole of Spain. He found men content with nature, naked, consuming native foods, and bread of roots; certain plants, the joints of which are frequent, are covered over in the ground for certain periods of time, from each joint of which grow round-shaped things like a pear or gourd. These they dig out when ripe as we do turnips and radishes, dry them in the sun, break them open, grind them into flour, crush them, cook and eat them. They call these vegetables by the name of Agies. There are other growths, many of which are edible, but differing from our trees. The island produces no quadrupeds, except immense lizards, yet not at all noxious and a certain species of small hares, which are comparable to our rats. This people have Kings and some among them are greater than others, and they contend among themselves with spears and rods burned to sharpened points and with bows. A desire for government exists among them even if they are naked; they take wives. He has not yet told what things they worship except the Deity of Heaven. You gave three ships to Columbus; he lost the largest on the shore of the island, which was dashed against a rock covered with water. With the two remaining smaller ones he returned; he left in the island eight and thirty men, who until he returns to them are to investigate the character of the places, whom he commended to the petty King of that Island, Guadcanarillus by name, who himself goes naked; he will return, a larger fleet is preparing for him. If I live you shall know from me what happens. Fare thee well.

BARCELONA, September 13, 1493.

The importance of this letter is in the passage where Peter Martyr's friend and patron, Count Tendilla, and his other friend, Hernando de Talavera, are declared to have promoted, if not actually decided, the project of Columbus. The successful man need never want for patrons. When the project is an accomplished fact, its promoters are numerous and post-prophets arise in great plenty and all indulge in much exultation. Columbus, the Ligurian, did not seem possessed of many friends or of over-warm supporters when he turned away from the Camp at Santa Fé. When he returned from the New World he was an Admiral, and he was an Admiral because he had found a new world. We are disposed to grant these two good men the honours due them as friends of Columbus and promoters of his

project. But the real friend of Columbus, his best patron,—the one individual without whom the expedition would not have been undertaken,—is mentioned in the preceding sentence. This was the one man who *insisted* and who *persisted*, Columbus himself, the *homo unius libri*,—the man with a single thought, a powerful soul committed to one supreme purpose, never turning aside, never slackening in his pace, pressing on past obstacles and hindrances, cheerful in adversity, confident when there was no light,—on, on to triumph. Whether he was inspired, elected, foreordained, it matters not. He thought he was all of these things, and the result was due to his own conception of himself.

The next letter is of the same date and is as follows:

EPISTOLA CXXXV

P.M. A. M. Ascanio Sforciæ Vicecomiti Cardinali Vicecancellario.

CXXXV
De ira & indignatione ad idos de caroli regis cogitatus post obitus ioannianum

TAnta est obsequēdi tibi, Princeps illustrissime, mea cupido, vt etiam summis rerū fluctibus implicito, gratum facturum putem, si quę accidunt apud nos tibi significauero. Mira res ex eo terrarum orbe, quem sol horarum quatuor & viginti spatio circuit, ad nostra vsq; tempora, quod minime te latet, trita cognitaq; dimidia tantum pars, ab aurea vt pote cherſoneſo, ad gades nostras Hispanas, reliqua vero a cosmographis pro incognita relicta est, Et si que mentio facta, ea tenuis & incerta. nunc autem. O beatum facinus. meorum regū auspiciis! quod latuit hactenus a rerū primordio, intelligi cœptum est. Res sic se habet, aduerte Princeps illustrissime, secuto occidentem solem a Gadibus, Christophorus quidam Colonus, vir ligur, prębitis illi a meis Regibus tribus nauigiis, perrexit ad antipodes, miliana supra quinq; milia. Tres & triginta continuos dies, cœlo tantum contentus & aqua, adnauigant. Terrā post hęc, e cauea grandioris nauis, qua Colonus ipse vehebatur, speculatores proclamant. Insulas percurrit ab equore sex. In ipsarum vna, quam Hispania maiorem esse cuncti, qui sunt illum secuti, rei nouitate pellecti, prędicant. In terram descendit. ibi dies aliquot immoratus, aurum, gossampium, aromata, ob longa, in cinami formā, & in piperis terctia, arbores coccineas, succinum, colorem glaucum, multarūq; rerum apud nos prętiosarum, copiam, terrā illam suapte natura gignere comperit, ex quacūq; re, in argumentū tullit tantillum. Reges habet insula plures, sed nudos, & cum eis omnes vtriusq; sexus, q̄uis natura cōtenta, vt pote nuda, soliſq; arborum cibis, & radicali quodam pane gens illa vescitur. Imperiti tamen est ambitiosa, sesecq; inuicem arcubus & pręacutis adustis sudibus, mutuis bellis ea cupiditate conficiunt, cogiturq; victus regulus, victori parere, ac si meum ac tuū, veluti inter nos, inter eos versaretur, lautiq; apparatus ac pecuniarum cumuli desiderarentur, qua nanq; re indigere nudos homines, putabis. cœtera quę succedent, si optare ista galli permittent significabo, fertur Karolum Regem dato iam Perpeniano per Episcopum Albigēsem de illustri Ambasię familię genere, accingere se vt ad vos eat. Dii bene vertāt. Valeatq; vtinā bene. Barchinonę Idibus Septēbris. M.cccc.xcii.

LETTER 135

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Ascanio Sforza, Viscount, Cardinal, and Vice Chancellor:

So great is my desire to comply with thy wishes, Illustrious Prince, that although thou art in the midst of most stirring events, I think it will procure me thy favour if I relate what has occurred here. It is a strange thing not at all unknown to thee, that of this world of ours about which the sun used to make his circuit in the space of twenty-four hours, only the half has been down to our times known and travelled, as far as from the Golden Chersonese to our own Spanish Gades, the remaining portion being left unknown by cosmographers. And if mention has been made of this, it is doubtful and without details. But now, oh, happy deed, that which from the beginning has been hidden to the very present, now under the auspices of my sovereigns is beginning to be known. Learn then, Illustrious Prince, that this is the thing which happened: A certain Christopher Columbus, a man of Liguria, followed the western sun from the Gades, with three ships furnished him by my sovereigns, and proceeded to the Antipodes, about five thousand miles. They voyaged for three and thirty consecutive days, blessed by both wind and wave. After that the explorers from the upper deck of the largest ship, which bore Columbus himself, proclaimed land. He hurriedly visited in those waters six islands. He landed on one of them which all his followers, allured by the novelty of the scene, declare to be larger than Spain. There he tarried some days. He ascertained that the land produced naturally gold, cotton, spices in form like cinnamon and smooth like pepper, trees of scarlet dyes, the juices of which make a bluish-grey colour, and many other things most precious to us, small samples of which things he brought away. The island has many Kings, but naked, as indeed all are of both sexes. This people, wholly content by nature, naked as they are, feed only on such nourishment as comes from trees, with a kind of bread made of roots. Notwithstanding, they are fond of government, and owing to this desire they wage wars against each other, with bows and with pikes burned into very sharp points. The King who is conquered is considered to be subject to the conqueror. And the principle of Meum and Tuum has a part in their lives as it has among us; and so the things belonging to luxury and the accumulation of money are sought by them, a thing you would hardly think necessary for naked people. I will notify you of what other things happen, if the French will let me have my way; it is said that King Charles, Perpignan having been given by the Albigensian Bishop [of the illustrious Amboise family] is equipping himself to go against you. May the Gods turn their countenances on you. Fare well, and so may all be well.

BARCELONA, September 13, 1493.

EPISTOLA CXXXVI

cccxvi

De insulis a castellanis a portugalē filio in occiduo pactis circuli cui regibus nris sit pax data in perpetuum.

P.M.A.M. Archiepiſcopo Bracharenſi.

COnſueui hactenus de vna tantū re ſcribere, tria tibi nunc eſt animus ſignificare. Colonus quidam, occiduos adnauigauit, ad littus vſq; indicum (vt ipſe credit) antipodes. Inſulas reperit plures, has eſſe de quibus fit apud coſmographos mentio, extra oceanum orientale, adiacentes indie arbitrantur. Nec inficior ego penitus, quamuis ſpherę magnitudo aliter ſentire videatur, neq; enim deſunt qui paruo tractu a finibus Hiſpanis diſtare littus indicum, putēt, vt cumq; ſit, magna ſe reperiſſe predicant. De his quę dicit, ſigna tulit, maiora ſe inuenturum pollicetur. Nobis ſatis, quod latens dimidia orbis pars, in lucē veniat, & Portugalenſes indies magis ac magis equinoctiali ſe circulo ſubiiciunt. Ita ignota hactenus littora, peruia cūcta, efficientur propediem, alter nanq; alterius emulatione, ſeſe laboribus ac periculis exponit ingentibus ad cetera veniamus. . . . . .

LETTER 136

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to the Archbishop of Braga (Petro Inghirami):

Formerly it was my custom to write you on one subject, now it is my purpose to communicate to thee three things. A certain Columbus has sailed to the Western Antipodes, even, as he believes, to the very shores of India. He has discovered many islands beyond the Eastern ocean adjoining the Indies, which are believed to be those of which mention has been made among cosmographers. I do not wholly deny this, although the magnitude of the globe seems to suggest otherwise, for there are not wanting those who think it but a small journey from the end of Spain to the shores of India; however this may be, they declare that a great thing has been accomplished. Concerning the things of which he speaks he brought proofs; greater things still are promised to be discovered. It is enough for us that the hidden half of the globe is brought to light and that day by day the Portuguese go farther and farther beyond the equinoctial circle itself. Regions hitherto unknown, as if they were all so many thoroughfares, will soon be explored. For one nation emulating the example of another, sets forth on labours and great dangers. We come now to other matters. . . .

BARCELONA, October 1, 1493.

The next letter to speak of Columbus is No. 139, written to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and dated from the Court, which was still at Barcelona, November 1, 1493. After speaking of the letters brought him by Garcias Caynas from the Archbishop, Peter Martyr says:

"Bracharenſi Archiepiſcopo ſignificetur Ioānem Portugalię Regem, qui illum & patrum ei? Cardinalem erexit, interiiſſe, magni quippe animi Rex erat."

Here again Hallam [1] might charge Peter Martyr with an anachronism, for John II., King of Portugal, did not die until October 25, 1495. The treaty made at Tordesillas June 7, 1494, was signed by him in the latter part of the same year. And yet Peter Martyr only repeats something, a passing rumour, perhaps that very day brought in and which simply says that the Archbishop of Braga has heard that King John had died. Epistolary correspondence with its flying report and its *oui-dire* is scarcely history. The next passage, with which the letter closes, refers to Columbus:

"Colon? ille noui orbis repertor, Architalaſſus (quem Hiſpani admiraldū vocant) maris indici, ab occidente a meis Regibus effectus, cum decem & octo nauium claſſe milleq; armatis, & opificibus omnifariam, ad nouam vrbem condendam remiſſus eſt, animaliaq; ac ſementes omnis ganeris [*sic*], ſecum affert. Valete ſi per gallos ad vos euntes licuerit in Kalendas Nouẽbris ex curia. M.CCCCXCIII."

"Columbus, he who discovered the New World, the Sea-Chief of the Indian Ocean (whom the Spaniards call Admiral), appointed for the western lands of my sovereigns, with eighteen ships and a thousand soldiers and artificers of every sort, has been sent back to build a new city and he carries with him animals and seeds of all kinds. Fare thee well, if only these may be permitted to reach you by the French who are marching against you. From the Court, November 1, 1493."

The next Columbian letter is as follows:

EPISTOLA CXLI

cxli

De indicis reb⁹/Almi rãtis vocat colonus.

P.M.A.M. Archiepiſcopo Granatenſi.

Vę de bellico tumultu accidunt ad illuſtrem noſtrum comitem ſcribo, perturbari nanq; huiuſce cruẽtis narrationi bus ſanctum animum tuũ per ſupernos orbes continue incedentem, nequaq; licere arbitror. Colonum ex ea prouincia honorifica redeuntem, admiraldum oceani maris Rex & Regina Barchinonę erexerunt, ſedereq; illũ coram ipſis quod eſt (vt noſti) ſupręmum apud Reges noſtros beniuolẽtie & honoris, obres preclare geſtas, tributi argumẽtum fecerunt. De hinc claſſem illi decem & octo nauium munitam, qua regreſſus eſt, ſunt impartiti. Magna pollicetur ſe detecturũ, ad occiduos antarticoſq; antipodes. Nil aliud eſt quod nũc referri poſſit, propediem complutum, quod Alcala de henares dicitur, proficiſcemur. Inde recentiores habebitis literas meas, qui propriores eritis nobis. Ex Valleoleti pridie Kalendas Februarii. M. cccc.xciiii.

[1] See note on Hallam's criticism at end of our essay on Peter Martyr.

LETTER 141

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to the Archbishop of Granada:

I communicate the things which happen in the war-like disturbance to our illustrious Count [Tendilla], for I do not think it right to disturb with stories of these horrors, thy contemplative spirit, which may continue fastened on celestial things. The King and Queen at Barcelona have created an Admiral of the Ocean-Sea Columbus, returned from his most honourable charge and they have admitted him to sit in their presence which is, as you know, a supreme proof of benevolence and honour with our Sovereigns. A furnished fleet of eighteen vessels has returned to the New World. Great things are prophesied as about to be discovered in the western and southern antipodes. We are to depart soon for Complutum, which is called Alcala de Henares. Thence you will have my more recent letters as you will be nearer to us. From Valladolid, January 31, 1494.

CHAPTER X

"THE NEW WORLD"

THE following letter is likewise of interest:

EPISTOLA CXLIII

P.M.A.M. Io. Borromeo aurato equiti ci-
ui mediol. Comiti lacus verbani,

. . . . mira indies magis ac magis ab or-
be nouo, per colonum eum ligurem prefectum maritimum, ob res bene gestas a meis Regi-
bus effectum, afferuntur. Auri copia ingens, in terre superficie reperitur. per curriſſe inquit ſe,
ab Hiſpaniola rotati orbis ad occidentem tantum terr̃, vt auream fere cherſoneſum ab orien
te cogniti orbis termini vltimi attigerit, duas tantum horas de quattuor & viginti, quibus ſol
ambiens perlabitur. vniuerſum ſe putat reliquiſſe. homines reperit humana carne depaſtos.
Canibales vocat vicinia eorum, & hos nudos veluti vniuerſa eſt gens illa, libros cœpi de tante
rei inuento perſcribere. Si dabitur viuere, n. memoratu dignum prętermittam, qualeſcunq;
decuſſi eiadent, illorum ad te mittetur exemplar. Prębebo ſaltem viris doctis, magna ſcribere
agredſetibus, ingens ac nouum materię pelagus. Valete. Ex oppido cõpluto in oretania quod
dicitur Alcala, xiii. Kalendas Nouembris, M.ccccxcliii.

cxliii

Epyſtola petri martyris mediolanensis de insulis nuper inuentis

LETTER 143

Peter Martyr, &c., to John Borromeo, Knight of the Golden Spur, citizen of Milan, Count of Lake Maggiore:

. . . Day by day more and more marvellous things are reported from the New World through Columbus the Ligurian, who has been created an Admiral of the Ocean by my sovereigns on account of good services. A great quantity of gold has been discovered on the surface of the ground. He [the Admiral] declares that he has pushed his way from Española so far toward the West that he has reached the Golden Chersonese, which is the farthest extremity of the East. The Admiral thinks that there remains for him to discover only the space covered by two of those four and twenty hours consumed by the encircling sun in his daily passage. He discovered men feeding on human flesh, who are called by their neighbours cannibals,

and these go naked, as in fact do all the others of that race. I have begun to write a work concerning this great discovery. If I am suffered to live I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded, and whatever portions of this work come out of the press a copy shall be sent you. At all events I shall supply the learned world, in undertaking the history of great things, with a vast sea of new material. Fare thee well. From the town of Complutum in Oretania, which is called Alcala.

October 20, 1494.

The importance of this letter is three-fold. To begin with, this learned man, the first historian of America, recognises the geographical fact that the lands discovered by Christopher Columbus are in a new world, another world. This is the earliest application of the phrase in any dated document. Columbus himself uses it in his holograph *Journal* of the third voyage, when, in August, 1498, he was trying to get out of the Gulf of Ballena. Addressing the sovereigns, he says: "Your Highnesses will gain these lands, so very great, which are ANOTHER WORLD. . . ."

In the letter written by Simon Verde to Mateo Cini, January 2, 1499, he says: "I have read a letter which the Admiral has written to the Sovereigns expressing great hopes on the subject of his enterprise. . . . And it is certain that the Admiral has exhibited a grand courage and genius in discovering *another world—altro mondo.*" Therefore Peter Martyr, so far as we know, makes use of this expression, the New World, for the first time, and he continues its use in almost every reference he makes to America for the next twenty years and more.

In the second place, this is the earliest use—outside the *Journal*—of the term "Cannibal" with which we are acquainted. Columbus first mentions these Indians in his *Journal* under date of November 23, 1492, when certain of the natives said that in Bohio were *canibales* who devoured men. In the first Spanish letter the Admiral speaks of "an island which is here the second in the journey to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people[1] whom in all the islands they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh." In the Latin or Cosco letter he simply alludes to them as a people in "a certain island called Charis." The reader will recall that Nicolaus Syllacius wrote an account of

[1] Columbus, in his memorial to the sovereigns, which he sent back by Antonio de Torres, calls these Indians *Canibales.*—Navarrete, vol. i., p. 231.

the first part of the second voyage, and accompanied it with a statement of its composition and dated it Pavia, December 13, 1494. On the second expedition of Columbus, in the latter part of October of the year 1493, the Admiral fell in with some islands before he reached Española. Syllacius says: *Insulæ canaballis parent: gens illa effera et indomita carnibus vescitur humanis quos anthropophagos jure nuncupaverim*: "These islands belong to the Cannibals: this people, wild and indomitable, feed on human flesh: by right I might call them anthropophagi." The account is much like the narration of Dr. Chanca, who wrote home by the returning expedition of Antonio de Torres, which left Navidad February 2, 1494. His letter no doubt was read by Peter Martyr, who, struck with the name, quotes it to his correspondent in this letter and thus it is adopted into the language. But it is also probable that Peter Martyr was himself favoured with a letter from the Admiral.

The third interesting and important point in this letter is Peter Martyr's announcement of his purpose to write a serious, continuous relation of the discoveries in the New World:

Libros cæpi de tantæ rei invento perscribere. Si dabitur vivere, nil memoratu dignum præter mittam, qualescunque decussi evadent, illorum ad te mittetur exemplar.

"I have begun to write a work concerning this great discovery. If I am suffered to live, I shall omit nothing worthy of being recorded; and whatever portions of this work come out of the press, a copy shall be sent you."

This is the first intimation we have of the wise literary project of our historian. He knew that such a discovery as Columbus made when he opened to Spain and the world a new hemisphere must be followed by many interesting events, moral and entertaining, and that a relation of them should be preserved in the only permanent method,—that of reproducing them in countless copies from the imperishable type. We also know from the letter written by Angelo Trivigiano to Domenico Malipiero that the narrative account of the first three voyages of Columbus was completed before the summer of the year 1501.

We again direct attention to the fact that this historian as early as October, 1494, calls the lands discovered by Columbus the New World.

CHAPTER XI

NEWS FROM THE SECOND VOYAGE

THE next letter, numbered CXLV., is written jointly to the Archbishop of Braga and to the Bishop of Pampelune (Alfonso Cavillo), and dated from Alcala, October 31, 1494. Only this passage, referring to the return of part of the large fleet, is of Columbian interest:

". . . De nuper autem ab occidente hemiſperii antipodum rebus repertis heç audite. Idem Colonus prefectus maritimus cum decem & octo nauium claſſe, vt in ea inſula. Hiſpaniola, ab ipſo vocitata, vbi pedem fixerat, ciuitatem condere ſtuderet, miſſus eſt, cœteraq; vt vlteriora littora percurreret, claſſis partem maio rem remiſit. Mira referuntur, hec vt conſcribam nuncii celiritas non patitur."

". . . But hear what things have lately been discovered at the Antipodes in the Western hemisphere. This same Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean, is sent with a fleet of eighteen vessels, that he may set about building a city in that island Española, as he calls it, where he has settled, and that he may explore other and further regions. He has sent back the larger part of his fleet. Marvellous things are related. These I would describe, but the impatience of the messenger will not suffer it."

This, so far as we know, is the first use of the expression, *the Western hemisphere*. The news here told was reported when there arrived in Spain the fleet of twelve vessels sailing from La Navidad, February 2, 1494. The Admiral, we are assured, was himself a correspondent of our historian. The officers, sailors, and adventurers returning with the fleet were subject to personal and searching inquiries by the indefatigable chronicler, and we may be sure he exhausted every possible source of information. Peter Martyr, then, is the author of two famous phrases, both descriptive of the regions newly discovered, and which are

in use to this our day,—the *New World* and the *Western hemisphere*. History has insisted that neither then nor ever did Christopher Columbus realise he had landed elsewhere than on the shores of Asia. Here was a scholar within the gates of Hercules across the seas, interpreting the news he had from Columbus and his companions, and accurately describing the geographical situation of the new discoveries. For ourselves, we believe the Discoverer himself had an appreciative knowledge of the import of his discovery.

EPISTOLA CXLVII

P. M. A. M. Pomponio Leto viro insigni amico.

cxlvii

Leuchipo nię.

. . . . . Inter has Italię procellas magis indies ac magis, alas protendit Hispania, imperium auget, gloriam nomenq; suũ ad antipodes porriget, a Bracharensi & Pampilonensi pręsulibus quęrito, quę ad illos de nuper altero ab occidente hemisperio reperto, scripserim, tuq; illis hęc super adduta referto, quom eos habeas (quia sunt amatores bonarum artium) in amicorum numero. Ex nauibus decem & octo, quas a meis Regibus ipsi Colono almirante (vt aiunt Hispani) prefecto maritimo datas, ad secundam nauigationem ad eos memini me scripsisse, duodecim rediere, suapte natura referunt, qui ab eo hactenus orbe latẽti redeunt, tellurem illam, coccineas, ingentes siluas, gossampium, atq; alia multa apud nos preciosa, enutrire. Sed prẽter cætera nõ paruam auri copiam. Proh mirum Pomponi. In terrę superficie globos reperiunt aureos, rudes, natiuos, tanti ponderis, vt pudeat fateri. Vnciarum ducentarum quinquaginta nonnullos reperere, multo maiores se reperturos sperant, vti nostris insinuant nutibus incolę, quom nouerint nostros aurum magnifacere. Nec fuisse Lestrigones, vel Polyphemos, humanis carnibus depastos, dubites, aduerte, & caue ne horrore tibi insurgant aristę. Quom ex fortunatis (quas volunt alii qui canarias) mouetur ad Hispaniolam, hoc nanq; nomine insulam, in qua pedem figunt, appellant, proras aliquantulum si verterint ad me meridiem, in insulas incidit̃ innumeras, ferorum hominum, quos vocant caniballes siue caribes, hi, quamuis nudi, bellatores sunt egregii. Arcubus & claua maxime valent, lintres habent vnilígneos, multicapaces, canoas vocant, quibus ad vicinas insulas mitium hominum, trafficiunt turmatim. Pagos incolarum adorsiuntur, quos capiunt homines, comedunt recentes. Pueros castrant, vti nos pullos. Grandiores pingioresq; effectos iugulant, comeduntq;, argumento nostris id fuit, q̃ applicantibus se nauigiis, in solita mole nauium territi, domos Caniballes deseruere, ad montanaq; ac densa nemora profugere. Ingressi domos canibalium nostri, quas habent extrabis bus erectis constructas, spericas, appensas trabibus sale cõdĩtas hominum pernas, vt nos suillas solemus, & nuper occisi iuuenis caput, adhuc sanguine aspersum, atq; in ollis elixandas, anserinis & psitacinis permixtas, eius iuuenis partes, & verubus assandas, igni appositas alias reperere. vna naui canibalicam Reginam cõmitatam filio, sexq; aliis viris deprehensam, venatu redeuntem, apprehenderunt. Ex incolis neminem consequi potuerunt. Triginta vtriusq; sexus tamen ex his, quos veluti in stabulis cõmẽdandas vitulas, seruabant, ad nostros profugere, quos ex vicinis insulis raptauerant, ab his multa didicere, quę aliquando habebis.

LETTER 147

Peter Martyr, etc., to his friend, that distinguished man, Pomponius Lætus:

. . . While these disturbances are going on in Italy, Spain spreads her wings more and more over the Indies, widens her dominion, stretches her glory and name to the antipodes. Ask of the prelates of Braga and Pampelune what I have written them concerning the second discovery lately made in the Western hemisphere: and thou shalt be included since you hold them, who are lovers of good things, in the number of friends. I recall that I wrote them about the second expedition consisting of eighteen vessels which my Sovereigns gave to Columbus (the Admiral-in-Chief, as the Spaniards call him) of the Ocean-sea, and that twelve of these vessels had returned from this new world conceded up to this time, and that this land produces dye-woods, remarkable forests, cotton, and many other precious things: and, more than everything else, no small quantity of gold. And oh! wondrous thing, Pomponius, they discovered on the surface of the earth grains of gold, unwrought and natural, and of such weight that I am almost ashamed to relate it. They found about fifty nuggets weighing a couple of hundred ounces, and they are confident they will find larger ones as the inhabitants intimate to our sailors by signs, since they seem to know that our people make much of the gold. Learn and beware, lest your hair stand on end with horror, that there are in that place Læstrygonians and Polyphemi feeding on human flesh. From the Fortunate Islands, which some call the Canaries, an advance is made to Española (as the island is named) in which they are settled, they bend their course a little toward the south, and they have fallen in with numerous islands inhabited by ferocious men called cannibals or Caribs, who, although naked, are skilled warriors. They are very effective with their bows and a great shaft; they have boats made from a single tree, holding a large number of persons, which they call canoes, with which they cross over in bands to neighbouring islands in which the inhabitants are of a peaceable character. They assail the inhabitants and eat such as they capture. They dismember the young as we do our young fowls. They cut the throats of the larger and fatter captives and eat them. A proof of this was offered our men, when the ships having been brought to land, the cannibals, terrified at the unusual size of the vessels, fled from their houses to the mountains and thick groves. Our people entered the houses of the cannibals, which are constructed of upright reeds; joints of salted human flesh were hanging from the roofs, just as we might do with pork; and they found the head of a youth lately severed still dripping with blood, and other parts of the body boiled in pots together with portions of geese and parrots and other things ready for the fire. They captured a cannibal queen with her son returning from the chase; none was able to follow; thirty-six others of these whom they had stolen from the neighbouring islands, preserved in stalls like calves ready for eating, fled to our people. Much more might be added, but sometime you will hear further. . . .

COMPLUTUM, ALCALA, December 5, 1494.

Humboldt found some difficulty in reconciling the matter in the next important letter, numbered CLIII., with its date. As we have already said, the fleet of twelve vessels under command of Antonio de Torres and bearing the earliest intelligence of the second expedition set sail from Española on its return voyage, February 2, 1494, and it was on the sixteenth day of March, in the year 1494, that it anchored off Cadiz. The letter is written to Julius Pomponius Lætus d'Amendalaro, and is dated IV. Kalend. Januarii, MCCCCXCIV., which is December 29, 1493. It gives an account of the results of the voyage and of the sad fate which overtook the three and forty men left in La Navidad when Columbus returned on his first voyage. The date is simply an error, and should have been written IV. Kalend. Januarii, MCCCCXCV. The several letters which precede this are dated in December, 1494, and the fourth letter after this, the one numbered CLVII., also written to Pomponius Lætus, is dated from Alcala, IV. Idus Januarii MCCCCXCV., which is January 10, 1495. This is the more clear from an allusion in this to his "former letter written a few days since," and which he thinks may have gone astray. The following is the famous letter which we think was composed after receiving a letter from Columbus himself and not from having perused the letter written by Dr. Chanca or the correspondent of Nicolaus Syllacius.

EPISTOLA CLIII

cliii

P.M.A.M.Pōponio lęto viro ínſigní doctrína,amico.

Decobe no uo multa.

PRę lętitia proſiliſſe te, vixq; alachrymis prægaudio temperaſſe, quando líteras aſpexiſti meas,quibus de antípodum orbe latentí hactenus,te certiorem feci,mí ſuauiſſime Pomponí,inſinuaſti.Ex tuis ípſe líteris colligo,quíd ſenſeris, ſenſiſtí autem, tantíq; rem feciſti, quanti vírum ſumma doctrína. ínſignitum decuit, quis nanq; cibus ſublímibus preſtarí poteſt ingenís íſto ſuauíor? quod condimentum gratius? a me fatío conſecturam. Beari ſentío ſpíritus meos, quando accítos alloquor prudentes alíquos, ex his quí ab ea redeunt prouíncía, ímplícent animos pecuniarū cumulís augēdis míserí auarí. Líbídinibus obſcœní,noſtras nos mentes,poſtquam deo plení alíquandíu fuerím?, contemplando,huíuſcemodí rerum notítia demulceamus.Habebís íſta ígítur Pōponí,modo líceat per Bracharenſem Pampílonenſemq; meos pręſules, ad quos ſcríbere íſta ſoleo,poſtquam deſíí ad Aſcanīū, quem procellís vndíq; circumſeptum variís,animum curís grauibus habere peſſundatum vídeo.Ad rem veníam?, príma nauígatione Colonus maris índící prefectus (dícítur Hiſpaníce almírantus) in Hiſpaníola octo& trígínta vírosín Guadcanarílli Regis& ípſí nudo,prouínciam relíquerat,quí tellurís íllíus naturam,dum ípſe redíret,explorarent. Hos reperít omnes,quom redíit,trucídatos: & aggeres,quos ad habítaculum íllís & tutelam condíderat,equatís ſolo foſſís,díſcerptos,combuſtoſq;. Guadcanarillus, quí noſtrís aduentantíbus,profugerat, tādem repertus coactuſq; de vírís,ín eíus cuſtodía relictís,ratíonem reddere,Cannaboam Regem montíum, eundemq; potentiſſimum, ípſíus Regnum armís ínuaſiſſe, q; noſtros ſuſcepiſſet, noſtroſq; eo ínuíto, la-

chrymis etiam obortis, & de Cannaboa conquerens (vti per signa colligere fas fuerat) trucidasse innuebat. Rem dissimulare Colonus ipse Almirantus sanctus duxit, ne insularum animos perturbaret, in alia tempora, Lucas admissi sceleris vindictam, statuit differre. Qui rediere cum duodecim illis nauibus, quas supra memorauí, mira de regionis illius vbertate, de spe reperiendarum operum, de aeris temperie, quamuis sint proximi tropico cancri, nam equa est illis fere diei toto anno nox, de aurea illorum incolarum ætate, de moribus referunt. Vrbem condere Colonus, vti ad me nuper scripsit, nostras sementes facere, animalia nutrire nostratia, incipit. Quid iam mirabimur, Satui nos, Cereres, & Triptolemos, noua inuenta hominibus præbuisse? Quid fœnices vt Sidona, vt Tyrũ, conderent, quid tyrios ipsos, vt alias regiones inhabitarent, ad alienas terras migrasse, nouasq; vrbes erexisse, nouos populos formasse. Miratur gens illa turbarum tympanorumq; sonitus, Machinarum stupet tonitruis, equorum greffu, cursu, ortu mussitat, hęret ab omni rerũ nostratiũ aspectu. Attonita pendet ore aperto. Ex cœlo missam gentem hanc putant, sed tunc pro diis colere nostros cœperunt, quando captos ex itinere septem canibales cum eorum Regina, qui eos comedunt, truculentos ostenderunt, vinctos etiam horrore summo cum pauore videbant. Auersa illos facie spectabant. Hispaniola hęc insula, folií castaneę formam emulatur, aiunt e septemtrione articum eleuari polum gradibus sex & viginti, a meridie vero vnum & viginti, ab oriente ad occidentem produci inquiunt, & elongari spheręq longitudinis gradus decem nouem. A gadibus per occiduum distat gradus, vt aiunt, qui accurate rem dimetiuntur, nouem & quadraginta. Hęc pauca nunc habeto, habiturus aliquando plura. Et vale scribo ista non quando accidunt, sed quando a te de mea euocantur officina. iiii. Kl̃as Ianuarii. M.cccxciiii.

LETTER 153

Peter Martyr to his friend, Pomponius Lætus, a man distinguished for his learning:

Thou hast been transported with pleasure, my most dear Pomponius, and scarcely able to restrain thy tears, when thou hast inspected my letters in which I have made known to thee the news of the world of the Antipodes, until this time hidden. I gather from thine own letters what are thy feelings, and thy sentiments are well becoming so worthy and learned a man. What food could be more agreeable, what flavouring more grateful to elevated souls! I judge from my own feelings. I feel my own spirits buoyant when I hold converse with those who have actually returned from that country! Let the avaricious heap up riches! Let the wicked give themselves over to their pleasures! As for ourselves turning our thoughts inward, after praising God, we may well enjoy a reading of such great events. You have had an account of these, Pomponius, from the letters I have addressed to my friends of Braga and Pampelune, for no longer do I correspond with Ascanius since I have beheld his soul overwhelmed by various storms and weighed down by heavy cares. To return to our subject,—Columbus, the leader of the Ocean-sea (he is called Admiral by the Spaniards), left on his first expedition at Española, a Province of the King Guadcanarillus, himself accustomed to go without vestments, thirty-eight men who were to investigate the character of the country until the Admiral's return. When he did return, he found all these murdered and the

fortified mound which he had built and which was to be their home and fortress had been burned and destroyed and the defences levelled. Guadcanarillus had fled at the approach of our people, but he was found and there was demanded of him an account of the men who had been left in his care. He accused Cannaboa, a King of the Mountains, a powerful chief, who had invaded his own kingdom because he had entertained our people. With tears in his eyes, he intimated (as was gathered by signs) that our people had caused the difficulty for which they had been killed by Cannaboa. Admiral Columbus himself considered it better to dissemble in order not to disturb the minds of the islanders, and he determined to postpone to some other time the punishment for this wickedness. Those who have returned with twelve of the ships mentioned above, relate marvellous things concerning the richness of that country; of the hope of discovering yet others; of the temperate climate, very near as it is to the Tropic of Cancer, and during almost the entire year the night is equal to the day; of the customs of the natives such as might belong to the Golden Age. Columbus, as he has lately written me, has begun the building of a city and the planting of our seeds and the raising of cattle. Why longer should we admire the Saturns and Ceres and the Gods of husbandry for having taught men new inventions? Why should we admire the Phœnicians for having built Sidon and Tyre, or the people of Tyre themselves for having emigrated to other lands, for founding new cities and colonising other regions with new peoples? This people are astonished at the sound of our trumpets and drums, stupefied by the thunder of our cannon, speechless at the prancing, running, and trappings of our horses; perplexed at the sight of everything belonging to us. They stand in open-mouthed astonishment. They think our people have come from heaven, but now they begin to regard us as gods when they see seven cannibals and their Queen, whom our people have taken *en route* and who have eaten their friends: even as bound captives they regard them cringingly and dare not look them in the face. This island of Española is in shape like the leaf of a chestnut tree: it is situated in twenty-six degrees of latitude on its northern side and twenty-one on its southern, while from east to west it is elongated some nineteen degrees. According to those who have accurately measured it, they say it is forty-nine degrees westward from Cadiz. Thou hast these few details now, later thou shalt have more. And so, farewell. I write these things not when they happen, but when they are drawn out of my library by thee.

December 29, 1494.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOIL OF THE NEW WORLD

As we have already seen, these letters of Peter Martyr formed the groundwork for his history. He doubtless kept copies of such as he wrote to distinguished correspondents, and afterwards elaborated them into whole chapters for the *Decades*.

For instance, the following letter to Pomponius Lætus, and which may be considered as a continuation of the one last given (letter 153), was incorporated into the second and third books of his *First Decade*, although in the work itself the second book is presumed to be written to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. The reader may compare the brief reference in the present letter to the hammocks used by the Indians with the fuller description in the second book of the *First Decade*.

In the present letter, Peter Martyr barely touches on the fertility of Española, while in the third book of the *First Decade* he treats the marvellous fecundity of the soil at great length and cites an instance where "a certain farmer sowed a little wheat about the Kalends of February (a thing marvellous indeed in the sight of all), and on the third day of the Kalends of April, which fell this year on the vigil of the resurrection of our Lord, he carried a handful of the ripened grain into the city." We recommend, therefore, a careful reading of the *Epistolæ* with the *Decades* of both the 1511 and 1516 editions.[1]

[1] The bibliographer will be interested to see the marked differences between these two editions. For instance, in the reference to the hammocks in the 1516 edition, Peter Martyr has changed the word "bombasine" to the word "gossampine," and says that the Spaniards commonly called this cotton texture "algodonus," while the Italians called it "bombasine." We find that Richard Eden undoubtedly made his English translation of the *Decades* from the 1516 or 1533 edition, and probably never saw the very rare edition of 1511. This translation was published at London by William Powell in 1555 and constitutes the earliest collection of voyages printed in the English language. It has a map of the New World. Some examples have a map of Muscovia.

EPISTOLA CLVII

P.M. A.M. Pomponio Lęto viro ſingulari doctrina amico dilecto.

clvii. De grādis Hiſpaniolę deſillaq; terraruꝫ q̄ celi natura de mō viuendi q̄ de regiis domibꝰ ſiue nudi.

VIs Pomponi mi chariſſime, vt latius, vt capatioribus tibi tabellis minuta queq; de nouo orbe recitem, non detrecto mandata tua, vir inſignis, ſed eo pedibus in ſuſſa tua. Vis locorum tractus, vis longitudinis & latitudinis gradus, vis terrarum & gētium naturam. De his omnibus non multis ante diebus ad te ſcripſi, ſed cum (vti video) intercepta fuerit epiſtola, aut forte, ſi portum attigit, cum hęc tua a te dimitteretur, non dum tibi fuerat in portu porrecta, breuibus pauca repetam. Scripſi longitudinem eius eſſe graduum polarium, decimūnonum, latitudinem. qnto diſtare aiunt a gadib⁹ p longitudinem orientalem, gradus quadraginta nouē, non recta tñ pœnitus ad occidentem, eleuatur enim gaditanis polus gradus nondum ſex & triginta inſularibus vero illis vnum & viginti a meridie, a ſeptemtrione vero ſex & viginti, varii tamen de gradibus varia ſentiunt, ſtellę pollaris motum errorem iſtum arbitror enutrire. ſunt nanq; qui tollant, quiq; augeant rationem vtranq;, terrę illi⁹ natura fortunatur vberrime. Quantum pręcioſis rebus abundet ſcripſi alias. Radicali patrię illius pane veſci malūt noſtri, q̄ tritico, q; ſapidi ſit guſtus, faciliuſq; ſtomacho concoquat. Vtrunq; ſunt experti, aiunt a nocte toto anno parum diſcrepare diem, nec ſpherę ratio aduerſatur, nec vigere ibi calores immenſos, nec vlla frigora inquiunt. Id arbitror accidere propter imbres, quos aiunt cadere creberrimos, aliter enim cum ſint equatori proximi, eſtuarent acriter, arbores eſſe aiunt proceras, altiſſimas, herbas in pratis ita denſas altaſq; enutriri, vt pedibus aut equo nequaq; ad iter illas finderе poſſint, armentaq; ibi noſtratia naſci corpulentiora, maioraq; multo euadere, propter pinguiora paſcua referuntur. Hortenſia ſataq; reliqua, ad illos allata, mira temporis breuitate, coaleſcunt, cucurbite, melones, cucumeres, cęteraq; huiuſcemodi a iacto ſemine, intra diem ſextū & trigeſimum, comeduntur, lactuce, raſani, boragines cęteraq; id genus olera, intra quindecimum. Ex vitium ſatione, ſecundo anno ſe aiunt ſuaues vuas collegiſſe, Cannas, ex quibus ſacarum extorquetur, intra diem vigeſimum prodire cubitales prędicant, vterq; ſexus vniuerſa in inſula nudus agit, pręter corruptas mulieres, quę femoralibus quibuſdam goſampinis pudenda tantum contegūt, ſuos habet queq; prouincia Reges. Domos habent ſphericas, ex diuerſis trabibus conſtructas, palmarum foliis, aut quarundam herbarum textura, contextas, a pluuia tutiſſimas, trabium fixarum terrę, ita coeunt cuſpides, vt caſtrenſes emulentur papiliones. ferro carent. Ex fluuialibus quibuſdam lapidibus, fabrilia formant inſtrumenta, lectos habēt penſiles, goſampinis quibuſdam lodicibus, ad trabes deductis funibus, lodici alligatis. Funes ex goſampio vel herbis quibuſdam ſparto tenatioribus cōtorquēt. Vocor ad curiā, diſceditq; tabellarius. Ignoſce ſi ſum breuis, & propterea obſcurus. Vale Cōpluti in Oretania. quarto Idus Ianuarius. M.cccc.xcv.

LETTER 157

Peter Martyr to his dear friend, Pomponius Lætus, a man remarkable for his learning:

You desire, my most dear Pomponius, that I should recite to thee matters concerning the New World more freely and with more detailed descriptions: I do not refuse thy requests, oh, worthy man; on the contrary, I hasten to obey them. Do you wish to know the distances of places, their degrees of latitude and longitude, the character of the countries and peoples! I wrote to thee concerning all these things but a few days since, but it seems to me the letter may have been intercepted, or if by chance it reached its haven, it had not yet reached thee when thou wrote thine to me. I will

repeat a few things in brief words. I wrote you about the longitude: the latitude is nineteen degrees and it is forty-nine degrees distant, as they say, from the Straits of Cadiz on its eastern side, although the island is not exactly to the westward, for the Straits of Cadiz are thirty-six degrees, while the latitude of the country of these islands is twenty-one degrees on the southern side and twenty-six on the northern. Concerning the degrees, opinions differ: I suppose this error is due to the motion of the Polar Star, for there are those who lessen and others who increase it in their calculation.

This land is most fertile by nature. I have told in other letters how it abounds in precious things. They prefer bread made from roots to ours made from ground wheat, for the taste is more relishing to them and it digests more easily: but they use both. They say that during the entire year the day scarcely differs from the night, which is probable from their place on the globe. They experience discomfort neither from great heat nor cold. I imagine this is owing to the showers which they say fall frequently, otherwise they would suffer bitterly. They say that the trees project in great branches and are lofty. The grass grows so dense and thick that one can scarcely make a way either on foot or by horse. Our herds are said to fatten and grow much more quickly on account of the pasturage. And likewise the garden stuffs have their growth in a wonderfully short time, squashes, melons, cucumbers, and such other vegetables from the sown seed may be eaten within thirty-six days; lettuce, radishes, and other cabbage-like vegetables within fifteen days. They say that the second year after the planting of the vines delicious grapes are gathered. The canes from which sugar is extracted grow a cubit in height within twenty days. Both sexes go universally naked, except the married women, who for shame cover their natural parts with cotton cloth. Each province has its own Kings. They have houses that are round, constructed with divers beams, covered with the leaves of the palm or woven grasses, most efficient against the rains: the tops of the beams, which are imbedded in the earth, are joined as if they were army tents. They have no iron. They fabricate their hardened tools from stones taken from the rivers. They have hanging beds with a sort of cotton coverlid, suspended from the beams with ropes or twisted cords. These ropes are made from the cotton-tree or from certain grasses stronger than the Spanish Sparta plant. I am called to the Court and the messenger departs. Ignore my brevity and consequently my lucidity. Farewell.

COMPLUTUM IN ORETANIA (ALCALA), January 10, 1495.

The following extract is from a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Granada. In view of the subsequent treatment of the natives, the solicitude of the Spaniards for the souls of the Indians seems a mockery:

EPISTOLA CLIX

clix **P.M.A.M.Archiepiſcopo Granatenſi.**

. . . Ex antipodibus indies, magis ac magis grandia referuntur. Prętermito de opibus quę ti bi ſunt paruę curę. ad Chriſtianam religionem hominū ventura multa milia ſperamus. & cū hoc ſuaui poſtico margine cœnę valeto. Compluti prope diem hinc diſcedem⁹ vt Burgos pro ficiſcamur. xviii. Kalendas Februarii. M.cccc.xcviii.

LETTER 159

Peter Martyr, etc., to the Archbishop of Granada:

. . . Great things are reported daily more and more from the Antipodes. I omit matters which would have small interest for thee. We have hope that many thousands of these men will be converted to the Christian religion. And with this pleasant postscript, as it is supper time, I bid thee farewell. We set out at an early day from Complutum, where we now are, for Burgos.

January 15, 1498.

The next letter of Columbian interest is numbered CLXV. It is written to Cardinal Bernardino Carvaialo and dated from Tortosa, August 9, 1495. The opening sentence suggests that the letters of Peter Martyr were encyclical in character and were passed from hand to hand, giving to many the first news of these great events. Peter Martyr states explicitly that the Admiral wrote him a personal letter after reaching Española. As the reader will notice, it must have been written after the return of Columbus from his exploration of Cuba. If Peter Martyr had incorporated in his letters some entire letter of Columbus, as he sometimes did with his other correspondents, we would have been grateful to him. In this letter he expresses the Admiral's belief that he was in the region whence in ancient times King Solomon drew his gold, and that the shores of the New World touched by him were really those of the continent of India,—the India of the Ganges. There is no doubt that for a time Columbus regarded Cuba as continental land. Soon we shall see one of his officials procuring affidavits from pilots, seamen, and cabin-boys upholding this opinion. But that the great navigator long held this opinion we do not believe. As the letter says, the long wedge-shaped peninsula struck Columbus with force and he confidently thought himself on the extreme end of the continent. The letter reads as follows:

EPISTOLA CLXV

P.M.A. M. Bernardíno cardínalí Híſpano generoſo.

clxv. Mira ſ ote be nouo.

FActurum te partícipē eorum quę ſcrípſero meum Heroem pomponíum letum, & Bracharenſem ac Pampíonenſem antiſtítes, auditores quondam meos, e quorum faucíb⁹ tu, quía potentíor es, cíbum arrípis, fuiſtí pollícítus, vidiſſe te ſcríbis, que ad íllos míſſa ſunt de orbe nouo, alias igítur oras, atq; alía líttora percurramus. Ex hiſpanıola quam admírantus, ípſe colonus, tanti autor ínuenti, offíram Salomonis auríſodínam putat, ín aliam ad occidẽtem prouíntíam traíecit, cuius ínítium ab vltímo hiſpanıolæ angulo, tractu diſtat exíguo, ſeptuaginta nanq; mília paſſum ínquit, curreata eſt hęc regío, quam vocant íncole cubam, latus meridionale huíus terrę colonus arrípit, ad occidentem ſeptuagínta ſe contínuos dies naturales, per eius terre líttora nauígaſſe: ad me ſcrípſit. reuerſus namq; eſt ad hiſpanıolam, íbíq; pedem fixit, & nuntíos ad reges de ſuo regreſſu deſtínauit. curuarí ad meridíem eíus líttora terre plurímum ſcrípſit, ſta vt ſe proxímum alíquādo reperíret equínoctío. A leua, ínnumeras ſe vidiſſe ínſulas narrata, b huíus magne telluris líttorib⁹ ín mare, aduertít cadere flumína multíformía, frígida hęc, illa calídiſſima, dulcía plęraq; , alía ſaporis alterius. In plęríſq; , píſcium íngentem copíam, alíbí nulla conchílía, ex quíbus vníones abraduntur, ínuenít. per maría ſe tranſíſſe ínquit, teſtudínibus ſcuta maíorıbus fere condenſata. Per vadoſa, lacteq; albíora alía, perq; torrentes inter ínſularum anguſtías gurgítes, íter ſe feciſſe dícit. Per etiam turbída cenoſaq; alía p̄dícat. Per ínferíorem nobís terrę ambítum maíorem ſe ígnotí orbís partem percurriſſe putat. Nec exíſtímat ſe duas íntegras ad auream cherſoneſum orıētalís termíní metam horas ſolares, reliqſſe. Noſtí enim Reuerendiſſime purpurate, cum doctrínę omne genus optíme calleas, pro íncognıto hactenus fuiſſe relictum, quícquíd a gadíbus noſtrís ad auream Cherſoneſum, per ínferíus Hemíſperíum trahítur. Hanc ergo terram admirātus iſte, ſe humano generí prębuiſſe, quía latentem ínuenerít ſua índuſtría, ſuoq; labore gloríatur. Indię gangetidis contínentem, eam eſſe plagam contendit, nec Arıſtotíles, qui ín líbro de cœlo & mundo non longo ínteruallo díſtare a líttorıbus Hiſpanię índíam, Senecaq; ac nōnulli vt admírer patíuntur. Falcatís portubus regionem hanc eſſe fultíſſimam dícit. & ínternís grandíbus animalíbus plenam eſſe, íllorū veſtígía quæ deſcendentíbus cernere erat, índicabant, ín marí vero ſtantíbus, horrendí per noctem audítí mugítus, magnam eſſe plagam teſtabantur, per ſuos ínterprætes ínſulares, quorum ídíoma proxímum erat huíus terrę ídíomatíbus, nullo ín loco deſínere terram dídícit, p certo ígíť habet eſſe contínentem. Nudos tamen & reperít eos íncolas, veluti ínſulares díxímus. Paucís in locís ne moraretť díſcurſu tñ ex p̄cepto regū, cōtentus, redít ín hiſpanıolam, vnde ſe ppe díem ad reges venturum, vt late rationem de ínuentís reddat, pollicetť, cū amícís iſta meís conferātur. Et vale Tortoſíc.v. Idus Auguſtí. M.ccccxcv.

LETTER 165

Peter Martyr to the illustrious Spanish Cardinal, Bernardinus (Carvajal):

Thou hast been promised that thou shouldst become a participant in whatever I wrote to my Hero, Pomponius Lætus, and to the ecclesiastics of Braga and Pampelune, my former pupils, from whose jaws thou seizest the food because thou art the stronger: thou hast read whatever I have communicated to them, therefore we may run over other regions and other shores. The Admiral Columbus himself, the Hero of this great discovery, has left Española, which he thinks may be the gold-producing Ophir of

[1] Wrongly written *Tertosie* in the Elzevier edition.

Solomon. He made an excursion into another province to the west, the beginning of which is not a great distance from the extremity of Española: he says this region, which the inhabitants call Cuba, is in the form of a wedge some seventy miles (seventy thousand passūs) long. Columbus ranged along the south side of this land, sailing along its shores for seventy consecutive days. He wrote to me since his return to Española, where he is settled: he has sent messengers to the Sovereigns to inform them of his return; the shores of this region incline so much toward the south that he may soon find himself near the equinoctial line. On his left hand he reports he has seen innumerable islands; he reports that rivers of various descriptions precipitate themselves into the sea from the shores of this great land; some are cold, some most warm, for the most part the waters are fresh and others are of a better taste. In almost all is there an abundance of fish: elsewhere he found the shell-fish, which yields the large single pearls. He relates that he has crossed seas almost solidly covered with gigantic turtles. He narrates that he has had to make his way among the narrow passages of the islands, sometimes over shoals whiter than milk and sometimes past raging whirlpools. He relates that he has passed by other waters sluggish and muddy. He thinks to have run over in the hemisphere opposite to us the greater part of the unknown world. He does not calculate that there remain to be travelled by the sun more than two of its hours to the Golden Chersonese, the boundary of the eastern end of the earth. Thou art not ignorant, Most Reverend Cardinal, for thou understandest every science, that in the opposite hemisphere the land up to this time unknown has been claimed to be that which lies between the Straits of Cadiz and the Golden Chersonese. It is this land that the Admiral prides himself upon having offered humanity, because he discovered its secret by his own perseverance and by his own toil. He insists that this land is the continent of the Indies of the Ganges, and indeed in this he is supported by Aristotle (who, in his book on *Heaven and Earth*, said that the shores of Spain were not very far distant from India) and Seneca and others. He says that this region is most strongly supplied with harbours shaped like the sickle, and that in the interior of the country there are many large animals of great size, as is indicated by their footprints in the pathways leading down to the sea, and by the horrible bellowings which are heard throughout the night. The vastness of this country is vouched for by the native interpreters of these islands, whose language is nearly the same as that spoken in this country, and who say that the land nowhere ends. Wherefore it is surely a continent. However, he found that the inhabitants were accustomed to go naked, as we have reported of the people of the islands. He has not delayed by running about much, as was in accordance with directions from the Sovereigns, and he returned to Española, whence he might the more quickly give to the Sovereigns an account of his discoveries as he had promised. Let this letter be communicated to my friends. And so, farewell.

TORTOSA, August 9, 1495.

Letter CLXIX. was also written to Cardinal Bernardino Carvaialo, and dated from Burgos, October 5, 1496. Columbus had returned to Spain on June 11, 1496, and it is thus nearly four months before Peter Martyr records it in his correspondence. He devotes but a few lines to him and to the affairs of the New World. The portion of the letter relating to Columbus is as follows:

EPISTOLA CLXIX

clxix

P.M.A.M.Bernardino Caruaiallo Cardinali.

. . . Ex orbe nouo attulit Admirantus noſter colonus, ab oris quibuſdam, quas percurrit, ad meridiem, ad gradum ab æquinoctio ſextum, vnionum orientalium ſerta plęraq; putat regiones has eſſe cubę contiguas, & adherentes. Ita q; vtręq; ſint indię gangetidis cõtines ipſum, dies, & per hęc littora, nauigauit plures, nec finem aut termini, vllum ſe vidiſſe argumentum fatetur. Pariam ipſe tractum hunc appellari ab incolis dicit, populis refertiſſimam, habitatores carnibus Cõchilium, e quibus vniones abradunt, cum reliquis cibis veſcũtur. Plęriſq; in locis goſampinis ſemoralibus, pudibunda contegunt, alibi cucurbitula includunt, alicubi funiculo pręputiũ, reducto neruo, ligant, ad mictum tantum, aut coitum ſoluunt, cęterum & ipſi nudi. Fuit magno noſtris argumento, terram eam eſſe continentem, q; animalibus paſſim noſtratibus eorũ plena ſint nemora, ceruis, vt pote apris, & id genus reliquis, & ex auibus, anſeribus, anatibus, paonibus, ſed non verſicoloribus. A fœminis parum diſcrepare mares aiunt, ſagaces ſunt inco lę venatores, quoduis animal ſagittis facile tranſfigũt, ſpinteribus, tintinabulis, calculis vitreis, & huiuſcemodi artis inſtitorię mercibus, vniones alacres permutant. Quorum ſe copiam ingentem collecturos, ſi reuerſuros ſe promiſerint innuebant. Hec latius in libris, quos de his tãtum inuentis, ſcribo, ad alia nunc deueniamus. . . . Tu vale data Burgis tertio nonas Octobris. M.cccc.xcvi.

De orbe nouo / cõcluſa eſt ceſare affinitas / dd Regia Hiſpanię / quõ rex cat / tad dd / nos laureo magna daſſe mittimus Joannã ad Philippũ virũ.

LETTER 169

Peter Martyr, &c., to Bernardinus Carvajal, the Cardinal:

. . . Our Admiral Columbus is home from the New World. He tells certain things concerning the countries he has run over. Toward the south these lands are in sixteen degrees of north latitude, and they are rich in pearls like those of the East. He regards these regions as a continuation and prolongation of Cuba, and so likewise of India beyond the Ganges. That which seems to prove his assertion is the fact that he has sailed along these coasts for many days without finding an end. The country itself is called Paria by the inhabitants, who are very numerous. They feed upon the shell-fish from which they dig out the great single pearls, making use of the rest for food. In many places they cover the natural parts with cotton cloths, and in others they sheathe themselves in gourds. Sometimes they bind the foreskin, the tendon being put back, with a cord, which they loosen when they attend to necessities or pleasures.

Others go entirely nude. That which affords our people with a strong argument as to this being a continent is that the forests here and there are full of animals like our own,—deer, the wild boar, and other similar kinds, as well as birds, geese, ducks, and peacocks, but not with colours so variegated; and they say the males differ little from the females. The inhabitants are skilled hunters. They pierce with their arrows any animals whatsoever. They eagerly trade their great single pearls for bracelets, little bells, and glass beads. They indicate by signs that if our people come back they will have collected for them a great quantity. I write more fully of these great discoveries in my books. We turn now to other subjects. . . . Fare thee well.

Done at Burgos, October 5, 1496.

There is an interesting passage in the letter directly following this in the Alcala edition, in which Peter Martyr, mindful that there is another nation engaged in exploration, and that discoveries are making in the south as well as in the west, refers to the grand work accomplished by the Portuguese.

In letter CLXXXI. to Pomponius Lætus, he says:

Quid caſtellana gēs coloni ligūris ductu, ab occidēte repererit, ſatis ample lateq; me ſcripſiſſe exiſtimo: " I think I have written with sufficient detail and fullness concerning the discoveries made in the west by the Castilians under the leadership of Columbus, the Ligurian."

The letter[1] is dated Methinna, the ancient name of Medina del Campo, not far from Valladolid, September 1, 1497. In it Peter Martyr speaks of the arrival of a Portuguese expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, and the fear that Italian commerce will be affected by this event. It was Wednesday, November 22, of the year 1497, when Vasco da Gama made his way around this land's end and thus we have another instance, not of a fabricated letter, but of one carelessly dated or wrongly inserted by the printer.

[1] We think that letters 181 and 185 belong to a much later period than the year 1497. They treat of Portuguese maritime matters, some of which could only have happened during the year 1502. Vasco da Gama did not return to Portugal until August 29, 1499, although Nicolas Coelho of his expedition preceded him somewhat, reaching Lisbon on July 10, 1499. But the letter 181 opens with an apparent connection with letter 180, the letter in which Martyr describes the King Naiba and the religious beliefs, and which seems to have been written in 1497. Certainly letter 185, referring to the Portuguese massacres of the Mussulmans returning from Mecca, which occurred October 3, 1502, could not have been written before 1503. We think the compiler of these letters, several years after Martyr's death, is to be charged with the discrepancies between events and dates.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RELIGION OF THE INDIANS

THE following letter, while it refers incidentally to Columbus, is of interest as an attempt to describe the natural worship of the Indians. It is addressed to Pomponius Lætus. The information concerning the religious customs of the natives is derived from the Catalan priest, Friar Ramon Pane of the Order of the Hermits of St. Jerome, who, according to some, accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage, but more probably on his third, since we find Las Casas, who himself certainly arrived at Española in 1502, saying:

Fray Ramon el ermitaño . . . que vino á ella (isla) cinco años ántes que yo: ("Friar Ramon, the Hermit, who came to this island—Española—five years before I did."

If Las Casas intended this to be just five years previous to his own arrival, it would fix the arrival of the Jeronimite priest as in 1497, and Columbus sailed from Spain on his third voyage on May 30, 1498. However this may be, we learn from this letter that the priest went to the New World by the advice of Columbus for the purpose of acquainting himself with the religious customs and principles of the Indians. The Tenth Book of Peter Martyr's *First Decade*, published at Seville in 1511, is devoted almost entirely to the forms of worship among the natives. On the folio of fv we read:

"Ex cuiuſdam heremitarus ſtudio fratris ramoni [1] qui ex coloni mandato apud inſulares (vt eos chriſtiane erudiret) regulos diu verſatus de inſularum ritibus libellum cōpoſuit hiſpano idiomate: pauca hec leuiorib9 ommiſſis colligere fuit animus. Illa igiť accipito. . . ."

[1] In the Alcala edition of 1516, *scriptis* is here properly inserted.

"Brother Ramon of the Hermits, who at the command of Columbus has long been among the Island chiefs in order to instruct them in Christianity, has composed in the Spanish tongue a little book on the rites of the inhabitants of the island: I was minded to collect a few things from his writings, omitting inconsequential matters and therefore these I have learned.[1]"

EPISTOLA CLXXVII

P.M.A.M.Põponio ſuo de ſuperſtitionib⁹ inſularũ.

clxxvii

Quid ſibi hoc monc/dde ſole ac luna garriant in inſulares.

ERige aures Pomponi mi ſuauiſſime, legiſti, vt arbitror, quęcũq; ab initio orbis ad nr̃a vſq; tẽpora, de diſſonis & veris ceremoniis cœleſtium ſcripta ſunt, ne te vltra factes, cũ cta vidiſſe auſcultato, q̃ nr̃i inſulares Hiſpaniolę, nudi hoies, referant, apud eos diu nr̃i verſati ſunt, priuſq; an aliud colerent, quã cœli numen potuerint intelligere, nunc autẽ, cũ familiarius apud primores, ex pręfecti maritimi coloni pręcepto, Remonus quidã heremitanus (vt vulg⁹ inquit) cõuerſat⁹ fuerit, vt nr̃o ritu regulos erudiret, noſtroſq; mores illos edoceret, mire, apud pleroſq; obſeruari antra duo cognouit, e quorũ ꝓfundis ſpecub⁹ ſolẽ ac lunã ꝓdiſſe puerarũ, veroq; verſus id eſſe autumãt, apud alios cucurbitulã ſummo eſſe in pręcio quandã, qm̃ ex ea ſcaturiuiſſe mare cũ ſua piſcũ multitudine fabulant̃. Ex cuius ꝓfluxu terrã illã, q̃ cõtinẽs erat, innumeras aiũt, quas videre fas eſt effectas eſſe inſulas, cũ ex illa ꝓdeũtiũ aquarũ alluuie, valles implerent̃, locaq; obruerent̃, cũ ſuis gẽtibus, & aialibus paſſim. Magni facitũt alii monilia q̃dam, ex aurícalco, q̃ affigunt pectori reges, quía data quondã referunt inſulari principi primatio, a formoſa fœmina, ad quã principe eũ in ꝓfundo maris viſani inquiũt, vt cũ ea coiret deſcẽdiſſe, de hoim aũt origine, pulchrũ eſt audire, quid balbutiãt. E duobus nãq; aliis ſpecub⁹, ortos prędicãt. Multa pretermitto, ne me in veterib⁹ his auſis implicẽ, ex libris quos de his tã tum inuẽtis formo, aliquãdo cognoſces. Nũc vale Methinnę Cãpi idib⁹ Iunii. M.cccc.xcvii.

LETTER 177

Peter Martyr, etc., to his friend, Pomponius, concerning the superstitions of the islanders:

Open thine ears, my dearest Pomponius: thou hast read, I am sure, whatever has been written from the foundations of the world even to our own times concerning the false and true worships of the Gods: but take care not to boast of having examined all until you hear what our Islanders of Española, men without vestments, say: our people lived among them a long time before they discovered that they had intelligence more than sufficient to understand the name of Heaven, but now, more familiar with their customs, Ramon, a certain Jeronimite, as he is commonly called, at the

[1] We are prepared to exalt this good priest to a high place for his devotion to his calling in teaching the Indians at the expense of long study and the endurance of much hardship while living among them, until we hear Las Casas declare in commenting on this very priest and his struggles to acquire a speaking and preaching knowledge of the Indian tongue: "It was not that the languages were so difficult, but the clergy, like the laity, care only to learn enough of the language to exclaim, 'Give bread; go to the mines; dig gold!'" A work composed by Ramon Pane, entitled *Nuestra Señora de Izamal*, has been translated into the French by the Abbé Brasseus de Bourbourg. Peter Martyr, as we have said, has quoted very largely from the writings of this Jeronimite, and the reader will do well to consult the last book of his *First Decade* in the Seville edition of 1511, or the Ninth Book of the *First Decade* in the Alcala edition of 1516. We also recommend the reader to secure the edition of the *Decades* printed at Bâle in 1533.

order of Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea, has had much converse with the chiefs, in order that he might teach them our rites and instruct them in our customs: among many, they have great esteem for two grottoes, from one of whose deep caverns they believe the sun and moon to have come forth [1]: they assert that there is nothing more certain than this: among others a bitter gourd is held in great esteem inasmuch as they declare that out of it comes the Sea with its multitude of fishes: from the overflow of which, as they say, this land which once was a vast continent, was converted into innumerable islands as seen in this time: and from the outburst of the waters the valleys were filled up and all places submerged, even with the people and animals. Others greatly regard certain necklaces of copper which the Kings wear suspended on their breasts, because such a necklace was a gift to the first of the Island Chiefs from a beautiful woman, to whom, as they say, the Chief presented himself as he emerged from the depth of the Sea in order to unite himself to her. But concerning the origin of mankind it is charming to listen to their imaginative talk: for they declare that they sprang from two other caverns. I omit many things, for I do not care to entangle myself with these old wives' tales. Sometime you shall know them from the books which I am composing on these discoveries. And now fare thee well.

MEDINA DEL CAMPO, June 13, 1497.

EPISTOLA CLXXX

P.M.A.M. Cardinali ſanctę crucis.

De mari et cucurbita inſulariũ facetia.

GArſias lupus frater tuus, ad nos in curiã nuper venit, vir eſt egregius, clarus ingenio, ſi latinas is literas fuiſſet aſſecutus, maroni forte palmã de manibus eruiſſet. Rithmos cõponit idiomate patrio ſapidiſſimos, graui ſucco, ſententiarũq; põdere pregnãtes. Placuit nouiſſe hominẽ, non minoris illum facio ob ſuemet naturę dotes, q̃s q; tibi frater eſt, nec me ipſe abiicit, tum quia videt me tibi deditiſſimũ eſſe, tum etiam quia quęcũq; prodeũt ex eius officina, ſui ingenii viribus decuſſa, mihi oſtendit, id ſibi nec offuiſſe ſentit. Ad hęc ſcripſi quędam ad Pomponiũ, ob eius virtutes heroẽ meũ, de ridiculis inſularũ ſuper ſitione ſcio tibi ea relaturũ, aſt quid maris illa creatrix cucurbitula importet, accipito, pductius. Naiba regulus inſularis, quõdã adamati filii, quẽ immatura mors prępuit, cineres cucurbitula incluſit, mirabolano arbori, ne terra macularentẽ, appẽdit. Is fertur, poſt aliquot mẽſes, filii deſiderio motus, cucurbitulã affixã apperuiſſe, vt filii cineres cõſpiceret. Abſcede purpurate princeps, ne te degustant equorea mõſtra, exiit illico, cũ magno aquarũ gurgite, Balenarũ & ingẽtiũ piſciũ magna copia, qua data ſunt mari, piſciũ ſemina, quattuor dein iuuenes pueraſcũt ex eodẽ partu fratres gemellos, cupiditate piſciũ, & rei fama cõmotos, cucurbitulã, abſente naiba regulo, deprõpſiſſe, vt eius porticulã ad emittẽdos piſces apperirẽt, ſed ex tẽpore ſuperueniente naiba, prę ſtupore cucurbitulã ſoluiſſe de manib?, & cõfregiſſe, caue ne te obruãt. Exquiſias cõſcẽde ſi Romę es, ne ſuffoceris aduẽtãte diluuio, ex cucurbitulę ſciſſuris, Maria ſcaturiũt illa, q̃ cõtinentes hactenus eos tractus omnes, aquarũ per ima mõtiũ profluxu, inſulas effecerũt, quas cernere licet innumeras. Ita & hortũ habuiſſe e cucurbitula mare, & ex cõtinẽti diuiſam in partes varias patriã, noſtri perpolite narrãt inſulares. Inũc & tibi perſuade te cuncta hactenus ſciuiſſe deerat aliquid (vti video) Vale methinnę Campi. vi. Kalendas Auguſti. M.cccc.xcvii.

[1] In his *First Decade*, Peter Martyr describes at length this belief of the Indians concerning the origin of their race. Out of the bigger cave came the taller and greater

LETTER 180

Peter Martyr, etc., to the Cardinal of Santa Cruz:

Garcia Lopez, thy brother, is lately come to us at Court. He is a distinguished man, brilliant in his parts. Had he given himself to Latin letters, he had perhaps taken the palm from out the hand of Maro (Virgil). He has composed in his mother tongue the most attractive verse full of deep sentiment and sound vigour. It is pleasant to know the man, and I esteem him not less for his natural endowments than for the fact that he is thy brother. Nor does he himself seem to repulse me, because he understands how devoted I am to thee, and also because whatever things are produced by his efforts composed for men of his own genius, he shows them to me and he feels assured they are appreciated. I have written to Pomponius—my Hero because of his virtues—concerning the ridiculous superstitions of the Islanders. I am sure he has imparted those stories to you. But learn at once that a bitter gourd has brought forth the sea. Naiba, a petty King of this Island, deprived of a son whom an early death had snatched away, enclosed his ashes in a bitter gourd and hung them from a balsam tree lest they should be spoiled by the earth. It is told that some months later, moved by a longing for his son, he opened the suspended gourd that he might gaze upon the remains of his son. Withdraw thyself now, illustrious Cardinal, lest watery monsters devour thee! There issued forth with a tremendous tumult of waters, a vast quantity of whales and great fish, which are the male and female ancestors of all the fishes. Then four youths, brothers and born in the same birth, moved by the fame of the thing and from a desire for the fish, in the absence of Naiba, the King, opened the bitter gourd that they might let loose the fish, but Naiba returning unexpectedly, they let the gourd fall and it broke. Now, beware lest thou art engulfed! Mount to the Esquiline Hill if thou art at Rome, lest thou art overwhelmed by the rising of the deluge! From the disaster to this gourd, flowed out all these seas over the lands which up to that time were simply one vast continent, separating the mountains by the same outpouring of the waters, and forming the innumerable islands which one sees to-day. Thus you have the origin of the sea from out of a gourd and the continent divided into numerous parts, as our Islanders relate in their completest style. Go now and persuade thyself that thou knowest all things happening up to this time. But I see there is one thing lacking. Fare thee well. MEDINA DEL CAMPO, July 27, 1497.

men: out of the smaller came the weakest and least. The great cave they called *Cazibaxagua*, and the smaller *Amaiauna*. He describes their idols called *Zemes*, their familiar spirits, their demons. They believed in the dead walking and returning to them in bodies which were so natural, that only placing the hand upon the navel could reveal the ghostly character of the visitants. Many of the caves and grottoes, which were objects of superstitious regard by the natives, are known to-day by the people of San Domingo. Among these is that of *Dubeda*, near the Gonaïves, one in the mountain of Selle near the Port au Prince; and that of *Doubon*, not far from the Cap Français. In the early days of the colonies, quantities of idols were found, and rude inscriptions and pictures were discernible on the walls.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PACIFIC AND END OF THE AMERICAN LETTERS

FROM this time on, few of Peter Martyr's letters relate to the New World. In Epistola CCI. the historian simply records:

> Solem ſecuti nostri Castellani ad occidentem magis ac magis indies progrediuntur. Nudos ſola plerisque in locis cucurbitula in modum Bracule, qua mẽbrum ac genitalia includuntur, contentos reperiunt incolas, alii preputium, deducto nervo, alligant funiculo, quem niſi vinctus, aut coitus gratia ſoluunt integra tamen & alii goſampina femoralia gestant, aurum, gemmaſque ed precipue vniones, multis in locis reperiunt.[1]

Because of its importance as the first announcement of the discovery of the Pacific, we give a letter written to Luis Hurtado or Furtado Mendoça, with whom he seems only just lately to have established a correspondence. This Luis Mendoça was the son of Iñigo de Tendilla, the early protector and correspondent of Peter Martyr, mentioned by him in the very first letter we have from his pen. Luis was afterward Marquis of Mondejar and Viceroy of Granada.

After this letter there occurs no other reference to the affairs of the New World for more than thirteen years. The silence of this historian upon this subject, so important to his adopted country, from May 12, 1499, until December 18, 1512, can be accounted for only by the constant attention he gave his *Decades*, incorporating in his *First Decade* all that information which but for that work he would have confided to his regular correspondents.

[1] This unnecessarily detailed account of certain customs of the natives appears elsewhere, and there we have ventured to translate the passage.

EPISTOLA CCCCCXXXVII

P.M.A.M.Ludouico Furtato Mendocio.

cccccxxxvii.

ABorbe nouo nuncios habemus. Vaſchus Nuñez Balboa manu promptorum fauore multis Magiſtratibus a Rege deſſignatis: Imperium ſibi vſurpauit in Darienenſes Hiſpanos: electo gubernatore Nicueſſa: & Baccalario Anziſo in carceres conjecto. Is erat iuris dicundi Prætor. Balboa facinus adeo ingens aggreſſus eſt: ac perfecit: vt læſæ Maieſtatis non modo veniam fuerit aſſequutus: ſed titulis honoratis inſignitus. Fama didicerant: qui eas incolebant terras eſſe trans Montes altos in ipſorum proſpectu iacentes: Mare aliud Auſtrale: margaritis & auro ditius: medios tamen Reges ſui iuris acres eſſe deffenſores: mille propterea opus eſſe armatis hominibus ad illorum Regum potentiam infringendam: Mittebatur: ad eas vias ferro aperiendas: Petrus Arias: de quo ſupra cum ea bellatorū manu. Interea dum ſeſe apparant in Hiſpania: dum coguntur milites: dum armātur: dum nauigia conſtruūtur: Vaſchus Nuñez ille Balboa tantæ rei fortunā tentare conſtituit: Centum nonaginta viros ex Darienenſibus coegit: in Kalendas Septembris anni ſuperioris. M.D.XIII. iter capit: ferro partim: partim blanditiis: & noſtratibus donis Regulis pacatis: Montes ſuperat: mare ſaltat: Petro Ariæ ac ſociis ſuis: laborem illum atq; vna tantæ rei famam: & gloriam ſurripuit. Mira ſcribuntur: quando certi aliquid habebimus: ſcies. . . . . .

De rebus Darienis. Balboa ſur pat Impe rio.

De mari Auſtrali.

LETTER 537

Peter Martyr, etc., to Luis Furtado Mendoça:

We have messengers from the New World. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, with the aid of his followers and against the will of authorities appointed by the King, has usurped the government in Darien, driven out the Governor Nicuesa and thrown into prison the Bacheller [Lawyer] Enciso, who was the official charged with rendering justice.[1] Balboa has attempted and accomplished a deed so great that not only has he been pardoned for his treasonable conduct, but distinguished by honourable titles. The rumour had prevailed among the colonists of these lands that beyond the high mountains lying in sight of them was another ocean, a southern ocean richer in pearls and gold; but the kings of the lands situated in between proposed to defend them sharply. Moreover, to break their power it would require an armed force of one thousand men. Pedro Arias was sent on in advance at the head of these warriors to open a way by force. In the meantime, while these things were preparing in Spain, while the army was collecting and arming and the ships were building, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa himself decided to put fortune to a great hazard. He set out from Darien with one hundred and ninety men on the first day of September in this last year 1513 and began his journey. Partly by force, partly by conciliations

[1] We shall have occasion to meet both these men more than once. The *Decades* tell us much of Diego de Nicuesa, who was Governor of the Castilla del Oro region and of Veragua. The lawyer, Martin Fernandez de Enciso, was a citizen of San Domingo, where he had accumulated by his profession quite a respectable fortune. He is said to have been the second person to hold the title of Adelantado, an office created for his brother Bartholomew, by Columbus himself.

and by pacifying the native kings with our presents, he scaled the mountains and saluted the ocean. Thus he stole away from Pedro Arias and his companions the fame and glory of this great enterprise. Marvellous things are written. When we have definite news, thou shalt know it. . . .

And so farewell.

VALLADOLID, July 23, 1514.

The letters of Peter Martyr cover an infinite number of interesting subjects, the living questions of the day, the things discussed by the Court and by the populace, by the Castilians and by the Moors. In their freshness of topic, their living, immediate interest, we find the chief charm of the epistles. When he speaks of the wonderful harmony existing between the sovereigns, his King and Queen, as he calls them, one spirit, one heart, one hand governing all their actions, we are carried into the very central hall of the Court and behold them counselling together and then writing their signatures in concert and accord. He loved both his masters. When the Queen died he added his adoration of her to the portion already given Ferdinand, and when the latter passed away his sentiments were transferred to Charles V. Yet we find him telling what we should consider State secrets about the unfortunate Joanna when he writes to Michael Perez; and so likewise when he writes to Luis Mendoça, the son of the Count of Tendilla, concerning the malady of the old King. Humboldt gives considerable praise to Peter Martyr for his relation of events interesting to science, and sums up his opinion of the author with the wish, in which we heartily join, that some writer who is thoroughly saturated with the historic spirit of the time of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X., the Roman Pontiffs, might undertake a translation with a commentary of the epistles of Peter Martyr.

CHAPTER XV

HALLAM AND TWO OF HIS CHARGES AGAINST PETER MARTYR

THE reputation of Peter Martyr for accuracy has suffered by the charges brought against him by Henry Hallam in his *Literature of Europe*.[1] It is a serious charge to make against a writer on whose relations and writings we have had very largely to rely for our knowledge of the discovery and first occupation of the New World, to say nothing of his statements and comments on the innumerable subjects covered by his epistles. Hallam does not content himself with a general charge, but is honest enough to present specific examples of historical delinquency. These are three in number and all three are anachronisms. *First*, in Epistola LXVII., written to a learned Portuguese, Aryas by name, who was a Professor of Greek in the University at Salamanca, Peter Martyr says:

" In peculiarem te noſtre tempeſtatis morbum, qui appellatione Hiſpana Bubarum diciť, ab Italis, morbus Gallicus, medicorum Elephantium alii, alii aliter appellant, incidiſſe precipitem, libero ad me ſcribis pede."

" Thou hast written me fully about the peculiar disease in our times which the Spaniards call bubarus [2] and the Italians call *morbus gallicus;* some doctors call it a sort of leprosy, others give it some other name."

This letter, dated from Jaen, April 5, 1489, refers to the disease *morbus gallicus* and Hallam points out that the name of the disease was not conferred upon it until after the Columbian discovery and the siege of Naples. The disease is as old as the daughters of evil. Hallam's criticism relates particularly to the

[1] See the end of chapter iv. of his *Literature of Europe.*

[2] This we take to be a compound Greek word *Bov* and *Βαρυς*, " exceeding grievous." Some derive this from *Βουβῶν*, the pudenda.

period at which it was defined as *morbus gallicus*.[1] It has been the custom among writers to date the first appearance of this disease from the return of the expedition of Columbus from the New World, bringing from its shores, as they alleged, this dreadful affliction. In the beginning there was no immediate contemporaneous authority for this assertion. A certain Nicolas Poll, physician to Charles V., wrote in 1517 that the guaiac wood found in the New World would cure the *morbus gallicus*. In Augsburg, on December 17, 1518, there appeared the work of Leonardos Schmaus, entitled *Lucubratiuncula de Morbo Gallico et Cura eius Reperta cū Ligno Indico*. We find therein the following passage: *In occidentali India in Insula Spagnola nouiter reperta. . . . Occidentales Indos per plurimos annos hoc morbo grauiter laborasse medicinamque, etc.*, and this is the origin of the story.

In an important characteristic nothing so much resembles a flock of sheep as a lot of historians,—they follow their leader and one another without independence and without looking. Oviedo repeated this story, and as his voice seemed to have authority, most writers have been content to take the statement from him. In his *De l'Indie Occidentali*, libro ii., cap. lxxvi., as printed at Venice in 1534, we read:

"La prima volta che questa infermita si vidde in Spagna, fu dapoi che Don Christophoro Colombo hebbe discoperte le Indie, & tornò a queste parti, & alcuni Christiani che vennero con lui, che si trovorono al discoprir di quelle terre: & quelli anchora che fecero il secondo viaggio, che furono molti, portorono questa malattia, & da loro si attaccò ad altre persone. Et l'anno 1495 che il gran capitan Don Consalvo Ferrando di Cordoba passo in Italia con gente, in favor del Re di Napoli Don Ferdinando giovane, contra il Re Carlo di Francia, per comandamento delli Re Catholici Don Ferdinando & Donna Isabella d'immortal memoria, avoli di vostra Maesta, passò questa infermita con alcuni de quelli Spagnuoli, & fu la prima volta che in Italia si vidde, & come era nel tempo che li Franzesi passeron con il detto Re Carlo, chiamarono li Italiani questo male il mal Franzese & li Franzesi il mal da Napoli, perche ne anche loro l'haveano visto fino a quella guerra: dopo laquale si sparse per tutta la christianita, & passo in affrica per mezzo di alcune donne & huomini malati di questa infermita, perche a

[1] The reader may consult Francastor, *Syphilis Sive Morbus Gallicus*, Verona, 1530; and more modern authors, Renault's *La Syphilis au XV^e Siècle*, Paris, 1868; and Dupuy's *Le Moyen-Âge Médical*, Paris, 1888. See Häser, *Geschichte der Medecin;* also Hesnaut's *Le Mal Français, a l'époque de l'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie*, Paris. 1886.

nessun modo si attaca tanto, quanto per il congiungimento dell' huomo con la donna, come si è visto molte volte, medisimamente nel mangiar nelle scodelle, & bere nelle tazze & coppe dove li infermi di questo mal usano, & molto piu nel dormir nelli lenzuoli & veste dove sian dormita tali infermi, & è tanto grave & travaglioso mal, che non è persona che habbi intelletto che non vegga tutto il giorno infinite persone rovinate per questo male, & che paiono peggio che li amalati di San Lazaro."

"The first time this sickness was seen in Spain, was after Don Christopher Columbus had discovered the Indies and returned to those parts; some Christians who went with him and who were present at the discovery of those lands, and also those who went on the second voyage, many in number, brought this malady and from them other persons were attacked with it. And in the year 1495, when the Great Captain, Don Gonsalvo Fernando de Cordova, went into Italy with people to help the King of Naples (Don Fernando, the Younger) against King Charles of France (by command of the Catholic Sovereigns Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella of immortal memory, your Majesty's grandparents), this sickness was introduced by some of those Spaniards, and it was the first time it was seen in Italy: and as this occurred at the time when the French went there with the said King Charles, the Italians called this sickness 'il mal Franzese,' and the French called it 'il mal da Napoli,' because they had never seen it until the time of that war. After this it spread throughout all Christendom and crossed into Africa by means of some women and men who were affected with the malady, because in no manner is it communicated so readily as by the intercourse of the sexes, as has been noticed many times: and it is likewise communicated by eating from the same dishes and drinking from the cups and pitchers which those persons having this disease have used, and much more readily by sleeping in the sheets and clothes where such sick persons have slept. And it is such a serious and painful disease that there is not a person in possession of his senses who has not seen every day an infinite number of people ruined by this malady and who look worse than the sick of St. Lazarus."

Oviedo was a youth of about fifteen when Columbus made his first voyage. It is true that he was a page at the Court, but it is not likely that he would have known much of the matter. His statement that the Italians named it *mal Franzese* or *morbus gallicus* is enough to show that it never came from the Western World, and the fact that the French called it *mal da Napoli* shows that it was common to both France and Italy. He says it was first seen in Italy, and, indeed, the weight of testimony seems to be that in its especial gravity it was first in France, then in Italy, and then in Spain.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie* (chap. lxxiii.), writing

of what occurred when Columbus arrived at San Domingo on his third voyage, says:

" Percioche gran parte della gente, da lui lafciataui, era già morta, & de gli altri ve n'erano piu di CLX. ammalati di mal Francefe."

" Moreover, a great number of the people left by him were already dead: of the others there were more than 160 ill of the 'mal Francese.' "

In the French edition of the *Historie*, printed at Paris in 1681 (see Part II., p. 68), this is translated:

" Il y en avoit un grand nombre de morts, & plufieurs eftoient malades du mal des Femmes de ce Pays."

The reader will observe the entirely different and unwarrantable construction put upon this passage, and which might lead one to attribute the sickness to a native malady.

Baptista Fulgosus, whose work was printed in 1509, in the fourth chapter of his first book, in the last paragraph, entitled *De Prodigio in Caroli Octavi Aduentum in Italiam*, says:

" Biennis quoq; antẽq̃ Carolus ueniret noua ægritudo inter mortales delecta: cui nec nomen: nec remedia medici ex ueterum auctorum difciplina inueniebant: uarie ut regiones erant appellata. In Gallia Neapolitanum dixerunt morbum: at in Italia gallicum appellabant: alii autem aliter: nonnulliq; Iob fancti ægritudinem esse dicebant: cuius uis grauiter artuum iuncturas torquebat: quibufdam totum corpus ulcere corripiebat . . . primo ex hispania in Italiam allata: ad hispanos ex æthiopia breui totum terrarum orbem comprehendit."

This testimony of Fulgosus is important in two respects, first, as to the time of its appearance; and, second, as to the place of its origin. He says that the disease made its appearance two years before Charles VIII. came into Italy, and this last event occurred, as he himself says in this same paragraph, in the year 1494, thus fixing the appearance of the disease called *morbus gallicus* in the year 1492, before the discovery of America and before the siege of Naples. It is impossible, therefore, that it could have had its introduction from the New World, from which Columbus, first of all transatlantic travellers, returned in 1493. He says in the second place that the disease came into Spain from Æthiopia. Baptista Fulgosus was Doge of Genoa from the years 1479 to 1481. He was then an active observer of the things he describes, and when he says the disease came

into Spain from Æthiopia, he probably expressed the popular notion of its origin. It would be a somewhat stretched imagination which would interpret Æthiopia to cover the newly discovered regions of the western hemisphere. When he himself refers to these regions he seems to distinguish between the expedition of Columbus reaching the Indies *a gadibus recto cursu in Indiam navigare*, and those expeditions which sailed to the East along the coasts of Æthiopia.

Wenderlin Hock of Brockenaw, who had received his education at the University of Bologna, wrote in 1502 concerning this disease: "Since the year 1494, up to the present year, a certain contagious disease has made considerable ravages." Then later on he repeats, "This disease, to speak more exactly, has flourished since the year of our Lord 1483." In a document dated in 1472, relating to the foundation of St. Victor's at Mayence, we read that the organist could not perform his duties because of the *mala franzoso* from which he suffered. Meursius[1] refers to a poem, which it is quite certain was composed before the siege of Naples (1492), in which a compound Greek word is made, *φραντζάζειν*,[2] to be sick after the manner of the French—which indicates the common acceptation of the designation.

The second count in the indictment brought by Hallam against Peter Martyr is in these words: "In February, 1511, he communicates the absolution of the Venetians by Julius II., which took place February 24, 1510."[3] And this is one of three instances of anachronisms charged against our author by Hallam. If the event occurred in 1511, and the reference to it was dated 1510, it would undoubtedly be an anachronism, but inasmuch as Peter Martyr does not say that it occurred in 1511, we fail to discover an error in time. This letter, No. 450, in question, was written to Petrus Fagiardus and is dated from Seville, March 15, 1511. Pope Julius II., the most war-like Pope who ever occupied the chair, had effected at Cambrai, in the year 1508, a league by which the Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of Spain, were to unite with him against

[1] Johannes Meursius, *Glossarium Græco-Barbarum*. Elzevier, Lugd. Bat., 1614.

[2] This is indeed the Greek of the barbarian, but it served the poet's turn. *Φραντζ* did duty for either the country or the people of Gaul, and *alpha privative* was joined to the verb *ζοειν*, changing its meaning of *to be well* into the opposite, *to be un-well*. Some derive this from *Ἀζω* to dry up.

[3] See the note at the end of chapter iv. of Hallam's first volume.

the Venetian State, which was so powerful, by reason of its commercial wealth and its standing armies, that it aspired to build up an empire out of all Italy. Shortly after the formation of this league, which was confirmed at Rome, March 22, 1508, Pope Julius issued a Bull against the Republic, declaring it guilty of high treason, and applying the interdict not only against Venice and its territories, but against all places which should dare to receive or to harbour a Venetian. The King of France, Louis XII., was not slow to take advantage of the provisions of the league, and in the spring of the year 1509 he entered the territories of the Republic and on May 14 had his great victory, following which he wrested from them the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and many other towns which he declared had once belonged to the Duchy of Milan. Such great success made the French an unwelcome ally to the Pope, and either of his own volition, or, as some think, from the cunning of the Venetian Senate, a peace was made between the Republic and the Pope, contrary to the essential spirit of the league made at Cambrai, which provided that none of the contracting parties should make a separate peace; the Venetians, on February 24, 1510, were absolved and purged of the Papal contempt, and on their Ambassadors subsequently repairing to the porch of St. Peter's Church and prostrating themselves at the feet of his Holiness, they were not only freed from national sin, but were taken under his particular protection, and soon these two new allies were at hearty conflict with the French invaders. The Pope, bent upon the capture of Ferrara, whose Duke and Marshal Chaumont, Governor of Milan, were united against him, himself accompanied his army, sharing with his soldiers in all their privations, discomforts, and dangers. He rode about his camps before Mirandola the coldest days of that winter, reprimanding some and animating others, a High Priest at prayers, a General before his lines. On one occasion he was nearly captured by the famous Chevalier Bayard. But on January 20, 1511, the town yielded and the Vicar of Christ, at the head of the Christian people, entered a reduced and conquered city as a military victor over another Christian people. It is on these events and in a general way that Peter Martyr is writing to Fagiardus, and in accounting for the Venetian and Papal allied forces he mentions the covenant of Cambrai and the

subsequent absolution and purgation of the Venetians. He tells of the fall of Mirandola and of the death of the Marshal Chaumont, who died at that time in Milan of a fever. The letter, therefore, was not written the previous year. If Hallam looked hurriedly at the first edition of the *Epistolæ*, the one under consideration, he probably saw inserted on the margin these words, *papa compurgat venetos*, and was misled by the apparent immediateness of the occurrence. Peter Martyr died in 1526, and as this book was not printed until 1530, he can hardly be held responsible for the printer's marginal reference.

The following is the full text and translation of Peter Martyr's letter:

EPISTOLA CCCCL

cccl.

P.M.A.M. Petro Fagiardo Marchioni Bellecensi.

HAbuisti hactenus literarū, quas ad meū tēdille Comitem Exarabam. exemplaria. habebis primaria post hac. præsentem nāq; illū habemus in curia. per exemplaria proxima Pontificē Iulīū, ex pacifico Martialē effectū, ductitasse acies intellexisti, horrēda frigora perpessus est. Mirandola tamen sese dedit. nec passus est dari militibus in prędam. per murorum rupturas, qua tot mētis via patebat, perq; gelatas fossas, pedibus nō per patētes aut equo portas ingressus est. prę ira in turbatorē Gallum, mutire barbā cingulotenus dicitur. quid sit Pōtificis ardor iste pectoris pariturus, non intelligimus. grandia sunt quę versat animo Christum, cuius se causam suscepisse proclamat, viam inuenturum, qua & Hestensem familiā dispdat, & Gallum scismatis, & Hestensis fautorem, puniat, sermōe roborato affirmat, Cœlites inquit proprias causas, modo qui eis patrocinetur assurgat, nunq; deseruisse Venetos in amicitiam & fœdus admisit, Cęsari hoc Galloq; Regi molestissimū. Gallo, quia Venetos purgatos & expiatos anathemate resurrecturos suspicatur, Cęsari, quia ex Cābrensis cōuentus pactione, sua se non possidere arguit. Pontifex satis putat factū ad eius partis rationem, quādo Paduam Veronā, Vicentiam, & multa prętera, in eius potestatem consecerunt, cęteris quę supererant ad ad eum attinentibus captu facilibus, extenuatis Venetorum viribus, in strage Caravaiēsi. Nil esse ait Pontifex, cur illi debeant succensere. Si pacta per confœderatos tueri Cæsar nequiuerit. cupere se prędicat, Italiam iam tandem placare, ne perpetuis bellorum facturis conflictetur. Rex noster animo cruciatur, pacem inter eos totis viribus quærit. Ad Aphricanam tamen expeditionem sese accingit. Est aliud quo claudam epistolam. Chiamonus ille Mediolanii gubernator, & Gallici ductor exercitus, febri correptus Mediolani periit. Descendisse illam animam ad cœlos autumāt homines, & tartareas visitasse cauernas, quia pontificem quondam Bononię, Alchāfōteas iam iam perambulātem fabulosas ripas, non pingui minerua lęserit, & quo tempore spiritum naturę redidit pontificem haberet iratum. Barbatum Petrum piscatorem hominum, paradisi claues ea die abscondisse, Romę, inter iocosa dicteria, curiales obloquuntur. Tu vale. data Sibillæ, nolo vltra Hispalim hanc vrbem, nolo reliquas veteribus appellare nominibus, ne te aut cæteros ad quos scripsero, rē non sonū quęrētes, vocabuli curiosa hęsitatione confundam. Idibus Martii. M.D.xi.

Papa cæpit Mirādulā. Papa cō purgat Venetos. qd in hoc Cęsar. qd Gallus. Mouit Chiamen⁹ Gallus Mediolani gubernator.

LETTER 450

Peter Martyr of Anghera in Milan to Petrus Fagiardus, Marquis Bellecensis:

You have up to this time received the copies of the letters I sent to Count Tendilla. In the future you will have the principal news. This present we have in the Curia. The war-like Pope Julius has effected a peace. The army was skilfully led, but endured terrific cold. Mirandola surrendered and was pillaged by the soldiers who entered the town through the broken walls, as one could not pass by the frozen ditches, which were accessible for neither horse nor foot-soldier. It is said of the French that in anger they propose to grow their beard until it reaches the girdle. We cannot understand what ardour burns in the breast of his Holiness, only there are great designs in his soul; he declares that the Saviour will never desert his own cause and will find a way; he dispersed the family d'Este and he punished the schismatic Gallus, the supporter of the d'Este; he affirmed in a strong speech that the Gods never will desert their own cause or him, who is protected by them. He admitted the Venetians into friendship and into a league, the most threatening to the Emperor and the French King: *To the French King because it is supposed that the Venetians, purged and free from the curse, will again rise:* to the Emperor, because he asserted that, according to the covenant of Cambrai, he (the Pope) could not by himself make a treaty with them: the Pope thinks he has acted reasonably with either party, since they threw Padua, Verona, Vicenza and many others into his possession, which will be increased by others easily taken, from the men of Venice reduced by the slaughter at Cavaræinsis. There is no reason, says the Pope, why they should be enraged. If this compact is kept by the confederates the Emperor will be unable to keep peace in Italy as he declares is his desire, since that country is afflicted with the perpetual expenses of wars. Our King is afflicted in spirit; he seeks peace with all men. Nevertheless, he is preparing an expedition to go into Africa. There is another matter and with that I close my letter. Chiamonus, he who was the Governor of Milan, and leader of the French forces, was taken with a fever at Milan and died. Men believe that his soul has gone below and to visit the infernal regions, where it already wanders about the fabled banks of the river Acheron and because Minerva rudely annoys a certain Pope at Bologna, and should he ever return into the flesh he will find an angry Pope. Among other jocose things which are said, the courtiers condemn the bearded Peter, fisher of men, for having on that day at Rome thrown away the keys of Paradise.[1] Fare thee well. Given at

[1] This is the earliest printed account of a doubtful episode. In the *Epigrams* of Gilbertus Ducterius, printed at Lyons in 1538, is this epigram:

" In Gallum ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum:
Accinctus gladio, clares in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, & fævus, talia verba facit:

Seville; I do not wish to call this city nor the rest of the cities by any other name than Hispalis and their ancient names, neither to thee nor to the others to whom I shall write, seeking the thing itself rather than the mere sound, which is easily confused by the perplexing and curious use of words.

March 15, 1511.

Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forfitan enfis erit."

"The story is that Julius a bitter war did wage,
And from the Roman City his forces drove in rage:
His sword within his hand, a thing of toughest fibre,
He threw the Papal keys deep down into the Tiber:
Exclaiming, Lo! the keys, by Peter left, have failed me,
Perchance the sword of Paul more happ'ly will avail me."

While the story is told by many writers, it is not generally believed, and doubtless came from the war-like character of the Pope and his determination to recover terrestrial power by means of the sword.

CHAPTER XVI

THE THIRD CHARGE OF HALLAM AND ITS REFUTATION

THE third charge is that in a letter, dated at Brussels, August 31, 1520 (Epist. DCLXXXIX.) Peter Martyr makes mention of the "burning of the canon law at Wittenberg by Luther, which is well known to have happened in the ensuing *November*." In the first place, Peter Martyr was never in Brussels, certainly not on August 31, 1520, because we find him at Valladolid on August 29, 1520, and again on August 30, 1520. This letter, No. DCLXXXIX., cited by Hallam, consists of six lines, three lines of introduction and three lines of subscription, and is dated from Valladolid, September 18, 1520. This letter is addressed *Ad Marchionibus Discipulis*, and incloses, or rather includes, a long letter to Peter Martyr from Alfonsius Valdesius,[1] or Alfonso

[1] Among the many students who sat at the feet of Peter Martyr were two of extraordinary interest. They were brothers, and not only brothers but twins, so like the one to the other in personal appearance that even intimacy failed to always separate their identity. And this strange resemblance enwrapped common moral traits and mental qualifications. The one was called Juan de Valdés, the other Alfonso Valdés. The great Desiderius Erasmus wrote in 1528 to Juan:

MOST ACCOMPLISHED YOUTH—Your brother Alfonso Valdés has conferred such obligations upon me, that I thought to love whomsoever in any way belongs to him. But you, as I hear, are so like him in both personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you might seem to be not twins, but one individual. I think it very proper, therefore, to love you both alike.

This marvellous identity has confounded the separate work of each and some historians have united them into one personality and ascribed the result of their labours to one, Juan Alfonso de Valdés. They were born about the end of the fifteenth century, and therefore were scarcely of their majority when Peter Martyr received this letter from Alfonso Valdés. Juan de Valdés was for a time Chamberlain, *Camerero*, to Pope Adrian VI., whose occupancy of the chair was of such short duration. Alfonso Valdés became Latin Secretary to the Emperor Charles V. The twin brothers travelled separate roads of learning, though constantly crossing and running alongside each other's path. Thus Alfonso devoted himself to jurisprudence and Latin composition, and Juan to a study of his native language and to the originals of the Holy Scriptures. *The Hundred and Ten Considerations* of Juan de Valdés formed a work of great popularity in its day and was published in England, at Oxford, in 1638, and again in London by Bernard Quaritch in 1865, with a life of the author,

Valdés, dated at Brussels, August 31, 1520. It is this letter of Alfonsius Valdesius which contains the passage quoted and criticised by Hallam.

As this letter of Valdesius is interesting in itself, we give it in its entirety:

EPISTOLA DCLXXXIX

Dclxxxix. De nouæ secta Lutheranorum apud Germanos exorta.

P.M.A M.Marchionibus Discipulis.

QVæ in Regnis gerantur, Vos non latent. Ex his quæ ab exteris habemus, legite prodigium horrendum mihi ab Alfonso Valdesio magnæ spei iuuene, cuius patrē Ferdinandū de Valdes Rectorē Cōchen. Nostis. non minus fideliter, q̄ ornatē descriptum cuius epistola sic habet.

Alfonsius Valdesius Petro Martyri suo.S.

¶ Quod ex me scire cupis, qui fuerit ort⁹, atq̄ progressus Lutheranorum sectę nuper apud Germanos exortę, si non ornate, diligenter tamen scribam, ea bona fide referens, quæ a fide dignis accepi. Audisti (opinor) Iulium Secundū Pontificē Maximum: templū in Romana vrbe Apostolorū Principi dicatum, incredibili sumptu, atq̄ non visa hactenus magnitudine ædificare cœpisse: idecorum (vt arbitror) ratus, in humili templo Apostolorum principem habitare: præsertim quum ex omnibus mundi partibus, religionis causa illuc homines confluerent, consumasset q̄ insigne opus vir maximus, magnanimusq̄: ni in ipso cursu mors eum e terris rapuisset. Successit huic Leo Decim⁹, cui quum tanto sumptui pecuniæ non suppeterent, missis rpe vniuersum Christianum orbem, largissimis condonationibus (quas indulgentias vocant) his, qui eleemosynam pro eius templi structura conferrent, ingentem pecuniarum vim sese hinc corrasurum existimabat, præsertim a Germanis, qui singulari quadā religione Romanā Ecclesiam venerabantur. Veruntamen quū nihil sit in rebus humanis tā firmum, atq̄ stabile, quod, nō temporis iniuria, vel hominum malicia corruat, huiuscemodi condonationibus factum est, vt Germania, quæ nullam non Christianam nationē religiōnē superabat, ab omnib⁹ i præsentia superetur. Nam Vuettembergæ (ea ciuitas est Saxoniæ) quum Dominicanus quidam concionaretur, Pontificisq̄ condonationes, vnde et ipse non aspernandum lucrum venabatur, populo obtrudere conaretur, Prosiliit Mónachus Augustēnsis, cui nomen Martinus Lutherus Saxo, et huius tragœdię auctor, et Dominicani fortassis inuidia motus, nonnullos articulos typis excusos emisit, in quib⁹ asserebat Dominicanum

composed by Benjamin Barron Wiffen. What motive could Alfonsius Valdés have had to fabricate a letter to Peter Martyr, ascribing to the month of July or August events and happenings which history records in the month of December? If these events did not occur in the summer of 1520, or if events or indications of events similar in character did not happen, then why not charge the anachronism to an error of the printer or perhaps of Peter Martyr himself?

Some writers attribute the renunciation of his Order by Bernard Ochinus to the influence of Juan de Valdés. Bayle refers to him as a "Spanish civilian who had taken a liking to Luther's doctrine in Germany." There is nothing in history to show that either of the brothers Valdés had become impregnated with the new doctrines as early as the time at which this letter was written. Juan de Valdés appears to have been a man of the most exemplary character, drawing to him at Naples many bright and progressive students. Among these were Ochinus and Peter Martyr Vermigli. It is a curious coincidence that Juan de Valdés should have sat as a youth at the feet of one Peter Martyr, and in turn had at his own feet another Peter Martyr, to whom he imparted his learning and his virtues.

longe maiora tribuere ſuis condonationibus, quam vel Romanus Pontifex conceſſiſſet, vel concedere fas eſſet. Dominicanus perlectis articulis, incanduit in Auguſtinem. Adeoq; inter Monachos tum conuitiis, tum argumentis incruduit pugna dum alius concionem, alius articulos defendit, vt Aguſtiñ. (quę eſt malorum audacia) condonationes Pontificis prope irridere cęperit: diceretq; nō ad ſalutem populi Chriſtiani ſed ad facerdotum auaritiam explendam ad inuentas eſſe, atq; inde inter Monachos de Romani Pontificis poteſtate diſputari cœptum eſt. Habes primam huius tragœdiæ ſcęnā, quam Monachorum odiis debemus. Dum enim Auguſtineñ, inuidet Dominicano, et Dominicanus viciſſim Auguſtineñ. atq; hi etiam Franciſcanis, quid quæſo poterimus præter grauiſſima diſſidia ſperare? Nunc ad ſecundam ſcænam veniamus. Audierat Federicus Dux Saxoniæ ad Albertum Cardinalem, et Archiepiſcopū Moguntinum, eius in Romanis imperatoribus deſignandis collegam quo cū haud recte illi conueniebat, magnum commodum ex huiuſmodi condonationibus venire. Sic enim inter ipſum, & Romanum Pontificem conuentum erat, dumq; occaſionem captat Dux qua Moguntinum eo commodo priuaret: nactus Monachū ad quoduis facinus non minus audacem q̄ impudentē, qui Pontificis condonationibus iam bellum indixerat: omnem pecuniā ex huiuſmodi condonationibus per vniuerſam ditionem ſuā collectam, e Cōmiſſariorum (quos vocant) manibus eripuit, dicens ſe velle proprium hominem Romam deſtinare, q eam pecuniam in fabricā templi Diui Petri exponeret, videretq;, in quem vſum reliquę pecuniæ, quę ab aliis partibus ferrentur, Romæ cōſumerentur. Pontifex vero, cuius eſt eccleſiaſticam libertatē tueri, nec permittere, vt prophani Principes ſe his immiſceant, quæ ad vnum Romanum Pontificem ſpectant, monuit ducem ſemel atq; iterū tum literis amanter ſcriptis tum nunciis ad hoc in Germaniam deſtinatis, ne tantam iniuriā Apoſtolicæ ſedi inferret: ſed interceptam pecuniam reſtitueret. Quod dum ille obſtinate negaret in ſuaq; ſentētia perſiſteret, Pontifex ad extrema conuerſus, hominem a fidelium conſortio ſemotū pronuntiat, Tū Auguſtinenſis, Ducis fauorem captans, magna audacia aſſeuerauit huiuſmodi ſententiam, vt iniquam, non ligare: nec poſſe Romanū Pontificem quenquam iniuſte (vti aiunt) excōmunicare, cœpitq; multa, grauiaq; in Romanum Pontificem, et Romanenſes typis excuſa emittere, quæ per vniuerſam Germaniam facile peruolarunt. Hortabatur præterea Lutherus Ducem Saxonię, ne huiuſmodi terroribus ab ea ſentētia, quam ſemel animo infixiſſet, ſeſe diuelli paterētur. Intumuerant dudum Germanorum animi, videntes Romanenſiū mores pluſq; prophanos, cœperātq; de excutiendo Romani Pontificis iugo clam p cuniculos agere. Quo factum eſt, vt quum primū Lutheri ſcripta in vulgum prodirent, mirum quāto applauſu ab omnibus ſuſcepta ſint. Ibi Germani geſtire, et conuicia in Romanenſes iactare: petereq; vt generalis Chriſtianorum omnium conuentus indiceretur: in quo excuſſis his quæ Lutherus ſcribebat, alio ordo in rebus eccleſiæ ſtatueretur. Quod Vtinam factum fuiſſet. Veruntamen dum Pontifex ius ſuum mordicus tuetur. dum timet Chriſtianorum conuentum dum (vt libere loquar) plus apud eum valet priuatum cōmodum, in generali ſynodo forte periclitaturum, quam Chriſtiani populi ſalus. dum cupit. Lutherana ſcripta, nondum diſcuſſa e medio tollere. Legatum a latere ad Cæſarem Maximilianum mittit, qui inter alia curaret, vt Cæſaris, atq; vniuerſi Romani imperii autoritate, Luthero ſilentium indiceretur. Habebātur tum imperialia comitia in Auguſta celeberrima Germanię Ciuitate, Cęſareoq; decreto Lutheri venire iuſſus, Auguſtæ comparuit, ſua ſcripta fortiter propugnaturus: ob idq; cum Caietano (id enim nomen erat Legato) in harenam proditurus: Caietanus aſſerebat Monachum nō audiendum, qui tot blaſphemias in Romanū Pontificē ſcripſiſſet. Status imperii viciſſim cōtendebant iniquum eſſe hominem inauditum damnare compellereue, vt quæ ſcripta ſe propugnaturum aſſeuerabat, niſi conuictus reuocaret. Quod ſi Caietanus ipſe vir (vt noſti) in ſacris literis eruditiſſimus, Lutherum conuincere poſſet: paratos eſſe tum Cęſarem, tum imperii ſtatus, ſententiam in hominem pronuntiare. Caietanus itaq; videns ſe nihil proficere poſſe niſi manus cum Luthero comminus cōſereret: idq; quum ſemel tentatū, male homini ſucceſſiſſet, re infecta diſceſſit. Lutherus vero maiori cum gloria dimiſſus, q̄ admiſſus, quaſi par

ta victoria gestiens(vt sunt hominum ingenia ad malum proclivia).Ducis Saxoniæ præsidio fret⁹,nouo feruore noua dogmata ab Apostolicis institutis dissidētia, et scripsit,et emisit. Tū Pontifex videns se nec blanditiis nec monitis tantum efficere posse,vt Monach⁹ ille blasphemus meritis pœnis plecteretur,ne venenum,quod impune,longe,lateq; spargebat,latius serperet,orthodoxosq; viros in partes suas pertraheret, quo hominem vt hæreticū et schismaticum declaratum omnes fugerent, sæuissimam Bullam (vt vocant) in Lutherum. Lutheriq; fautores emisit. Quo facto, non tam cōmotus, quam in rabiem versus Lutherus, ipsum Pontificem Maximum(o impudentia) hæreticum et schismaticum pronuntiat: libellumq; cui titulū fecerat de captiuitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ, emittit, in quo(Deum immortalem) quib⁹ machinis. Conciliorum, summorumq; Pontificum decreta atq; statuta oppugnat! assueuerat q; Ioannē Hus in Concilio Constantien. inq̄: damnatum, seq; omnes illi⁹ articulos, damnatos vt orthodoxos, defendere velle. Nec his etiam cōtentus, quotquot Vuitembergæ nact⁹ est iuris Pontificii libros, publico igni tradidit: dicens eos Christianam pietatē peruertisse, atq; inquinasse: ob idq; e medio tollendos esse. Horum itaq; fama per vniuersam Germaniā sparsa, adeo Germanorum animos in Apostolicam sedem cōmouit, vt nisi Pontificis prudētia, pietasq; aut Cæsaris nri felicitas cum generali Synodo his malis occurrat: vereor, atq; iterum vereor, ne hoc malum latius serpat, quam vt postea illi antidotum adhibere valeamus, Hæc ad te ex tempore scribere visum est: tu ea boni consule. Et Vale. Bruxellis pridie Kalendas Septembris. M.D.XX. De infido Cucullato satis: multa sunt in eius confutationē a peritis et grauibus viris scripta, quæ ad manus vestras facile deuenient. Valete ex Valeoleto decimo quarto Kalendas Octobris. Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigesimo.

From Peter Martyr of Anghera to his pupils, the Marquises of Velez and of Mondejar, 18th September, 1520.

The events that transpire in these Kingdoms are not hidden from you. Of those which occur abroad, and which are come to our knowledge, read the fearful occurrence which Alfonso Valdés, a youth of great promise, describes to me with no less fidelity than elegance. You already know his father, Fernando de Valdés, the Regidor de Cuenca.

Alfonso Valdés greets his friend Peter Martyr.

That which you would fain learn from me, as to the origin and progress of the Lutheran sect, which has recently sprung up among the Germans, I am now about to write to you, if without elegance, at least with accuracy, relating things conscientiously, as I have heard them from persons worthy of credit.

I think you are already aware that Pope Julius II. had begun to erect, in the city of Rome, a temple dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, at incredible expense, and exceeding in the vastness of its proportions all similar structures, with good reason thinking it indecorous that the Prince of the Apostles should be meanly lodged, particularly since men, from religious motives, repair thither from all parts of the world. And this greatest and most magnanimous of men would have finished the mighty work had he not been taken off by death during the process of its erection.

Leo X. succeeded him, who, not having adequate funds to defray the large outlay, sent throughout Christendom the amplest absolutions, or pardons, commonly called indulgences, for those who should contribute offerings for the erection of the temple; he thought that by such means he

should clear an immense sum of money, getting it especially from the Germans, whose veneration for the Church of Rome was singularly loyal. But as there is nothing firm and stable in human affairs,—nothing that is not destroyed either by the damage brought by time or by the malice of men,—so it is a fact, that these indulgences have brought it to pass that Germany, which surpasses in religion every other Christian nation, may now actually see itself left behind by them all.

For as a certain Dominican was preaching in Wittenberg, a city in Saxony, and urging the people to purchase these pontifical indulgences, from which this friar himself netted no mean profits, an Augustinian monk, of the name of Martin Luther, and the author of this tragedy, came forward, possibly moved by envy of the Dominican, and published certain printed propositions, in which he affirmed that the Dominican attributed to his indulgences effects much greater than the Roman Pontiff either did or could concede. The Dominican, having read the propositions, was inflamed with wrath against the Augustinian, and the dispute between the monks was exasperated both by injurious expressions and by arguments—the one defending his sermon, and the other defending his propositions; so that the Augustinian, with the characteristic audacity of the wicked, began to disparage the Papal indulgences and to say that they had been devised, not for the welfare of the Christian body, but to satisfy sacerdotal avarice; and from this point the monk proceeded to discuss the powers of the Roman Pontiff.

Here you have the first scene of this tragedy, which we owe to monkish animosity; for since the Augustinian envies the Dominican, and the Dominican, in his turn, the Augustinian, and both of them the Franciscan, what else shall we expect but the gravest dissensions? And now let us come to scene the second.

Frederick the Duke of Saxony, and Albert the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz, were, as electors, colleagues in the election of Roman emperors; the former, who was not on the best of terms with the latter, had heard that Albert made much money by these indulgences, the prelate and the Pope having agreed to share the money thus obtained between them. In the meanwhile, the Duke, who sought an opportunity to deprive the Archbishop of these gains, did not let slip that presented by an audacious monk, who, ready for any bad action, had stood forward to declare war against the pontifical indulgences. Accordingly, the Duke seized upon all the money in the hands of the so-called commissaries, which had been collected in his duchy, saying that "*he intended to appoint a man, one of his subjects, in Rome, to present that money to the fabric of St. Peter*, who should, at the same time, see to the proper expenditure of the other sums which had been collected for that purpose in other parts of Germany." But the Pontiff, on whom it devolves to guard the liberties of the Church, and not to permit profane Princes to intermeddle in things solely within the province of the Roman Pontiff, warned the Duke once and again, both by letters couched in the most affectionate terms and by nuncios specially sent to

Germany, that he should not act so injuriously to the Apostolic seat, but should refund the confiscated moneys, which the Duke obstinately refused to do; whereupon the Pontiff, going to the other extreme, declared him excommunicated. Then the Augustinian, having gained the Duke's favour, assured him, with great hardihood, that such a sentence was invalid, because iniquitous, for the Roman Pontiff could excommunicate no one unjustly; and he began, through printed circulars, which were spread with facility and rapidity throughout all Germany, to publish many and grave things against the Roman Pontiff and the Romanists. Luther, moreover, exhorted the Duke of Saxony not to be driven, by dread of the Papal anathema, from the determination he had once formed. Furthermore, he declared that the temper of the Germans was getting irritated by long contemplation of the worse than profane habits of the Romanists, and that they had secretly begun to devise how to loosen and shave off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, which was accomplished when Luther's writings were first published, and received with general admiration and applause. Then the Germans, showing their contempt for the Romanists, evinced at the same time their intense desire, and they demanded it, too, that there should be convened a General Council of all Christians, in which, those things being condemned against which Luther had written, better order might be established in the Church. Would to God that this had been realised! In the meanwhile, the Pontiff obstinately guards his rights and fears lest Christians should hold a meeting; for [to speak freely] his particular interests, which might possibly be endangered by a General Council, weigh more with him than the welfare of Christendom. He is also anxious to have Luther's writings suppressed without discussion, and has sent a Legate from the Lateran to Maximilian, to procure, amongst other things, that silence be imposed on Luther by the Emperor's authority and that of the whole Roman empire. They then convened a General Diet, an Imperial Parliament, at Augsburg, a celebrated city of Germany, where Luther appeared, having been summoned by an Imperial decree, and where he defended his writings with great power; whereupon Cajetan had to enter upon the arena. Cajetan—for such was the Legate's name—alleged that "a monk ought not to have a hearing who had written so many blasphemies against the Roman Pontiff." And the Estates of the Empire, in their turn, declared "*that it was an iniquitous thing to condemn a man unheard, or without having previously convinced him and compelled him to retract those very writings which he declared himself ready to defend:* That if this Cajetan (a man, as you know, profoundly versed in polemics) could convince Luther, they were ready (both the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire) to pass sentence on him." Thus Cajetan, seeing that he should make no progress unless he combated Luther face to face, which he had attempted once but came off unsuccessfully, departed, leaving the affair unsettled. Luther was dismissed with greater glory than that with which he had been received—with a victor's joy. Alas, that human relations are so prone to ill! Relying upon the Duke of Saxony's protection, he

wrote and published, with fresh vigour, new dogmas opposed to the Apostolic institutions.

The Pope, seeing that he could neither by caresses nor by warnings cause the deserved punishment to be imposed upon the blasphemous monk, in order that he might not diffuse the poison which he scattered on every side with impunity, and that all might flee the man declared a heretic and schismatic, has launched a most severe Bull, as they call it, against Luther and Luther's partisans.

Luther, much more irritated than dismayed by this proceeding (oh, shame!), proclaimed the Pontiff himself a heretic and schismatic, and is issuing a pamphlet entitled "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*," "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in which—Eternal God!—he combats the decrees and statutes of Councils and popes, and with what artifices! In it he affirms that John Huss was iniquitously condemned by the Council of Constance, and that he, Luther, would defend as orthodox all those propositions of his which had been condemned. And not content with this, he publicly burnt all the books on Canon law that he could find in Wittenberg, saying that "they perverted and contaminated the Christian religion, and that for this reason they ought to be destroyed."

The report of these events, spread throughout all Germany, excites to such an extent the minds of the Germans against the Apostolic seat, that if the prudence and piety of the Pontiff, or the good star of our Emperor, in conjunction with a General Council, do not come to the relief of these evils, I fear, and I do very much fear, that this evil will spread so widely as to be absolutely incurable. It has appeared to me to be my duty to describe these things, writing them at the very time of their occurrence, and I hope by so doing to gratify you. Farewell.

BRUSSELS, 31st August, 1520. VALDÉS.

[Peter Martyr, in transmitting the above, adds by way of connecting the letter of Valdés with his own, three lines of introduction]:

Enough of the disloyal monk, in refutation of whom many grave and learned men have written much that you can readily get and read. Farewell.

VALLADOLID, 18th Sept., 1520.

On the tenth day of July in the year 1520, Luther wrote to his devoted friend, George Spalatin, these fiery words:

"Damnant exurantque mea, ego vicissim, nisi ignem habere nequeam, damnabo publique concremabo jus pontificium totum."

"They condemn and they may burn my writings, but as for me, unless I am unable to find a fire, I will condemn and publicly burn the entire Canon Law."

Thus we find the intent of Luther to burn, not the Bull of June 15, 1520, for it is not probable that the instrument itself

had yet reached him, but the canon law and the execution of this intent is expressly what Valdés relates:

"Nec his etiam contentus, quot quot Wuitembergæ nactus est juris Pontificii libros, publico igni tradidit."

"Not content with this, he has publicly burned at Wittenberg all the books of the canon law."

Whatever may have been the purpose of Peter Martyr as to the publication of his *Epistolæ*, there is nothing to show that Valdés expected his letter to go into print, and therefore we find no motive for a fabrication on his part. In relating the burning of the canon law he records a fact known to the public. Valdés knew of the Bull of June 15, 1520, and makes particular mention of that instrument. When, however, he speaks of the burning, it is not of that Bull, but of the canon law,—the Decretals. These included the *Decretum Gratiani* and the Decretals of the Popes Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V.[1] The burning of the canon law was an incident of interest, but it has been lost sight of because of the greater interest in the

[1] Notwithstanding these Decretals were supposed to be for the sole use of theological students, they issued from the press in numerous editions soon after the introduction of printing, and no classic was so frequently reproduced in the fifteenth century as these laws of the Church.

These laws covered almost every conceivable point in the conduct of religious and civil life, of Church and of State, of Cloister and of Hearth. We give a few titles of chapters:

De postulatione prelatorum.
De electione et electi potestate.
De scrutinio in ordine faciendo.
De foro competenti.
De causa possessionis et proprietatis.
De testibus cogendis vel non.
De jurejurando.
De appellationibus.
De clericis conjugatis.
De concessione prebende.
De donationibus.
De conversatione conjugatorum.
De jurepatronatus.
De accusationibus inquisitionibus et denunciationibus.
De Simonia.
De homicidio.
De usuris.
De clerico excommunicato deposito vel interdicto ministrante.
De excessibus prelatorum.
De purgatione canonica.
De sententia excommunicationis.

formal burning of the Bull *and* the books on December 10, 1520. This last conflagration was an affair of bold importance. Formal notice of its occurrence had been publicly given. It was in the presence of the people of Wittenberg. It was an open defiance of the Pope and directed against the Papal utterances in the Bull of June 15, 1520. It was *the great bonfire* whose light, the Protestants declare, revealed the errors of the past, burned away present barriers, and illuminated a way for future ages. Small is the wonder, then, if the former bonfire escaped the pages of history.

The letter of Valdés first saw the light in the edition of the Epistles published at Alcala in 1530. Peter Martyr of Angleria had then been dead four years, but Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and the other scholars and Protestants who had stood about the bonfire and had knowledge of it were still alive. The character of Peter Martyr's book, treating as it did of all subjects and of all persons moving across the public stage, and written in the common language of the Church, the Court and the Library, must have invited its rapid circulation throughout Europe. A false historical statement such as that would have attracted attention. As it did not, the incident seems to have been accepted as true, but nothing remarkable was attributed to it, nothing of recklessness or courage, inasmuch as it was followed later by the great and forever memorable bonfire of the Bull. We are disposed, then, to accept the statement of Valdés, an intelligent man, a scholar, living at the time and at no great distance from the scene, that there was a burning of the canon law of Luther and his followers in the summer of 1520, and previous to the more important burning of the Bull and Laws of December 10, 1520.

In one passage in this letter, Valdés says:

"Tum Pontifex . . . fœuiſſimam bullam" in Lutherum Lutherique-fautores emiſit: "Then the Pope issued a most severe Bull against Luther and the upholders of Luther."

This so-called *sævissima bulla*, known as the *Bulla Expurge Domine*, is dated June 15, 1520. The town of Wittenberg was a University town of not less than 579 students in the year 1520, besides holding many other temporary residents who presented themselves only to hear Luther. Historians seem agreed

in fixing December 10,[1] 1520, as the date of the burning of the Papal Bull. The passage here quoted refers to the burning of the books of the Pontifical laws, *Corpus juris Canonici*, the Decretals of the Popes, saying nothing of the burning of the Bull, and may well have preceded the more formal ceremony of December 10, especially in view of the excitement of the students and the custom prevailing in those days of committing to the flames any book obnoxious to the community. If there was but one public burning of books at Wittenberg, and that the one of December 10, 1520, then there certainly is a glaring anachronism. The conflagration of that December day consumed the Bull against Luther, and as Valdés particularly mentions a Papal instrument directed against Luther and yet makes no mention of its being burned, it would seem as if the reference was to another and earlier burning of books, and not to that of December 10, 1520.[2]

[1] It was Philip Melanchthon who, on the door of the parish church at Wittenberg, gave notice on December 10 of a meeting summoning the Academic youths and "whoever holds dear the gospel truth" to meet at 9 o'clock by the chapel of the Holy Cross, where, "according to ancient Apostolic usage," the burning of the Pope's Bull was to take place. As the students were accustomed to have their recitations by four of the clock in the morning, the hour of nine gave abundant notice of the coming conflagration.

The allusion to the *Apostolic usage* is the passage in the Acts, chapter xix., verse 19, *multi eorum, qui fuerant curiosa sectari, contulerunt libros, et combusserunt coram omnibus.*

The passage is found quoted directly under the celebrated copper-plate engraving by Giovanni Fabri, illustrating the burning of heretical books, inserted opposite the title-page of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.*

[2] The date of December 10, 1520, when the great bonfire took place, is not in the *Call to Assemble.* That document itself is only known from two manuscript entries: one in the *Annals* of Peter Schuman, to-day preserved at Zwickau, the other in a simple entry on the fly-leaf of a contemporary pamphlet—a sort of New Zeitung or newspaper of the time—*exustiones anti-Christianorum Decretalium acta.*

It is curious what credibility is given to manuscript records. The venerable document, creased and faded and mouldy, is accepted as an honourable witness whose testimony must be true. The historian is not often an antiquarian, and none but an antiquarian, acquainted with holography, should pass upon the genuineness of a manuscript. We have elsewhere pointed out the opportunity for change, alteration, fabrication in written documents. Such changes cannot occur in printed matter. For instance, writers will attach grave importance to a manuscript found in the middle of the eighteenth century but purporting to be contemporaneous with an event, while they dispute over the credibility of a contemporaneous printed record,—a record multiplied in countless examples and sent broadcast throughout the world.

In studying the *Epistolæ* of Peter Martyr we must remember they were printed in the year 1530, while the actors in the scenes described were still living, and we are entitled to ask critics to produce some person or persons in that time complaining of false or inaccurate statements.

In the Bull of June 15, 1520, Luther is given just sixty days to confess and retract his pretended errors, and in his frame of mind, and with the excitement of the students, it is natural that he should take some pronounced step to indicate, before the expiration of the sixty days, that his position was unchangeable.

When, on the early morning of December 10, 1520, Luther threw into the blazing flames the Bull of Leo X., he exclaimed:

"*Because thou hast troubled the Saints of the Lord, therefore may fire everlasting consume thee.*"

These words, spoken of the decree of God's Vicar on Earth, were burned into the memory of every Catholic and of every Lutheran. If then, Valdés had referred in his letter to the occurrence of December 10, 1520, he would have referred *first* to the fact that the Papal instrument *was* burned and *second*, he would have quoted these terrible words. Instead, he speaks only of a burning of the Canon Law, and expressly quotes the sentiment uttered and the words employed by Luther on that occasion:

Dicens: *eos Christianam pietatem pervertisse atque inquinasse: ob idque e medio tollendos esse.*

This expression is weak when placed alongside the fiery utterance of December 10. Had Valdés known of the latter he would have mentioned it. It is evident he is alluding to another and earlier occurrence.

Reference in this letter of Valdés is made to a proposed publication of Martin Luther's, *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*, in which he likens the Church, led away into captivity by the Pope, to the Hebrews carried to Babylon. Hallam makes no point of this, but if, as some writers assume, Valdés could have had no knowledge of this book, or of its title and contents, until October 6, 1520, the date when at least one, if not the first edition, is believed to have issued from the press, it would go far to invalidate his letter and consequently Peter Martyr's reliability.[1]

[1] It is extremely improbable that a pamphlet like the *De Captivitate* would take months to print. On August 31, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin: "*De Captivitate. Ecclesiæ*" *parum excusam est:* "*The 'Captivity of the Church'* is not quite (almost) printed." The title was known at that time, and was so familiar to Spalatin that Luther evidently did not think it necessary to give it in full. It was known to the

We do not know the date when Luther first had news of the Bull of June 15, 1520. The document itself did not reach him until on or just before October 11, 1520,[1] but the news of its having been issued must have reached Wittenberg at the end of June or the beginning of July. He must certainly have known of it on July 10, 1520, when he wrote to Spalatin, *damnant exurantque mea* and expressed his purpose to burn the Canon Law. The last words of his treatise *De Captivitate* are:

"Auditum enim audio, paratas esse denuo in me Bullas et diras Papisticas, quibus ad revocationem urgear aut hæreticus declarer. Quæ si vera sunt, hunc libellum volo partem esse revocationis meæ futuræ, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur: reliquam partem propediem editurus sum talem, Christo propitio, qualem hactenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedientiam meam abunde testaturus: In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen."

This refers to the mere rumour of a Bull or Bulls preparing for issue, not yet issued. Therefore we may conclude that the little work of Luther was composed and completed, if not actually issued in a printed form, very early in the summer of the year 1520, or at least that it was known to scholars both in its

students and the public as the subject of Luther's lectures. If it was thus known to Spalatin and the students, why not to Valdés, who was a scholar and in the neighbourhood, as well as in correspondence with scholars generally. After the bonfire of December 10, 1520, Luther deemed it wise to give reasons for his act and wrote a pamphlet entitled:

Warum des Papstes und seiner Junger Bucher von D. Martino Luther verbrannt seien: Why the Books of the Pope and of his Disciples were burned by Dr. Martin Luther.

Now, on December 27, 1520, only seventeen days after the burning, Bernhard von Hirschfield sent a *printed copy* of this pamphlet to the Nuremberg patrician, Anton Tucher. If this latter pamphlet could be composed and printed in seventeen days except some extraordinary impediment intervened, the *De Captivitate* could not have taken several months to get into type. Therefore, we think it not improbable that there may have been a small edition prior to that mentioned in Luther's letter, dated October 3, 1520, to Spalatin, where he states:

"Liber de Captivitate Ecclesiæ sabbato exhibit et ad te mittetur": "The book on *The Captivity of the Church* comes out on Saturday, and shall be sent you."

That Saturday in the year 1520 fell on October 6.

Panzer, who had a copy of the book in his collection, places one edition apparently in the first half of the year 1520 (see his *Annales Typographici*, vol. ix., p. 76). The pamphlet itself bears no date.

[1] On October 11, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin:

"Venit tandem bulla ista Romana per Eccium allata": "At length this Roman Bull is arrived, brought by Eckius."

Luther in this letter declares his intention of attacking the Bull under the pretence that Johann Eckius was its real author.

title and contents. Valdés speaks of the pamphlet or libellus, not as already issued, but as issuing.

"Libellumque cui titulum fecerat De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ *emittit:* "He is issuing a pamphlet to which he had fixed the title *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ.*"

Valdés understood the use of words, and that he intended to use the present tense of *emittere* is evident from his use of the same verb a few lines before where he says *sævissimam bullam . . . emissit.* That issuing of the Pope's Bulla was completed; this issuing of Luther's pamphlet was in the process of completion.

At the time Valdés was writing, there was no topic so interesting, not only to the friends and enemies of the Church but to the lovers of intellectual activities, as the quarrel between Luther and his followers on the one hand, and the Pope and his disciples on the other. Valdés had doubtless a pure intellectual interest in the debate, and it is highly probable that he either himself read or had reliable information of Martin Luther's little book as early as August 31, 1520, when he wrote his letter to Peter Martyr.

The critics mention another letter written by Alfonso Valdés, in which he is charged with falsifying the date. By some writers Peter Martyr is virtually charged with himself fabricating the letter. This letter is found in No. DCXCIX. of the *Epistolæ* of Peter Martyr, to whom the letter of Valdés, dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, October 25, 1520, was written. It gives a detailed account of the ceremonies accompanying the coronation of the Emperor Charles V., and declares that this Imperial function took place two days before, October 23, 1520. From the time of Charlemagne, in 813, the Emperors of Germany had been crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aquis Granum, as it was called in Latin, and thither the grandson of Maximilian had gone for this public confirmation of his title. Mariana gives the date as October 22, 1520. Robertson, in his *History of Charles V.*, places the date of October 23, 1520, on the margin of the page opposite the record of the event. Later writers have adopted the date of October 28, 1520, as the correct date of his coronation, and thus if it were beyond dispute Valdés would be discredited. But there is no well-grounded reason for rejecting

this date. The records of both Spain and Germany, and, indeed, all records of that time, were ill-kept. Historical events of importance are often fixed by a letter or document written by an eye-witness, and this is true of the abdication of Charles V. of his Spanish throne in favour of his son Philip. Historians have greatly differed as to the exact date of this occurrence, and finally the testimony of an eye-witness, the Spanish historian, Sandoval, is accepted as establishing the date of October 28, 1556, and this, notwithstanding such authorities as Godlevius and Herrera fixed the date of October 25. It is true that those who accept the date of his coronation as October 28, 1520, do so largely on the assertion of another eye-witness, Hartman Maurus, but we see no reason for his credibility being considered over that of Alfonso Valdés.[1]

Writers fail sometimes to distinguish between the admonition given Martin Luther by Pope Leo X. and the latter's excommunication of the daring Protestant. Luther himself made a premature dramatic effect. He burned a document threatening his excommunication. It was a mild and conciliatory document as we read it, opening avenues for his return to the bosom of the Church, and requiring only a recantation without insisting upon the humiliation of a submissive visit to Rome. As these Bulls are printed in the *Bullarum Privilegiorem ac Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum Amplissima Collectio* at Rome in the year 1744, we find the first entitled: *Damnatio Errorum Martini Lutheri, & Sequacium, cum Monitione, & Requisitione, ut ab eis recedant. Leo Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad Perpetuam Rei Memoriam.*

Then begins the Bull with the words *Expurge Domine*, etc. The instrument comprises twenty-one sections, Section 2 containing the forty-one articles, which are *contra ecclesiæ Catholicæ Doctrinam sive Traditionem.* Section 5 provides that the books and writings of Luther in which the said forty-one objectionable articles appear, whether published in Latin or *alio idiomate*, are

[1] In considering the question of a historical fabrication one must always search for a motive. If no motive is discovered, the proof of fabrication must be required beyond any reasonable doubt. In this case, so far as Valdés is concerned, the writer could not have expected his letters to be published. If he tried to deceive any one, it was alone Peter Martyr, his correspondent. But as a matter of fact, these letters were published in 1530, ten years after the events occurred, and no one questioned the authenticity of the events or the dates given them for generations afterward.

to be burned. In Section 6 the Holy Father exhorts Luther to desist from his errors, and in Section 8 he beseeches him and his followers to give themselves to a conversion. Section 10 reads in part:

"Martinus, complices, fautores, adhærentes, & receptatores prædicti, a præfatis erroribus, eorumque prædicatione, ac publicatione, & assertione, defensione quoque & librorum seu scripturarum editione super eisdem, sive eorum aliquo omnino desistant, librosque, ac scriptures omnes, & singulos, præfatos errores, seu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburant, vel comburi faciant."

Luther is then urged to send within sixty days a letter of revocation *vel per ipsummet si ad nos venire voluerit, quod magis placeret.* At the end:

"Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, millesimo, quingentegesimo [*sic*] Vigesimo XVII. Kalen. Julii Pont. Nostri Anno VIII. [June 15, 1520]."

This whole document, in view of the revolutionary writings of Luther and of their disturbing effect on the Church, seems to us to be composed in a remarkably mild and gentle spirit. Luther is not even obliged to go to Rome, and is permitted to communicate by writing, although the Holy Father says, "he may bring the letter with his own hands if only he would find it in his heart to come to us, a thing which would be more pleasing to us." This, then, is the document which was first promulgated against the writings of Luther, against his alleged errors, and not against Luther himself. At the breaking of day on December 10, 1520, Luther caused a proclamation to be made that at nine of the clock this instrument would be publicly burned, and accordingly at that hour, on a spot not far from the Elster Gate in the city of Wittenberg, the Papal Bull, *Expurge Domine*, was committed to the flames, and that momentous burning separated the Christian Church. History should be fair. Luther by that act left the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church did not first drive him from its folds. On January 11, 1521, the Pope issued his Bull of Excommunication:

"Damnatio, & Excommunicatio Martini Lutheri Hæretici, & Ejus Sequacium."

The document begins with the words, "Decet Romanum Pontificem," etc., and ends, "Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominice Millesimo Quingentesimo Vigesimoprimo, tertio nonas Januar. Pont. Nostri anno VIII."

We do not, then, find Hallam sustained in his charges of anachronism, and consequently of unworthiness, against Peter Martyr, and we ask for the rehabilitation of the memory and reputation of this great historian.[1]

[1] Hallam himself is not accurate, to go no further than the case in point. He speaks of the "burning of the Canon Law by Luther at Wittenberg, which is well known to have happened in the ensuing November." The reader well knows that the burning took place on December 10. Moreover, in reading Hallam the student would be justified in criticising his author for drawing no distinction in his Index, and only by inference in his text, between Peter Martyr Angleria and Peter Martyr Vermigli, the Italian Protestant reformer.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

Portrait of Bartolomé de las Casas.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

CHAPTER XVII

A SPANISH SAUL OF TARSUS

THE Greek poets believed that the tragedies which were enacted in the theatre of the world were not so much for the diversion of men as for the direction of their lives. Love of virtue was instilled by a presentation of its beauty, hatred of vice by a picture of its deformity. Thus inspired, the poet narrates the actions of a man who departs from the principles of virtue and describes the punishment which befalls him. Sophocles permitted calamity to fall upon an entire family. But no drama composed by man contemplated the destruction of a race of beings until in the theatre of the New World the scenes themselves, one after another, were unrolled and enacted. In written dramas, if misfortune followed close on the heels of evil, retribution stalked not far behind. In the great tragedy of the New World, the sin of the Spaniards in destroying whole tribes of natives for the lust of gain has been four hundred long years in working out its retribution. At the end of each generation the *Kopos* has had to come upon the stage and explain that justice was approaching slowly, solemnly, lead-buskined and blinded, but coming, coming, coming! At the end of four centuries the power of Castile is broken, the sceptre taken from her hand, the sword from her side, and she is sent home amid the noises of domestic confusion.

The sin of the Spaniards began when, on Friday, January 4, 1493, the back of Columbus was turned to La Navidad. Forty-three men were left in this fortress upon the north coast of Española. The case against them is *ex-parte*, the Indians alone being witnesses, but Columbus and the people who accompanied him on the second voyage and who listened to the stories told

by the King Guacanagari, accepted these stories as truth, and from what we know of the dispositions of the Spaniards we may accept them as probable. When, as we said, the back of Columbus was turned, the Spaniards are believed to have given themselves over to excess of every kind and to have committed, according to Las Casas, the most aggravating of all offences in taking from the Indians their wives and daughters. Every one of these forty-three Spaniards was delivered over to death, in itself a complete and angry tragedy. There is no evidence that any of the Spaniards had actually killed an Indian prior to the destruction of the former. While the retribution was not undeserved, it was fearful. Thus into the very beginning of the colonisation of the New World there entered, besides a cruelty natural to the Spaniards, a sentiment of revenge which was not calculated to make the happiness or the life of an Indian particularly secure. But even if the murder at La Navidad of the three and forty Spaniards had been wanton, there ought to be an end to punishment, and the rivers of blood and the streams of agony that for years and years flowed in the New World are chargeable somewhere against Spain and her people, and we know not if yet the account be balanced.

In the early scenes of this American tragedy there are two conspicuous figures. The one is Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer; the other is Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle. These two men fill the stage and hold our attention even when they are retired from its action. The first threw open the portals of the New World beyond which the gleam of gold caught the eye of greed. When wicked men came over and fell with cruel strength on the native Indians, the other figure raged up and down the stage with majestic stride and blazing eye, thundering out his warnings and his curses. He had not always been aware of the inhumanity of slavery. Like his prototype, the Apostle Paul, his eyes had been sealed and then opened. And when the scales were removed he saw with a pure vision and hated with a splendid hatred. He had fear of nothing. He knew no bodily fatigue. He had no ambitions for himself. To destroy slavery and convert the heathen were the two absorbing objects of this man. To them he dedicated his life and devoted his strength. Long life was granted him, and his eyes saw many broken shackles lying at his feet.

Bartolomé de las Casas was born in the city of Seville in 1474. His father was Pedro de las Casas,[1] and with Francisco de Peñalosa, the latter's brother, accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage. The father, whatever his position, was enabled to send his son to the University of Salamanca, where, about the year 1492, he received a licentiate's degree. We believe modern biographers wrong in asserting that Bartolomé de las Casas went to the New World in 1498 with Christopher Columbus on his third voyage.[2] He probably went to Española in 1502 with Nicolas de Ovando when the latter assumed his governorship. It is said that he sang the first "new mass" in the Indies, from which it is inferred he was the first priest to be ordained there. We first hear of him in history as one of an expedition sent into Cuba under Pánfilo de Narvaez, the latter having been selected by Diego Valasquez to assure and pacify the natives of that island. Diego Velasquez [3] was the

[1] In Book I., page 498, of the *Historia*, we read:

"Este Francisco de Peñalosa era tio mio, hermano de mi padre, que se llamaba Pedro de las Casas, que vino con el Almirante y con el hermano á esta isla Española, este viaje."

"This Francisco de Peñalosa was my uncle, the brother of my father, who was called Pedro de las Casas; who came with the Admiral and with his brother to this island of Española on this voyage."

Llorente calls the father of Las Casas "Antoine," while his biographer, Quintana, calls him "Francisco."

Arthur Helps, in his interesting and appreciative biographical sketch, follows Llorente, but as this author introduces both Las Casas and his father into the third expedition of Columbus, which went to the Gulf of Paria, when Las Casas himself distinctly says he never was in the Gulf of Paria (see his account of the third voyage), we must be cautious in reading the English biographer.

It is not explained why the brother of Las Casas's father should have the family name of Peñalosa.

[2] Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, vol. iii., p. 286, is right in denying the usual assertion that Las Casas was a member of the third Columbian voyage, but he does not give the conclusive reasons as found in his own testimony. See our remarks under "Third Voyage."

[3] Diego Velasquez was born about 1465 at Cuellar in Segovia. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage. Oviedo tells us that he settled in Española and was of great service to Ovando in his war against the Princess Anacaona. Diego Columbus, the Second Admiral, gave him the task in 1509 of subduing Cuba for the Spaniards, and for this work he was appointed Governor of the Island. At first he gave the name of Fernandina to Cuba. He died in 1524. M. Gaffarel, in his interesting work on Peter Martyr's *Decades*, says that the body of Velasquez is buried in the Church of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores* in Santiago. It was under him that there were founded Havana, Puerto del Principe. Trinidad, San Salvador, and Santiago, either called for himself, or more probably for St. James, the patron saint of the Spaniards. One other town was settled in those early days, to which was given the name of Matanzas or Massacre, because of the destruction of the natives by the Spanish on its site.

representative of the new Governor of the Indies, the Admiral's son, Don Diego. The expedition spread terror and destruction, and if peace came it was in the shape of cowed subjection. Narvaez and Las Casas were sent to a principal town of the Indians called Caonao, where, without a moment's notice, without any assignable cause, with no conceivable motive, the Spaniards fell upon the Indians and continued the slaughter until the dead bodies were "strewed about like sheaves of corn." Narvaez, while not chargeable with the crime, seems to have found an occasion for making the priest justly enraged and searching him out, he exclaimed, "What think you these Spaniards have been doing?" And Las Casas made the answer we all would have made, "I commend both you and them to the devil." He had been removed from the scene at the beginning of the slaughter, and even when arrived at the spot he was unable to do any good. He pledged safety to a young Indian if the latter would come down from the roof of a house where he had fled, and when the priest's back was turned a soldier ran the Indian through the body. The natives fled to the "Garden of the Queen," a cluster of islets on the south coast of Cuba. When finally these peaceful embassies brought into subjugation some eighteen or more of the principal chiefs of the island, Pánfilo de Narvaez was about to consign them to the flames and only desisted at the prayers set in the choicest threats of the angry priest. Humility is truly becoming in a Levite, but in the fifteenth century, in the wilds of the newly discovered lands, the power of giving a loose rein to untamed vituperation was the most effective agency this side of a miracle. And this power of expressing his indignation and disgust was possessed in ample flow by Las Casas. The atrocities he had witnessed, and the still greater ones of which he was informed, aroused in him sentiments which grew and developed until his one aim in life was to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. He had himself possessed Indians as slaves, although he had treated them as attendants and not as mere drudges. That there were priests in the New World before Las Casas who hated slavery is evident from the fact related by Las Casas himself that a certain friar had refused him absolution because he held these poor natives in bondage. It is a touching comment on the employment by Providence of human agencies that this religioso who refused to grant absolution

because of his opposition to slavery should be forgotten, leaving behind no record of his personality, nor even a name, while the choice of an Apostolic mission should fall upon the applicant for a remission of sins. But now fire was in his soul. He had been for some time in the enjoyment of a form of patronage peculiar to the West Indies, where a farm, a village, a province was conferred upon some favourite, with Indians as vassals and slaves. This system was called *repartimiento*, and Las Casas and a friend, Pedro de la Rentera, were given a village in Española, about a league from Xagua on the river Arimáo. Not only did Las Casas employ his Indians in and about the village, but he sent them to the mines, to the worst service they could be called on to render, and he and his partner profited by their labours. Suddenly Las Casas was called upon to preach. The occasion was the Feast of the Pentecost, and the year was 1514. He was then no longer in the susceptibility of youth, for forty years were finishing over his head. But having chosen a text from Ecclesiasticus, the 18th to 22d verses of the 34th chapter, he fell upon meditation and preached a sermon which converted himself and which made him see the enormity of the system of these unnatural *repartimientos*. Shortly after, his friend and partner, who was away at Jamaica, yielded his conversion and returned to join with Las Casas in some method of reparation. It was resolved that the priest should go to Spain to present to the higher authorities the claims of the Indians, and the farm or village was sold to defray the expense of the journey. In September, 1515, Las Casas sailed from San Domingo, accompanied by Friar Antonio Montesino, a good priest and a brave man, selected by the Prelate of the Dominican order in America, Pedro de Córdova, to solicit alms in Spain for their religious missions.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE NEW PAUL

JUST as the year was closing, Las Casas obtained at Placentia an interview with King Ferdinand, then old and worn, sensible of his end and mindful of his responsibilities, and another interview was fixed when the King should arrive at Sevillé, whither he was going to seek a softer air.[1] In the meantime Las Casas poured the tale of Indian woes into the ears of Tomas de Matienzo, the confessor to the King. By the advice of the latter he also presented himself before the head of the Indian Department, the Bishop of Burgos, Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, who accompanied the King on his journey. This man was himself a large slave-holder, having credited to his account in the New World no less than eight hundred of these unfortunate creatures. Naturally no impression was made on him, and the earnestness of the priest was met with ridicule by the great official. But there were greater officials and higher ecclesiastics in Spain than Fonseca, and Las Casas obtained the ear of Cardinal Ximénès. Then the wheels began to move rapidly, and Councils were summoned and Juntas were held in quick succession. It was determined to send a commission to the New World with power to administer certain new laws which had been enacted to secure liberty for the Indians. There was no sympathy between the Dominican and Franciscan orders in regard to Indian slavery, and the Cardinal resolved to select this commission from the Jeronimite order, since its members were in no way identified with either side of the controversy. Three persons were chosen

[1] The King had left Burgos on the advice of the Archbishop of Seville, Diego de Deza, who had induced the aged King to visit his southern diocese because of its warmer climate. He died at Madrigalejos in the territory of Truxillo, on Wednesday, January 23, 1516.

from this Order of St. Jerome, Luis de Figueroa, Prior of La Mejorada; Alonzo de Santo Domingo, Prior of the Convent of Ortega; and Bernardino Manzanedo. Then the agents of the Spaniards who lived or who owned property in Española or elsewhere in the New World began to seek and influence the three reverend commissioners. To this commission Las Casas was attached by an office justly entitled, "Protector of the Indians." A capable lawyer, Zuazo by name, was also connected with the commission to manage its legal forms. The commission reached San Domingo at the close of the year 1516.[1] As might have been expected, the commissioners, unfamiliar with the situation, desired time to digest the complaints and understand the conditions. Las Casas, to whom the evils were plain and the remedies simple, demanded immediate action. The commission, with its legal arm, Zuazo, was empowered to remove judges who failed to enforce the laws. Las Casas impetuously determined to impeach the judges, and thus the responsibility was placed upon the Court of Resort. The court would not act, and Las Casas resolved to return to Spain and draw justice from the head of the fountain. Accordingly, he sailed from San Domingo in May, 1517. In July he arrived at the Franciscan Monastery o Aguilera, near Aranda-de-Duero, where he found Cardinal Ximénès near his end, which came shortly after at Roa, near by Aranda, death overcoming him as he was on his way to meet Charles V., lately come into Spain, landing at Villaviciosa, a seaport of Asturias.[2] Las Casas obtained an interview with the young King, and a plan of relief was devised. The general idea was to encourage emigration on the part of the Spaniards, and in particular of the agricultural classes. Every member of a family was to be transported free, practically from his home, wheresoever in Spain it might be, to Española. Food was to be provided him for a year. If after a year the emigrant was still unable to support himself, the cost of his maintenance was to be advanced him, but to be chargeable to his account. Land,

[1] Las Casas did not sail in the same ship, the Jeronimites fearing to arouse the distrust of the colonists, as would have been the case had they been seen in the company of so unpopular a character as the great Indian Protector.

[2] Arthur Helps, in his *Life of Las Casas*, notices that the latter seemed destined to appear before the eyes of great men just as death was sealing up for ever the windows of the earthly tenement. It was so when King Ferdinand lay dying; it was so when Spain's great Cardinal was near his end.

agricultural implements, and medicines were to be furnished him free of cost. His title to the land, which the King gave him from his own royal domains, was to be hereditary. Besides these, other inducements were offered, and to one is attached a blot on the memory of our apostle. The colonists had told him that they were not wedded to the employment of Indians as slaves and that if they could have a few negro slaves from Africa it would suit their necessities as well or better, since they were hardier and had more efficiency. It was then that Las Casas caused to be inserted in the colonial agreement a clause giving each Spaniard going to Española a license to import and to hold one dozen negro slaves. If we had the power and the skill to fashion a soul, we doubtless would make it pure and round and complete. Man as he is by nature is inconsistent, angular, knotty, and incomplete. This departure from the ideal in the composition of Las Casas grieves us, but we know he belongs to the human race and errs as we all err sooner or later, in this place or in that. He probably counselled with himself over the fallacious doctrine of the lesser evil. The Indians were feeble, and could not work in the mines and fields as strong men should. Therefore they were beaten with many stripes to make them work. The negro was a stronger, hardier type. If he was stolen from the south of Africa and deported to Española, he would go into the mine and the Indian would come out. The negro would have less of the lash, the Indian more of mercy. The negro was then in Africa roaming the forests. The Indian was in Española, suffering with his every breath. If there must be servitude, why not let the darker son from another land take his spell at the wheel and wear for a time the heavy yoke? Las Casas had not been appointed "Protector of Humanity." He was not the "Protector of the Slave." He would not magnify his office. He was simply "Protector of the Indians." And the sorrows, woes, and wrongs of his wards made him for a moment —only for a moment—forgetful of the broader claims of all men and of all unfortunates.

CHAPTER XIX

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN

PERHAPS we may come more into the feelings of Las Casas if we make ourselves somewhat uncomfortable by recalling what he had known of the wrongs of the Indians, a large part of which he had seen with his own eyes and all of which he reported with his own pen.[1] If some of these events occurred subsequently

[1] If the reader prefers to see in English this account of the destruction of the Indies, composed by Bartolomé de las Casas, he is referred to the imprint entitled, *An Account of the Voyages and Discoveries made by the Spaniards in America, containing the most exact Relation hitherto published of their unparalleled cruelties on the Indians, in the Destruction of above Forty Millions of People.* London, 1699.

This was first printed under the title, *Las Obras Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias occid. por los Castillanos*—Sevilla, seb. de Trugillo, 1552. In quarto, goth. It contains seven parts:

1. Relacion de las Indias.
2. Treinta proposiciones.
3. Disputa entre B. de las Casas, etc. [This is the celebrated controversy Las Casas had with Dr. Sepulveda.]
4. Tratado sobre la materia de los Indios.
5. Remedios para reformacion de los Indios.
6. Avisos para los confesiores. 16 folios.
7. Principia quædam ex quibus procedendum est in disputatione ad manifestandam et defendendam justitiam Indiorum. 10 folios.

These seven pieces, having separate colophons, are not often found together. In all they make 240 leaves. In the edition printed at Barcelona in 1646, in quarto, under the title of *Las Obras de B. de Las Casas*, only the first five tracts are printed. Guillaume de Bure, in his *Bibliographie Instructive*, gives only five tracts in this work. On the other hand, William Beloe, in his *Anecdotes* (vol. i., p. 10), gives an eighth tract, entitled *Pedayo de una Carta y Relacion*, sine anno, which he says he found in the Cracherode collection. Beloe also says there is a false edition, with the same date and printed in the same form, except that the genuine edition is in Gothic characters.

There have been many editions in Spanish, French, and English. The first edition in English was issued in quarto at London in 1583, a copy of which was in the Inglis sale. It appeared in other forms and under slightly differing titles in 1598, 1614, 1656, 1689, and the edition to which we above directed attention. In 1689, an edition appeared at London under the quieting title: *Casas' horrid Massacres, Butcheries and Cruelties that Hell and Malice could invent, committed by the Spaniards in the West Indies.* London, 1689, 4to.

to the year 1517, they were only reproductions of scenes enacted prior to that date.

Bartolomé de las Casas declares that the island of Española and the neighbouring lands, islands, and continental parts were so thickly populated by the Indians that it seemed as if Providence had in that region of the world massed the greater part of mankind. The people were simple, humble, patient, submissive, obedient, and faithful, enemies to dispute and quarrels, knowing not how to be malicious and inexperienced in meditating revenge. They were physically weak and effeminate, incapable of much fatigue, possessing delicate constitutions, falling before the smallest sickness. They had a greater disposition toward civility than the European peoples, and the very first ideas of religion kindled in their hearts a desire for the sacraments and the divine service of the Church. Upon such a people the Spaniards fell as tigers, wolves, and lions fall on lambs and kids. Forty years they ranged those lands, massacring the wretched Indians until in the island of Española, which in 1492 had a population estimated at three millions of people, scarcely three hundred Indians remained to be counted. The history of Española is the history of Cuba, San Juan,[1] and Jamaica. Thirty islands in the neighbourhood of San Juan were entirely depopulated. On the sides of the continent, kingdom after kingdom was desolated, tribe after tribe exterminated. Twelve millions of Indians on those continental lands perished under the barbarous handling of the Spaniards. Their property was no more secure than their lives. For greed of gold, ornaments were torn from neck and ear, and as the masked burglar threatens his victim until he reveals the hiding-place of his store, the Indians were subjected to the most cruel tortures to compel the disclosure of mines which never existed and the location of gold in streams and fields in which the Almighty had never planted it. Obedience secured no better treatment than sullenness, faithful service had no better reward than that which followed treachery. The meanest Spaniard might violate the family of the most exalted chief, and home had no sanctity in the bestial eyes of the soldier. The courtiers rode proudly through the streets of Isabella Vecchia and in those of the New Isabella, their horses terrifying the poor Indians while their

[1] Our Puerto Rico.

riders shook their plumed heads and waved their glistening swords. As they rode along their lances were passed into women and children, and no greater pastime was practised by them than wagering as to a cavalier's ability to completely cleave a man with one dexterous blow of his sword. A score would fall before one would drop in the divided parts essential to winning the wager. No card or dice afforded equal sport. Another knight from Spain must sever his victim's head from the shoulder at the first sweep of his sword. Fortunes were lost on the ability of a swordsman to run an Indian through the body at a designated spot. Children were snatched from their mothers' arms and dashed against the rocks as they passed. Other children they threw into the water that the mothers might witness their drowning struggles. Babes were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and a brave Spaniard's strength was tested by his ability to tear an infant into two pieces by pulling apart its tiny legs. And the pieces of the babe were then given to the hounds that in their hunting they might be the more eager to catch their prey. The pedigree of a Spanish blood-hound had nothing prouder in its record than the credit of half a thousand dead or mangled Indians. Some natives they hung on gibbets, and it was their reverential custom to gather at a time sufficient victims to hang thirteen in a row, and thus piously to commemorate Christ and the Twelve Apostles. Moloch must have been in the skies.

Las Casas says, "I have been an eye-witness of all these cruelties, and an infinite number of others which I pass over in silence."

Long years afterwards, when no rider ever passed in the grass-grown streets of Isabella, when the houses were deserted and their roofs mouldy, when the town was a ruin and the road thereto forgotten, the wretched natives and the poorer Spaniards imagined it a haunted ground, and the boldest scarcely dared to enter it even at high noon. Once some Spanish peasants passing through its streets beheld approaching a troop of gaily caparisoned knights, with tossing plumes, long velvet cloaks, and brightly shining swords. As they drew near one of the men thus addressed them, "Sirs, we fain would know who you are, for it is long years since cavaliers such as ye have been on this northern coast." No reply came from those bloodless

lips, but each rider gracefully, as if in salute, raised his hand to his plumed helmet and lifted off—his head, and thus sped through the silent city this cavalcade of headless horsemen.[1] Ghosts and spectres had every right to roam about that land, but they should have been the spirits of Indians burned to death at the stake and natives speared to their deaths.

Las Casas describes the five great kingdoms into which the island of Española was divided, and repeats the sad fate which overwhelmed them and their kings. The king of the first province was called Guarionex, and his land, the Vega, was a fruitful plain, eighty leagues in extent from south to north, but not more than eight or ten leagues in width. High mountains surrounded it on all sides like walls. It was watered by many rivers, at least twelve of which were for bigness to be compared to the Ebro, the Duero, and the Guadalquivir. On the west were the golden mountains bounding the province of Cibao. Under this king were other submissive chiefs or lords, some of whom were so strong in numbers that each could bring an array of 16,000 men. But the king and his under-lords were submissive to the Spanish sovereigns and voluntarily offered himself and his people to the service of the Spaniards. These last requited him with shame and infamy, suffering one of their captains to violate his wife, ravaging his country from one end to the other, and when he retreated to a neighbouring province, pursuing him and declaring war against all who might give him refuge. They finally secured him with chains and put him in a vessel to be taken prisoner to Spain, but this ship and many others together with their human freight and incredible sums of gold and silver were lost in the stormy sea.[2] The second province was called Marien. It was on the north part of the island and included the harbour in which Columbus first landed, and on whose shores he built La Navidad. It extended from Cape St. Nicholas to the river Yaqui, called to-day Monte Christi, and to Cape St. Frances, where the king had his resi-

[1] The curious reader may imagine that this legend suggested to Irving the scene in Sleepy Hollow when Ichabod Crane on old Gunpowder was followed by the Headless Horseman. The legend of Sleepy Hollow, however, appeared several years prior to Irving's visit to Spain, where he first read in manuscript the fascinating *History of Las Casas*, and which he transferred into the medium of the English language.

[2] This is the ocean tragedy which occurred in the summer of 1502 off the southern coast of Española. It was on this occasion that was lost the prodigious lump of gold, as big as a loaf, says Las Casas.

dence. Guacanagari was its king, from whom the Spaniards received hospitality and civility. This chief the Spaniards followed with peculiar bitterness and forced him to abandon his kingdom and to retreat to remote mountains, where he died of fatigue and sorrow. Those of his people who were not fortunate enough to be killed suffered countless pains in slavery. Maguana was the third native province of Española. It was the richest of all the lands, and its king, Caonabo, surpassed all other kings in power, wealth, and courage. This king had the bravery to oppose the Spaniards, and after many fights was entrapped by Ojeda. On March 10, 1496, he was carried on board a vessel bound for Spain, but died on the voyage.[1] His country was devastated and so great was the slaughter among his people that the region became a desert. The fourth of these kingdoms was Xaragua, on the south coast and west of the province which had belonged to Caonabo. The people of this province were the most civilised on the island. The king's name was Behechio, and his sister was called Anacaona. This princess became ruler when her brother died. These Indians had always been kind and generous to the Spaniards since their first coming.

One day [writes Las Casas] the Governor[2] of the island, accompanied with 60 horse and 300 foot, sends a summons to about 300 of the great Lords of the country to attend his person. These few horsemen alone were able to have ravaged and laid waste not only all this island, but even the whole continent, so defenceless were these poor people. The Indian nobles, not at all suspecting any treacherous design, were by the Governor's order brought into a house covered with straw, which he commanded to be set on fire, where they perished miserably. Those of them who attempted to escape were pursued by the Spanish troopers and killed without mercy. They also killed a vast multitude of the common people, cutting them and running them through with their swords and lances. This same Governor caused Queen Anacaona, who had the sovereign authority after the death of her brother [as has been said] to be hanged, that

[1] Las Casas says this Indian chief perished with one of the vessels in which he was embarked, but it seems as if the good Bishop had confused this with the event which really occurred in the summer of 1502. It is probable that he died during the voyage. The Admiral himself was on board one of the two ships returning to Spain, closing his second voyage by returning with some thirty natives, virtually prisoners, but whom the Admiral asserted he was taking to Spain that he might teach them the power and greatness of the Spanish sovereigns.

[2] This man was Nicholas de Ovando, with whom probably Las Casas came over to Española in 1502.

he might disgrace the memory of that Princess as much as he could by so vile and ignominious a Death.

The name of the fifth kingdom was Higuey, and comprised the eastern end of the island. It held within its bosom the sources of both the Yaqui and the Ozama, the one flowing to the north, the other to the south. Its queen was an aged woman, Higuanama by name, and her the Spaniards also hanged, while an infinite number of her people were tormented and put to death. Some were burned alive, some had their legs cut off that they could not walk and others their arms that they could not work or gather food for themselves, and thus they slowly offered up themselves a sacrifice to the Spanish conquerors. Such as were reserved for beasts of burden or to work in the mines were fed for the most part on herbs and seldom had food which nourished them, so that the milk dried in the breasts of the women and the strength of the men faded away for ever. A few years after Las Casas arrived in the New World, the Spaniards repeated on the islands of San Juan and Jamaica their conquests of the larger island. These two islands had together a population [1] estimated by Las Casas of 600,000, of which, in 1540, there were scarcely 200 natives to be found.

[1] The figures of Las Casas have often been doubted. We may discount and continue to discount the numerical details of this historian without decreasing in the slightest the enormity of these Spanish crimes against humanity.

CHAPTER XX

THE IDOL OF THE CHRISTIANS

In 1509, the Spaniards turned their attention toward the beautiful island of Cuba. Having news of their coming, one of their principal caciques assembled his subjects and thus addressed them:

"You know the report that is spread abroad, that the Spaniards are ready to invade this island, and you are not ignorant of the ill-usage our friends and countrymen have met at their hands and the cruelties they have committed at Hayti [for so Española is called in their language]; they are now coming hither with a design to exercise the same outrages and performances upon us. Are you ignorant of the ill intentions of the people of whom I am speaking?"

"We know not," say they all, with one voice, "upon what account they come hither, but we know they are a very wicked and cruel people."

"I will tell you then," replied the cacique, "that these Europeans worship a very covetous sort of god, so that it is difficult to satisfy him: and to perform the worship they render to this idol, they will exact immense treasures of us and will use their utmost endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of slavery, or else to put us to death."

Upon which he took a box filled with gold, and, exposing it to their view, he said:

"Here is the god of the Spaniards whom we must honour with our sports and dances, to see if we can appease him and render him propitious to us: that so he may command the Spaniards not to offer us any injury."

Thereupon they all fell to leaping and dancing around the

box until they had spent their energies. Again the cacique spoke:

"Now, if we keep this god till he is taken away from us, he will certainly cause our lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of the opinion it will be the best way to cast him into the river."

This advice was approved, and with one accord the supposed god of the Spaniards was thrown into the river. But the Spaniards came and among their first victims was this cacique, whom they resolved to burn alive, because he had ventured to defend the lives of his subjects. As he was in the midst of the flames a Franciscan friar of great piety spoke to him of his religion and endeavoured to explain to him the articles of the Christian faith, with some half a hundred of its doctrines, promising him eternal life if he would believe and threatening him with eternal torment if he continued obstinate in his infidelity. The cacique, considering the vital question as well as he could, inquired of the holy friar if the gate of Heaven was open to all Spaniards, to which the pious instructor replied that such of them as were good might well hope for entrance. No further deliberation was required by the Indian, and he told the friar he had no mind to go to Heaven for fear of meeting there such cruel company, but that their absence from hell would make the latter place for him a desirable abode.

One day while Las Casas was on the island, he witnessed the approach from a neighbouring province of a great number of Indians loaded with provisions as peace offerings.

> They presented us these [says Las Casas] with great marks of joy, caressing us after the most obliging manner they could. But that evil spirit which possessed the Spaniards put them into such a sudden fury that they fell upon them and massacred above 3000 both men and women, upon the spot, without having received the least offence or provocation from them. I was an eye-witness of this barbarity: and whatever endeavours were used to appease these inhuman creatures [the Spaniards] it was impossible to reduce them to reason; so resolutely were they bent on satiating their brutal rage by this barbarous action.

Many of the Indians strangled themselves in despair. Parents destroyed their children to save them from the hated Spaniards, and when they themselves were ordered away to slavery, Las Casas asserts: "I saw with my own eyes above six

thousand children die in the space of three or four months, their parents being forced to abandon them, they themselves being condemned to the mines." A mother having her three children with her, besought with heart-rending cries that her husband should not be taken from her, as she could not find food for her children. When the Spaniards repulsed her, she took a stone and dashed out the brains of all her children. In places where the custom of cannibalism existed the Spaniards traded Indian infants for gold.

In 1514 the Spaniards carried their government over to the continent. Kingdoms and provinces, towns and villages, chiefs and peoples—all were visited and fright stalked before every banner and desolation followed at the rear of every troop. Before each massacre a form was observed, the preamble of which was something after this fashion:

> Cacique and Indians of this Continent, we are come to declare to you that there is but one God, one Church, one King of Spain who is Lord and Master of this country you inhabit: we therefore require you to come immediately and take the oath of allegiance to him.

And then, it might be, brave Spaniards would fall upon them, setting fire to their houses, burning the women and children, massacring some men, giving others to the dogs and saving a few they desired to keep for slaves, branding these with red-hot irons, marking fantastic signs of servitude on limb and body. Slaves were led along to the mines in droves, all joined by chains about their necks, and when one fainted by the wayside his head was swept from his shoulders by a skilled swordsman that the iron might slip off his trunk the more easily. Las Casas says that once of a troop of four thousand captives only six reached their destined places in the mines, the others all perishing by the hands of their keepers. If we turn north to Mexico, the same tale of rapine, murder, and cruelty is told. If we go to the south we hear no other story than of goods and lands stolen, of men, women, and children murdered and massacred, of tribes destroyed and kingdoms depopulated. In one place the Spaniards gathered six thousand Indians in avenues closed at either end, telling the people they wanted them to carry burdens, which office the Indians were willing to fill to the best of their strength. Then every one of the six thousand was

put to the most cruel form of death, each Spanish executioner vying with his professional brother in the invention of instruments of torture and methods of producing agony. Some few were found still living the following morning, and their murderers were not so glutted but that they could renew and complete their ingenious slaughtering. Wherever two or more Spanish commanders met they rehearsed their deeds, and he who related the destruction of the greatest number of Indians was accorded the highest honours.

The method of enslaving, founded as it was upon a code of unwritten laws among the Spaniards, is interesting. If an Indian was found by a Spaniard having some corn which he had stolen, the latter had authority to enslave him. As a result of this the Spaniards scattered ears of corn about the country with great prodigality. As accessory to the imagined fact of theft, the relatives of the Indian might also be seized as slaves. Any Indian having relationship with a female slave became himself a slave, and these women slaves were instructed to entice men to a new kind of ruin. If a slave took food from his master's larder to give his relatives, they by this act became slaves to the said master. If food or goods were loaned an Indian and he did not return them, or their equivalent, the man, his family, and his relatives became the lender's slaves. The system afforded a cheaper and an easier means of acquiring slaves than any kidnapping excursion.

We have left Las Casas in Spain, pressing for audiences and pushing the claims of the Indians for justice and mercy. He had won the confidence and friendship of the Grand Chancellor, Juan Selvagius, but this good man died before the accomplishment of his desires. The clique of officials directly or remotely connected with the government of the Indies fought Las Casas at every step. These men were becoming rich off the traffic with the Indies and their financial interests called for the defeat of Las Casas and his plans. About this time there came from Pedro de Córdova, the prelate of the Dominicans in the New World, a scheme of colonisation which seemed to open the way for the propagation of religion among the continental Indians. Briefly, this was the inclosing of a tract of country one hundred leagues along the coast, into which no Spaniards except a priest might enter. This was opposed by the colonist party, by Bishop

Fonseca, and others, because it provided in no way for revenues to the King. It was then abandoned, but out of it, after some time, Las Casas evolved a compromise scheme. The King had appointed as Grand Chancellor, on the death of Juan Selvagius, Arborio di Gattinara, who listened favourably to the project of the enthusiastic Las Casas. This plan called for the creation of a company to consist of fifty members, each contributing two hundred ducats, giving a combined capital of ten thousand ducats. These fifty associates were to wear a peculiar dress, white cloth with red crosses, like a certain order of knights, the idea being to present to the Indians a new order of European colonists whose very appearance should indicate their dissimilarity from any with whom the Indians had hitherto dealt. They were to be given a tract of country, or a province, stretching three hundred leagues [1] along the coast, beginning one hundred leagues west of Paria and running inland from the coast over two thousand leagues. The company was not a religious order, although there floated through the mind of Las Casas a project, if it succeeded, of having the Pope clothe it with the powers and privileges of a clerical fraternity. The plan, as first proposed by Pedro de Córdova, did not provide for a royal revenue. As modified or altered by the scheme of Las Casas, the King was to have at the end of three years fifteen thousand ducats secured from the Spanish settlers *and from the Indians*, the revenue or tribute increasing each year until at the end of ten years the royal purse should have the goodly sum of seventy thousand ducats. Three fortified settlements were to be established within five years. The colonists were to have the twelfth part of the revenues, and this distribution was to continue for four generations of inheritance. They were to be Knights of the Golden Spur—the title passing by inheritance—and to have a grant of arms. They were permitted to take with them negro slaves to the number of 150, or three each, and if it seemed good to Las Casas this number might be so increased as to give each man seven slaves. They had other privileges and im-

[1] Las Casas asked for a tract one thousand leagues in extent. This was reduced by the Council of the Indies to six hundred, and as the Pearl Coast was too valuable a locality and had already attracted many adventurers, this tract was further reduced until, according to Herrera [Dec. 2, lib. 9, cap. 8], the lines were two hundred and sixty leagues in extent, between Paria and S. Martha. Las Casas makes this distance three hundred leagues.

munities, so that there were strong inducements to unite with this fraternity. This scheme, no matter by whom projected and advanced, had to pass the Council of the Indies, and here it met with persistent obstruction and delay. Juntas and councils were called and established for hearing those who favoured and those who opposed the plan, and particularly there was a debate on this general proposition, "Ought the Indians to be free?" An audience was also held by the King, and at this the second Admiral of the Indies, Don Diego Columbus, was present and spoke much in line with what Las Casas would have had him say. Las Casas himself spoke with great fervour, and to show that he was actuated by pure motives he dramatically exclaimed, "I do renounce whatever temporal honour or reward your Majesty may wish to confer upon me." But the persistency of repulse yielded finally to the persistency of attack, and almost the last official act performed in Spain by Charles V. as King before going to Germany to become Emperor was to sign, on May 19, 1520, the deed incorporating and chartering this company.

Las Casas now sailed for the New World to meet one of the great discouragements of his life. While he had been in Spain there had been established by the Dominicans and Franciscans, in 1518, on the Pearl Coast, two monasteries, one known as Santa Fé de Chiribichi and the other Cumana. Across from this coast was the island of Cubagua, in which some Spaniards were carrying on pearl-fishing. The Indians, being expert swimmers and divers, were employed for this purpose. When a diver would reappear above the water and be relieved of his burden, he was allowed a certain number of moments for recovering his breath, and if he exceeded the brief spell blows and beatings forced him again into the water. The work was hard, the food poor, and new slaves were constantly required to replace those who were condemned to be drowned as no longer useful, or who drowned themselves in the search for the pearl of peace. About this time a Spaniard, by the name of Alonzo de Ojeda,[1] made a kidnapping expedition to the mainland and stole some slaves, leaving death and devastation behind him. The Indians in turn fell on the Spanish colonists in Cumana and both monasteries were attacked. The innocent friars, who were engaged in the

[1] He is not to be confounded with the brilliant Ojeda who was killed in 1515.

solemn service of the mass, were killed at the altar. To avenge this act of revenge the Spanish authorities on Española sent an expedition under Gonsalvo de Ocampo, and him Las Casas met at Puerto Rico. Thus Las Casas saw a vision of the hopelessness of his project and the danger of establishing farms and erecting homes in a country newly aroused to fury by war and bloodshed. The expedition went upon the errand of retribution, and Las Casas sailed to Española, leaving some of his followers among the settlers in the former island. At San Domingo, our coloniser, with a certain practical turn and content to avail himself of ways and means suitable to the times and the conditions, arranged with the Audiencia, or governing Council, for a new commercial company which was to settle in Cumana, and which was to inherit the privileges granted Las Casas and his company of Knights. There were to be twenty-four shares, of which six were to stand in the name of the King, Las Casas and the interests of the old company were to hold six more, Don Diego Columbus was to have three, while the balance of nine shares represented the portion the members of the Council were to divide among themselves. The company was to engage in pearl-fishing, in trading for gold, and in the ordinary affairs of a colony in a land of mineral and agricultural richness. Slavery was permitted, but here Las Casas showed himself artful and cunning. It was provided that such Indians as Las Casas might designate as lawless and beyond the pale of redemption should be enslaved. We can conceive of some Indians, the uglier tribes given to eating men and incorrigible, being handed over to the whip of the overseers, but we cannot imagine Las Casas handing over to involuntary servitude one Indian or ten Indians of those tribes who were peaceful and well-behaved. Slavery took no heed of the nature of the Indian. All tribes, all provinces, were forced to yield their strongest and best to fetch and carry for their European masters.

CHAPTER XXI

COWL AND CELL

In May, 1521, the Dominican prelate, Pedro de Córdova, died and his place was taken by Antonio Montesino, a friend of Las Casas. The expedition sailed from San Domingo in July, 1521, and made for the island of Puerto Rico, where Las Casas expected to pick up the colonisers left there the preceding year. These had disappeared, joining the numerous group of free-booters and adventurers preying on the Indians. The rich Pearl Coast was under the control of Ocampo and a new town had been established by him a little back from the Cumana River and which he called Cordova Nueva, the New Cordova.[1] Here Las Casas and his expedition landed and here the brave coloniser met a new disappointment. His men declined to go further in the enterprise and returned in the same ships. Las Casas with a few servants and labourers remained and did his best to found a colony without colonists and to establish a city without citizens. He knew enough of settlements to know that the first building to be erected should be a fort, and a fort, at least in the hands of Las Casas and his priests who would make it a city of refuge to the Indian, was the last thing the Spanish adventurers on the island of Cubagua would permit to be builded. Las Casas had a Franciscan friar, Juan de Garceto, in his settlement, whose influence over him was strong and upon his insistent advice the former resolved to return to San Domingo and appeal to the Audiencia to help the little settlement against the evil influences of the Spanish pearl-fishers on Cubagua. He left the charge of temporal affairs in the hands of

[1] Helps calls this town Nueva Toledo, and repeats the story that Las Casas said it would have been a failure if it had even been called New Seville.

Francisco de Soto, who was a poor and imprudent commander and whose first act was to send away his small boats on a trading expedition. These small boats were essential to any coast settlement, for they would go by oars or sails and afforded an easy means of escape if the Indians made an attack. The inevitable happened and soon after Las Casas had left, the Indians fell upon the monastery and the unfinished fortress. Francisco de Soto, being in the Indian pueblo on the seashore when the assault was commenced, hastened to the monastery, distant a half league or more, and on his way was struck with a poisoned arrow, of which wound he afterwards died. Some of the Spaniards were killed; some managed to escape, among whom was Friar Juan de Garceto. Las Casas himself, driven out of his course and landing on another part of the island from San Domingo, heard of this terrible defeat of his project and learned from a party of strangers that "Bartolomé de Las Casas and his family and his settlement were all destroyed at Cumana." Part of the story Las Casas was in a position to deny, but he hastened on to San Domingo only to find that much of the rest was true and that disaster had indeed fallen on his colony. And so ended another chapter in the life of the New Apostle.

When first Las Casas came to the New World he had his residence in the city of the New Isabella, or the first San Domingo, on the east side of the river Ozama. Here the Dominicans had a monastery as well as the Franciscans. When, however, the city was removed to the west bank, more pretentious edifices were erected for both orders. The ruins of the Franciscan monastery may still be seen on a hill behind the famous Casa de Colon.[1] No spot is more picturesque. The deserted cloister, the long corridors of empty and roofless cells, the arches covered with vines, the massive walls, all speak of a structure such as the order might have raised to the heavens in Spain without attracting especial attention, but which in the New World must have been a splendid architectural triumph. The great soldier Ojeda sleeps in the sealed entrance and another still greater, Bartholomew Columbus, was once buried at the foot of the high altar.[2] The rich order of Dominicans likewise

[1] The Casa de Colon is the palace built by Don Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral.

[2] Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, is believed to have died at Concepcion about the end of November in the year 1514. He was buried in the Franciscan

had its monastery on the west bank, and we can believe it was in no sense inferior to that of the Franciscans. It may be that the walls which form part of the church of San Domingo once supported the famous monastery and included the earliest building devoted to education ever raised in the New World. Be this as it may, it was to the monastery of the Dominicans that Las Casas turned his steps when, overcome with chagrin and disappointment, he came back from his unfortunate settlement at Cumana. The Dominicans naturally appealed to a Spaniard, for Dominic or Domingo de Guzman, the founder of the order, was a Castilian by birth. In 1522 the black gown was assumed and the head shaven and Las Casas was formally received into the order to the joy of the members and, adds Helps, also to the joy of the inhabitants of San Domingo. Probably in all the New World there was no more unpopular or hated person than this disturber of accepted ways, this reformer of established customs. Slaves were beasts of burden like the horse. They were implements like the pick. But beasts of burden and picks were property and whoever deprived the citizen of these deprived him of so much capital. Here was this advocate for the emancipation of slaves at last fastened up in a walled religious city out of which he might never emerge. It was therefore good news to the slave-holder and his entrance to the strict order was much applauded. Eight long years passed in study and in work, for we think it certain that a large part of his *Historia* was written while in the monastery. He constantly refers to "this island," "it happened here," and makes use of other expressions showing he was composing his work in the place of which he was speaking, the island of Española and the city of San Domingo. That he did not finish it there is also clear since he was at work on it within a short time of his death. His long term of withdrawal from the world gave him an opportunity for reflection. He was not a young man, for we must remember he was eight and twenty when he first came to

monastery at San Domingo, notwithstanding the assertion of the protocol of Santa Maria de las Cuevas, that his remains were removed from Seville to the monastery of Las Cuevas. The protocol declares that after the bodies of the Admiral and his son, Diego, were transported to San Domingo in 1536, the remains of Bartholomew, his brother, still were deposited in the monastery. Diego Columbus ordered that these remains should be transferred to the convent of Santa Clara, which was to have been constructed, but which appears never to have been built. (See Moreau de St. Méry, in his *Description de la Partie Espagnole de Saint-Domingue*, vol. i., p. 246.)

Española. For twenty years he had been the most active spirit in the colony, frequently going back to Spain, travelling from island to mainland, living among the Indians and visiting the religious orders in every province. There was nothing in religion, nothing in the teaching of the Dominicans, nothing in the studies he pursued in the monastery, to alter or modify the principles of humanity and brotherly love which had flowed into and out of his great heart for so many years. As we shall soon see, the soul of the man was gathering strength for a renewed effort. Nevertheless, we confess to a sense of disappointment as we behold the Apostle, like the Greek hero, sulking in his tent. Persistency is the physical manifestation of consistency. We never like our gladiator to lower his arm. The good fight has no resting between rounds. Once out of the fire the iron cools and we would leave it there until it goes on the anvil for its permanent form. In the open, a man may think of the salvation of others. In the cell he thinks only of his own. The stone wall shuts out the cries of the slave. From the cloister the monk cannot look into the dull, despairing eyes of the burden-bearer. Unconsciously we find ourselves shortening the measure of our Las Casas and we find him in this one element of persistent purpose something less of a hero than our Columbus, who ever pressed forward to the purpose of his life. There is much uncertainty as to just when he emerged from the monastery. It is said by some that he went to Spain in 1530. His errand appears to have been the obtaining of an order from the Court of Spain forbidding the Spaniards who were going to Peru under Pizarro from enslaving the Indians. It is also asserted, and it is consistent with his energetic methods, that Las Casas himself bore this order to the captains in Peru.[1] There seems to have been a purpose in the mind of Las Casas to found one or more monasteries of his order in Peru, but if so the purpose was abandoned and he returned to the isthmus and

[1] The dates do not agree in perfect harmony as given by different biographers. Some say he went first to Mexico from Española, where he was instrumental in settling a dispute as to authority and priority of rank between the Dominicans of Mexico and those of the island. From Mexico at the beginning of the year 1531, he is said to have gone to Peru, going by land through New Spain and Guatemala and from Nicaragua taking ship at the port of Realejo, by which he was transported to Peru. This hardly leaves him time to go to Spain and perform his mission in Mexico, all of which must have been accomplished in the year 1530, according to the dates given by some historians.

made his way to El Realejo, the port of Nicaragua on the Pacific side. Here Las Casas rested in the neighbouring Dominican monastery at Leon, a city situated twelve miles from the sea, over by the western end of Lake Nicaragua and founded about 1523 by Franciscus Ferdinand. Monasteries dotted the country from Mexico to Nicaragua, and these our Dominican priest visited in turn. But the attention of Las Casas was drawn to a region in which neither soldier nor priest could gain a foothold. And now occurs one of the most pleasing chapters in the life of this great man.

CHAPTER XXII

THE LAND OF THE TRUE PEACE

If we sail into the Bay of Honduras and pass down to the south-western corner, in what is called Amatique Bay, we will reach the province of Vera Paz, in the northern part of Guatemala. When the Spaniards came to America they found two great empires, the Aztec in the north and the Quiché in the south. One of the tribes, the Tezulutlans, belonging to the Quiché race, inhabited the land about the Gulf of Honduras at the time of the Spanish Conquest and became famous for its resistance to the invaders. The province was no longer called Tecolotlan or Utatlan, but La Tierra de Guerra, the Land of War. Three several times had the Spaniards striven to conquer this stubborn people and to occupy their land. Each time the Indian warriors had succeeded in repulsing their foes. The country itself was ideal for resisting attacks. Huge rocks surrounding plains made natural fortresses. Thick forests with hidden ravines provided ideal ambushes. Streams were plenty, which rushed by in torrents and only the natives knew how and where to cross. With dispositions naturally ferocious, the success of frequent combat had made the Indians terrible. Sacrificing human life among their own people to please their gods, they put little value on the life of a Spanish foe. Into this country and among this people in the year 1536 Bartolomé de las Casas with his Dominican brethren from the monastery of Santiago de Guatemala resolved to go, not with musket or with lance, but to make a conquest, as he said, "without other arms than the double-edged sword of the Divine Word." No war was ever planned with the care, foresight, and cunning of this spiritual campaign.[1] Preparations were made long in

[1] Antonio de Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa*, Madrid, 1619; Manuel Joseph Quintana, *Vidas de Espanoles Celebres*, Paris, 1845.

advance. In the monastery of Santiago de Guatemala, Las Casas and a few of the Dominican brethren sat themselves down to a study of the Quiché tongue, under the guidance of Francisco de Marroquin, long a resident of that province and then its Bishop. The historian writes: "It was a delight to see the Bishop, as a master of declensions and conjugations in the Indian tongue, teaching the good fathers of St. Dominic." Pedro de Alvarado was the duly appointed Governor of this province of Guatemala, a fierce soldier, fighting for the sake of fighting, conquering for the sake of conquering, indifferent to danger and courting excitement, one of the wildest of all the Conquistadores, and yet, as we shall see, capable of doing at least one decent deed in a long list of unworthy actions. It so happened that this man was away at the time Las Casas was inspired with his idea of converting the Indians on a new plan. An agreement was made with the acting Governor, Alonzo Monaldo, by which if Las Casas and his Dominican brethren were to prevail upon the Indians to recognise the Spanish sovereign as their Lord and to pay him a moderate tribute [1] as

[1] That the reader may be able to appreciate the concession of a "moderate tribute," we reproduce from a treatise on Peru, written by Las Casas, the tribute exacted from five hundred Indian families in Arequipa:

1. They are to furnish 180 Peruvian sheep. An additional hardship was, that these sheep could not be procured in that district, but had to be sought for in a neighbouring province.
2. 300 pieces of cotton goods, each sufficient for the dress of an Indian.
3. 1000 bushels of maize.
4. 850 bushels of wheat.
5. 1000 fowls.
6. 1000 sacks with cords to them.
7. 60 baskets of *coca*.
8. 100 cotton napkins.
9. 30 swine.
10. 50 *arrobas* of *camaron*, a kind of fish. An *arroba* was twenty-five pounds in weight, sixteen ounces to the pound.
11. 500 *arrobas* of another kind of fish.
12. 5 *arrobas* of wool.
13. 40 skins of sea wolves, dressed, and 40 others undressed.
14. 2 *arrobas* of cord.
15. 3 tents.
16. 8 table-cloths.
17. 2000 baskets of pepper.
18. 2 *arrobas* of balls of cotton.
19. 9 house cloths.
20. 3 *arrobas* of fat, to make candles.
21. 15 Indians for the domestic service of the Spanish *encomendero*.
22. 8 Indians for the cultivation of his garden.
23. 8 others, to have charge of his flocks and cattle.

a token rather than a revenue, and to live at peace with their Spanish neighbours, then the province was to be a royal domain and was not to be parcelled out as farms, plantations, and residences as elsewhere in the country. For five years none of the Europeans, save the Governor himself, should be suffered to enter the province. This agreement was made May 2, 1537. The arrangement being made, the Dominicans applied themselves with renewed zeal to their work. Besides Las Casas, the three priests whose names deserve to be perpetually remembered in history were Luis Cancér, Pedro de Angulo, and Rodrigo de Ladrada. Having acquired a knowledge of the Tezulutlan or Quiché tongue with more or less fluency in its use, they set about employing it in an entirely novel manner. The great story of man's creation, his entrance into the Garden of Delight and his final banishment therefrom, the dispersion of the human race throughout the earth, the incarnation of God, the life, teaching, death, and resurrection of Christ, His promised second coming to judge all men, Indians as well as Castilians,—all this was put into the Quiché language, which lent itself to the sweeping movement of verse. "Not content with this," says Remesal, "they set their verses to a musical harmony for the instruments used by the Indians, and as these were low and somewhat coarse, they keyed the voice parts to a higher tone in the scale, so that the music was livelier and more pleasing to the ears." The next scene in the grand American drama introduces to us four Indians who long had been permitted at certain times to enter the forbidden territory of Utatlan for the purpose of trading with its people. To these four Indians the verses and music were taught until, after several months of study, they became perfectly familiar with the sounds and their meaning and letter perfect in the text. Then they were sent into the Land of War where they traded by day and sang by night their wonderful songs of power and peace, of might and mercy, of light and liberty and love. The Cacique and the tribe listened and notwithstanding the efforts of their own priests and medicine-men, they yielded their interests and attention to such a point that the four messengers were desired to return to the monastery where such things were taught and to bring back, provided the report of them was true in the judgment of a young brother of the Chief who accompanied them, the men who could teach and

explain the wonderful songs they had heard. Then Father Luis Cancér, the most proficient in the Quiché tongue, together with the same four Indian traders, returned to the Land of War with the brother of the Cacique. They were received by the Chief, and his brother reported to him that these men, these priests clothed in black robes with shaven heads, cared nothing for silver or gold, lived in simplicity and chastity and practised a religious faith which made them peaceful, kind, patient, charitable, content, and joyful. The Cacique and his subjects yielded themselves to the religion that was taught them and bowed their heads to the rites of baptism and confirmation.

At the end of October, 1537, Father Luis returned to the monastery at Santiago de Guatemala, and we can imagine how the great heart of Las Casas swelled within him as he heard of the success of his plans. Shortly after and before the year had ended, Las Casas himself visited the Land of War and the Cacique, who had been baptised Don Juan, received him as the convert receives his converter, and gave a tangible proof of the faith that had been awakened in him, by building a church and when it was maliciously burned, courageously rebuilding it.[1] Blessings now began to pour on Las Casas and news was brought him that the new Pope, Paul III., basing his decree on the missionary text *Euntes Docete Omnes Gentes*, issued a letter in which he declared the Indians to be "veritable men, not only capable of receiving the Christian faith, but, as we have learned, most ready to embrace that faith." At the same time the head of the Church protested strongly against enslaving the Indians. The Pope went further and enjoined upon the Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Spain, the promulgation and enforcement of his views and boldly pronounced a sentence of excommunication against those who should make slaves of the Indians or unlawfully take from them their goods.

There is still another scene which forms a sort of climax to the play. Into the town of Santiago de Guatemala there enters one day a little group of Spaniards and Indians. At the head walks a strong and bright-eyed ecclesiastic, Bartolomé de las

[1] Here Remesal indulges in a very unpalatable bit of pleasantry, and says that there were heathen who begged that the priests might be put to death, asserting that they would taste well served with Chili sauce—"tendrian buen gusto con Salsa de Chile."

Casas, and by his side strides the converted chief of the Land of War, Don Juan. After them follow two other Dominican friars and a small retinue of peaceful and subjugated Indians, wearing no chains but conquered by the power of the truth and in voluntary servitude to a new faith. The Bishop of Guatemala hurries out to meet the little procession and upon each devoted head calls down a well-deserved blessing. But here approaches a figure clothed in armour and wearing on his head a hat with gorgeous plumes. It is the Governor of Guatemala, the great Spanish conqueror, Pedro de Alvarado, whose followers stand astonished and deprived of speech, as they behold him remove his own plumed hat and place it on the head of the Cacique, a tribute to the dignity and bearing of the Indian Prince and to the modest triumph of the priestly embassy. The proud neck of the Tezulutlan chieftain bowed not to the might of the invader, but to the religion revealed by simple men in robes of black to whom the native was a brother and with whom the salvation of a soul was of more concern than the mines of Peru. And this Land of War was forgotten and a new name was given it by the Emperor Charles V., a name which still designates an important province in an American Republic, La Tierra de la Vera Paz, or the Land of True Peace.

CHAPTER XXIII

A MONITOR

AND now once more we find Las Casas in Spain receiving from the Emperor letters to be forwarded to the principal chiefs [1] of the province of Vera Paz, thanking them for the aid they had given to his subjects, the Dominican Fathers. An order was issued confirming the agreement that no layman should visit that territory for five years except as licensed by the Dominicans. At the beginning of the year 1540 the Emperor was called into Flanders, where he executed his terribly severe sentence on the inhabitants of Ghent.[2]

[1] These chiefs numbered among them Don Juan, the head Cacique and Governor of the town of Atitlan; Don Jorge, Chief of the town of Tecpanatitlan; Don Miguel, Chief of the town of Zizicaztenango; and Don Gaspar, Chief of the town of Tequizistlan.

[2] There had been stipulations of long standing between the towns of Ghent and the ancestors of Charles, by which no tax could be levied on the city without its consent. Charles's sister received his orders in 1536 to invade France, she being Queen-Dowager of Hungary and Governess of the Netherlands. She levied a tax of 1,200,000 florins, one third of which had to be paid by the county of Flanders. Ghent, being the most important city in the province, rebelled. It does not seem to have been a justifiable rebellion, since the subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins was voted in an Assembly of the United Provinces in which Flanders and the city of Ghent had their representatives. The stipulation above mentioned never could be interpreted to mean that absolute consent on the part of a province was essential before a tax should be levied on it for the purpose of general government. Taxation dependent on the consent of individual elements would fill no treasury. The principle of representation in a deliberative body clothed with the power of taxing was recognised. The principle of the right of the majority did not please the people of Ghent at that particular time. The hand of the Emperor fell heavily. Twenty-six of the principal citizens of Ghent were put to death, a far larger number were banished, forfeiture of its rights was declared against the city, and its revenues were confiscated. The crime seems less terrible than the punishment. The retribution was cruel and we can see in a high place an exhibition of severity and an indulgence in brutality not essentially different from that exercised by the Emperor's unrestrained subjects in the New World.

Las Casas was detained in Spain until the Emperor's return. It was now that he sat himself down to write his work, *The Destruction of the Indies*. He finished his labours toward the close of the year 1542, as we may see from the following document:

I, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, Monk of the Order of St. Dominico, having signified my desire to be recalled from the Indies, had leave to come over to the Court of Spain, to give an account of the deplorable condition of the Indians. To this I have been moved by the zeal with which God has inspired me for souls redeemed by His blood. My earnest desire is that they may know their Creator and embrace His word, that they may be saved. And I cannot choose but extremely pity Spain, my native country, because I am greatly afraid God will utterly destroy it for the enormous crimes committed by the Spaniards [who go into the Indies] both against God, against the King, and against their neighbours. I do not doubt but divers illustrious persons of this Court, who are truly zealous for the salvation of souls, are very sensibly touched with the calamities and miseries those multitudes of poor creatures suffer in the New World who are abandoned to the fury of the Spanish soldiers. I resolved long ago to draw up an exact relation of these matters, but have been still hindered by the continual urgency of those affairs in which I have been engaged till now. However, I have at length accomplished this design at Valencia, the 8th of December, Anno 1542. This treatise gives a short account of the violence, tyranny, persecutions, robberies, massacres, and devastations committed by the Spaniards in all the parts of America where they have dispersed themselves. These calamities and disorders have advanced to a degree that surpasses all belief, and it is the more surprising in that the Spaniards are much less furious and cruel everywhere else. Indeed, the people of Mexico and of the places adjacent are now treated much better than others: insomuch that nobody there dares offer violence to any Indian openly: 'T is true they exact immense sums of them, but the forms of justice are at least so observed, that the people are protected from the insults and affronts of such as have more power than themselves. I have great hope our Illustrious Lord, Charles the Fifth, Emperor and King of Spain, who begins to take cognisance of the tyranny and ill behaviour of the Spaniards toward the Indians, will undertake the protection of these miserable people, who are persecuted against his will, as against the will of God. All the miseries that have been inflicted on these newly discovered nations have been hitherto concealed from our Prince with no less subtilty and address than malice. Yet now 't is not to be doubted but this wise Emperor, into whose hands God has cast the government of those vast regions, and who bears so sincere an affection for justice, will give effectual orders to put a stop to these persecutions. May God preserve this illustrious Emperor in all the glory and prosperity that attends him, for the salvation of his soul and the preservation of the Church. Amen.

20

About this same time and after the Emperor's return to his Spanish dominions, Las Casas presented the Emperor with thirty propositions upon which he based his conception of the true Spanish title to the Indies. In this paper he held that the Pope of Rome, canonically elected to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ and the successor of Saint Peter, had received authority and power over all men, whether believers or infidels, in matters pertaining to salvation; that Saint Peter and his successors had contracted an indispensable obligation founded on divine precept to procure the publication of the Gospel and the propagation of the Christian faith in the whole world; that the Pope may and ought to send capable ministers for this purpose to the Indies and that those thus selected ought to go; that among all instruments for the publication of the Catholic faith and the conversion of infidels, Christian princes are capable of contributing most to this work; that Ferdinand and Isabella were chosen, with their successors, as agents for publishing the Catholic faith; that these sovereigns are the lawful rulers of many kings and princes in the New World, and that the natural kings of the subjugated nations ought to submit to the jurisdiction of the King of Spain; but before they, the native kings, had received the Catholic faith and baptism, and before the Kings of Spain had acquired any right over them, they depended on no tribunal nor jurisdiction of any judge in the world; that the Kings of Spain have the same power and jurisdiction over these infidels before their conversion as the Pope has in quality of Christ's Vicar, because the charge and care of spreading the light of the Gospel amongst these idolaters is committed to them; the manner of establishing the Christian faith in the Indies ought to be conformable to that which our Saviour used to introduce His religion into the world, that is, it ought to be a mild, peaceable, and charitable method: to go about to subdue the Indians by force of arms is a course utterly against the law of God, who is full of kindness, grace, and love; that it is to be expected infidels will always oppose such an attempt to invade their country in order to take possession of it by the title of conquest; that from the time when Christopher Columbus discovered the Indies, the kings of Spain have always expressly forbidden their subjects to make war upon the Indians, so that the Spaniards can show no authority or permission that was

ever given them by the King of Spain to commit any act of hostility in the New World: that the devil could never have invented anything more pernicious for the extirpation of the people of the New World and the desolation of so many great and populous kingdoms in a little time than the distribution the Spaniards have made of these nations among themselves, taking possession of the inhabitants as their own property and then treating them as ravenous wolves do a flock of sheep; this distribution which the Spaniards make of these people among themselves, as if they were so many head of cattle, was never commanded nor allowed by the kings of Spain; Queen Isabella of immortal memory gave express orders to Christopher Columbus, who was the first Governor and Chief Admiral of the Indies, and to Francisco Bobadilla, who succeeded him, and also to General de Lares, who came after both the former, to preserve peace and liberty among the Indians and to do them justice in all things; Admiral Columbus gave only three hundred Indians to such of the Spaniards as had done great service to the Crown, and for his own part contented himself with having only one Indian to serve him; the Court being then at Granada, the Queen issued an order that these three hundred Indians should be released and sent home and she permitted only Columbus to keep the one Indian whom he had taken for his service; that from all this it may well be concluded that if the sovereign jurisdiction of the Indies belongs only to the kings of Spain, the conquests which private men appropriate to themselves are unjust and tyrannical and the shares they have made among themselves are founded upon no lawful right.

Las Casas did not hesitate to speak and write plainly to the Emperor Charles V. At one time he would appeal to the monarch's cupidity:

> Your Majesty has no fixed and constant revenue in the Indies: your efforts are like leaves which when once they fall from the trees appear no more till after a year. That the Spaniards are possessed of the absolute government of the Indies is the true cause of this disorder: for the number of the Indians every day decreasing, your Majesty's revenues must necessarily receive a proportionate diminution.

Again he would sound in the ears of the Emperor an alarm for his own crown, or at least that set of jewels which were once worn by Ferdinand and Isabella:

Your Kingdom of Spain is in great danger to be invaded by foreign nations, especially by the Moors and Turks, who perhaps may one day be in a condition to destroy it: for God is a just Judge and cannot look upon the villainies and oppressions, the robberies and murders by the Spaniards in the Indies without indignation. All the nations of this New World who were created [as well as others] after the image and likeness of God, and ransomed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, have been unjustly and cruelly persecuted and tormented by them: they have made horrible slaughters among them to requite the many kindnesses they heaped on them with all imaginable freedom and civility. And that which still aggravates their crimes the more and must needs further provoke the Divine displeasure is that God has made choice of Spain to carry His blessed Gospel into the Indies, and to bring many populous nations to the knowledge of Himself: for which if they had fallen in with His designs, He would, besides these eternal rewards reserved for them, have given into their hands many good and fruitful countries abounding with mines of gold and silver, diamonds, and other precious stones and pearls: in a word, with all sorts of temporal blessings, beyond what any one can imagine, unless such as have seen it with their own eyes. And it is to be remarked that God usually observes this rule in the execution of His judgments, to proportionate His penalties to the crimes committed against Him.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE BISHOP OF CHIAPAS

In the year 1543; being at Barcelona attending on the Emperor, there was offered Las Casas the bishopric of Cusco in the province of New Toledo. The good man had in mind the speech in which he had renounced ecclesiastical and civil preferment of all kinds. How would he appear if he now took this honour? Moved by this sentiment of consistency, he declined to accept the office. Soon after a new bishopric was created of the province of Chiapas, south of Mexico and north-east of Soconusco, with a great range of hills between them. It was north of the Land of Vera Paz, which country would be in his diocese. There were reasons why a man like Las Casas should be on the ground of the New World to report the condition of the Indies to the government Council in Spain. Therefore, this new office was urged upon him, and as the principal of his order desired him to accept it, he made no further opposition and on March 30, 1544, in the chapel of the monastery of San Pablo [1] in Seville, he was consecrated the first Bishop of Chiapas. The new Bishop attended by his friend Rodrigo de Ladrada and some forty-four Dominican monks under Thomas Casillas, their vicar, set sail from San Lucar for the New World. As was generally the case in the voyages of that day to the Spanish Indies, they touched at the Canaries on the outward way and finally arrived at Española. Remesal in his *Hist de Chiapa y Guatemala* gives a most interesting account of the unfriendly and even hostile reception accorded the new Bishop both in the

[1] It is in the *Grande Salle* of this monastery that the sessions of the Provincial Congress are to-day held. Here, also, for a time was deposited the magnificent library collected by Ferdinand Columbus.

city of San Domingo and in his own diocese, the capital city of which was Ciudad Real, situated midway between the two great seas of the North and South. A Dominican monastery was here and it had the Cathedral Church as well. The Indians of this neighbourhood were intellectual and civilised and in gentleness surpassed all in the New World. Herrera says they loved music and appreciated the art of painting and were inclined to learn the arts and practise the industries of the Europeans. The new Bishop soon came into violent conflict with the Spanish colonists. These Spaniards set great value on the spiritual forms and religious customs of their Church. When one of them who held slaves approached a priest for absolution, he was told the Bishop had forbidden such remission of sins until the applicant stood free of the greatest of domestic sins, the possession of slaves. Even bodily assaults were attempted on the person of the Bishop. He and his priests were reviled and insulted whenever he appeared on the streets. He resolved to appeal to the authorities over in Honduras, the royal Audiencia, newly established there and having civil jurisdiction over this part of the country. So thither he journeyed to find himself regarded as a pestiferous priest stirring up trouble wherever he went and openly termed by the presiding officer, "a scoundrel, a bad man, a bad monk, and a bad Bishop." But the Bishop could reply with threats of excommunication and of appeals to the Emperor. He finally prevailed on the Audiencia to send an Auditor to Ciudad Real. The Bishop then set out to return to his city, when the whole population turned out to prevent his entrance. The monks of his own order begged him not to try to enter the city or his Church until public feeling was allayed. But the Bishop was in his element. He knew no physical fear and if the worst that could befall him should come he would be a martyr and martyrs live forever in the annals of the Church The people had set some Indians to watch and to apprise them of the Bishop's approach, but as they were friendly to him, they threw themselves at his feet and besought forgiveness. With his own hands the Bishop tied them as if they had been overcome by superior strength and thus were unable to fulfil their duties. Travelling at night, he reached the city and made his way to his church. Here was enacted a scene only possible in a lawless community. The inhabitants entered the Church,

he having summoned them, but no man noticed the Bishop or saluted him or showed him the least civility when he came to the altar from the sacristy. The town notary rose abruptly and read a paper and another official with his cap on his head spoke in denunciation of the Bishop and his conduct in striving to deprive the people of their property and their rights. We can see the Bishop, his eyes blazing but calm, and we can hear his thunderous tones as he addressed the bold official:

"Look you, Sir, when I have to ask you anything from your estates I will go to your houses to speak to you; but when the things of which I have to speak relate to the service of God and the good of your souls, I shall summon you and when you are thus summoned you want to hasten here lest evil come upon you."

The disorder continued and the Bishop was permitted to withdraw to the monastery of the Order of Mercy. While resting in his cell at night, an armed mob broke in upon him, assailing him with violent language and wounding one of his servants, a negro by the name of Juanillo, accusing him of tying the Indians. Some of the young and stalwart priests drove out the invaders and quiet reigned. A revulsion of feeling came over the town and by midnight the civil authorities and the populace were on their knees before him, kissing his hands and promising reverence and obedience.

This man was fitted for ruling the most turbulent and subduing the most unruly. He was greatest when aroused. He excited contention. It is extremely probable that if only saints dwelt within his diocese he would have managed to arouse in them at times a spirit of wild opposition to his rules and orders. He flourished in activity.

The Auditor who had come to Chiapas or Ciudad Real appears to have had some design to reform matters and to carry out the so-called New Laws, but he desired the absence of the Bishop, as he said, if he should be obliged to deprive a man of his slaves the sting of the loss would be less bitter if the penalty was not exacted in the presence of the Bishop. It so happened that just at this time there was a convocation or synod of Bishops and Prelates in the city of Mexico and it was thought an opportune moment for the Bishop to leave his diocese. Accordingly he set out for Mexico, where his coming had been

heralded and produced as much disorder as if an enemy's army was at the city's gates. He, however, was permitted to enter and retired to the Dominican monastery. He had his fighting garments upon him, for when the Audiencia informed him they were ready to receive him he replied he had no wish to see them, since he regarded them as those who were excommunicated and without the pale of the Church. This first beginning was followed by his virtually leading an ecclesiastical revolt. The synod declined to pronounce outright against the principle of Indian slavery and with a number of prominent men Las Casas held a convention of his own, in which he could put and adopt his own resolutions, the most forceful of which were that Spaniards who had made slaves were tyrants and that slaves so made were illegally held. To preach practically a doctrine of insurrection is not popular. Resolutions without guns do not set men free, but they excite trouble. The Bishop believed—and we can imagine with what alacrity his belief was supported by his Dominican friends and the civil powers—that he could do more good in Spain, close to the seat of power and authority, than in the New World, especially since he had so many of his own order ready to carry out his projects. He named a Vicar-general for his bishopric and in the year 1547 returned to Spain, where soon after he resigned his office.

CHAPTER XXV

DISPUTATIONS

THE reader may know of a rare little tract printed about the year 1552 which contains a dispute between Las Casas and the Doctor Juan Ginéz Sepulveda.[1] This man was a scholar of great pretensions. He had lately composed a tract entitled *Democritus Secundus sine de Justis Belli Causis*. In this little work the author maintained the right of the Pope and the sovereign of Spain to conquer by war the inhabitants of the New World. It is in the form of a dialogue between a German student, Leopold, and Democritus, the former holding that war was made on the poor Indians contrary to justice, humanity, and Christianity, and whose arguments were supposed to be demolished by the profound reasoning of Sepulveda in the character of Democritus, a name which he had previously used and which he now altered to Democritus Secundus. The Council of the Indies would not suffer him to print this tract and so the writer appealed to the great Council of Castile. The work in the meantime had been printed at Rome in Latin and then trans-

[1] Dr. Juan Ginéz Sepulveda was a learned historian, born in 1490, and who lived until 1573. His complete works were not printed until the eighteenth century. He wrote the life of Charles V., by whom he had been appointed, first chaplain, and then advanced to the post of historiographer. The title of the Spanish Livy was conferred upon him from the elegance of his Latin, in which language he wrote his works. The Emperor was very fond of him and had a high opinion of his worth as a writer, giving orders that as Sepulveda was getting old, particular attention should be paid to the preservation of his manuscripts in case of the author's death. The historian was arch-priest of Ledesma. The Emperor gave him any information for which he asked and which could aid him in his biographical work, but always declined to read or hear his writings concerning himself. "I will neither hear nor read," said the Emperor, "what people have written of me."

This man is not to be confounded with Laurenco Sepulveda, of whose writings there was gathered a collection of no less than 148 romances and who was cotemporaneous with the historian.

lated and reprinted in Spanish. It gave such encouragement to the slave-holder in the colonies that the ire of Las Casas was excited and he entered, together with some other ecclesiastics, upon a forcible opposition. In 1550 the Emperor convoked at Valladolid a council of theologians to hear the question debated with the most famous Latin scholar in Spain on one side and an ordinary monk whose life had nearly all been spent in the wild regions of the New World, who lacked all the graces of the polished courtier, and whose strength of reasoning and knowledge of debate might be assumed to be of the very commonest kind and weakened by the abating of his powers with his advanced age, for he was now seventy-six years of age. But here the cause makes the man and renews the spirit. Every sentiment Las Casas uttered he believed was the truth and nothing but the truth. Expediency, practical Government, shifting for a better position, postponing action until a more suitable time—these were things which he despised and which hamper their advocate as a net hampers the fighter in the arena. To do right though the heavens fall is simply unanswerable under almost every circumstance in life. Las Casas, moreover, was dealing with his favourite theme. He knew it by heart. He had heard the moans and dying cries of hundreds of the Indians. He had sworn to enter any field, to meet any knight, to accept any condition of mutual combat for the sake of the great cause to which his soul was anchored. So some discreet friend might have whispered the great Sepulveda to beware of this antagonist. Las Casas appeared before the Council and occupied five full days in reading his *Historia Apologetica*, composed for the occasion. Here were before the Council the printed work of Sepulveda and the five days answer by Las Casas. These were submitted to the Confessor of Charles V., Domingo de Soto, who had been designated to make a summary of the arguments on both sides of the controversy. The learned Sepulveda had given the following four reasons why it was lawful to make war upon the natives in the New World[1]:

1. For the gravity of the sins which the Indians had committed, especially their idolatries and their sins against nature.

2. On account of the rudeness of their natures, which brought upon

[1] Arthur Helps, in his *Life of Las Casas*, made this synopsis of these arguments.

them the necessity of serving persons of a more refined nature, such as that which the Spaniards possessed.

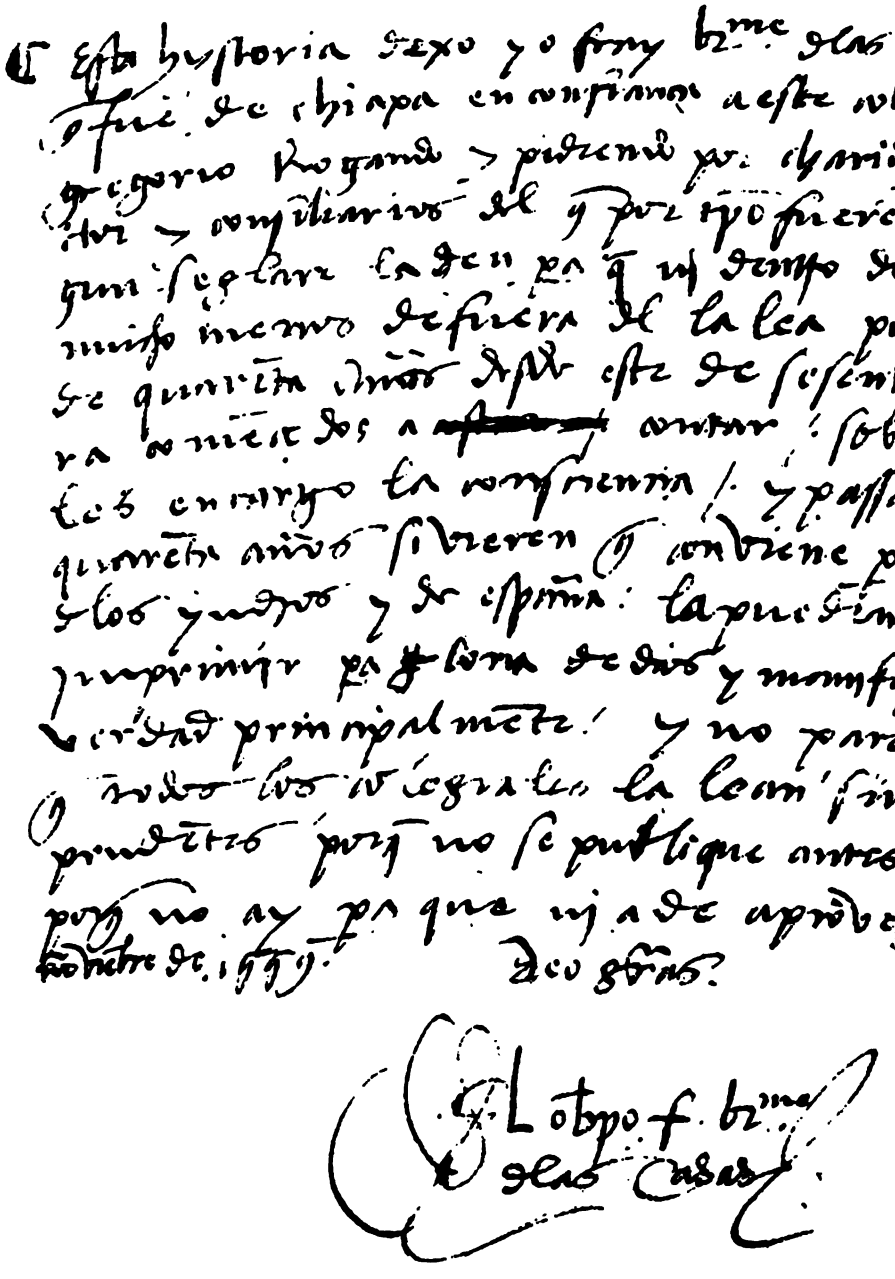
3. In order to spread the faith, which would be more readily accomplished by the prior subjugation of the natives.

4. To protect the weak amongst the natives themselves, duly considering the cruelties which the Indians exercised upon one another, slaying numbers in sacrifice to false gods and practising cannibalism.

The Word of God as interpreted by the mediæval theologians formed the foundation on which Sepulveda built his argument. Spain was Israel, the nations of the New World were idolaters and therefore enemies. The Book of Deuteronomy[1] was brought into Court as the Divine authority for taking cities, smiting males with the edge of the sword, making captives of the women and of the little ones, appropriating the cattle and all that might be in the city and all the gain thereof, eating the spoil of the enemies which the Lord should give to the Israelites. If doing these things made men obedient to God. then the Spaniards fairly shone with righteousness. When Las Casas obtained the floor he proceeded to show that this cedula of war was issued by the Almighty not against the nations of the world but against the peoples holding the promised land and which was reserved for the occupation of the chosen people. As to the rude natures of the Indians, who knew them so well as the Bishop? Had Sepulveda ever seen an Indian except as a youth when some natives were led through the streets covered with golden chains, not as bound men, but rather as the possessors of untold and unvalued wealth. One by one he answered the scholar and then he let loose his guns from batteries he had masked. He denied that the way of Sepulveda was the only way. He denied that it was God's way. He told of his life in the New World, of his establishing monasteries, of his building churches, of the baptism of thousands, of the conversion of whole peoples, and all by the power of the truth, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a gun or the waving of a banner. And then he showed how the Land of War had become the Land of True Peace, in which the natives worshipped God and practised the Christian religion. Sepulveda's side was reinforced by the arguments of a Franciscan monk, Bernardino Arevalo, and finally the Council pronounced in favour of the

[1] Deut. xx., 10–14.

treatise and its arguments entitled *De Justis Belli Causis*. It was the sort of a verdict that benefits the opposite side. The young Prince, afterward Philip II., acting for his father, forbade by a Royal order made at Valladolid in 1550, the circulation in Mexico or the New World of the work of Sepulveda and its pernicious doctrines.



Holograph of Las Casas Giving Directions for the Publication of his Work.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE HISTORIAN OF THE INDIES

THE home of Las Casas was in the Dominican College of St. Gregory at Valladolid and it was while here that he finished his great work, the *Historia de las Indias*. As we have said, this work was begun as early as 1527 while he was on the island of Española. It bears evidence, particularly in its description of the third and fourth Columbian voyages, of having been composed in that island. On the other hand, the last sentence but one in the book discloses that he was still employed in its composition in the year 1561, when he was eighty-seven years of age.[1] There are the following strange directions as to the publication of his work and stranger still is the fact that it was not till the year 1877, three hundred and eleven years after his death, that the book first appeared in printed form.

"Esta historia dejo yo Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Obispo que fué de Chiapa, en confianza á este Colegio de Sant Gregorio, rogando y pidiendo por caridad al padre Rector y Consiliarios dél, que por tiempo fueren, que á ningun seglar la den para que, ni dentro del dicho Colegio, ni mucho ménos de fuera dél, la lea por tiempo de cuarenta años, desde este de sesenta que entrará, comenzados á contar; sobre lo cual les encargo la consciencia. Y pasados aquellos cuarenta años, si vieren que conviene para el bien de los indios y de España, la pueden mandar imprimir para gloria de Dios y manifestacion de la verdad principalmente. Y no parece convenir que

[1] ". . . y plega á Dios que hoy, que es el año que pasa de '61, el Consejo esté libre della: y con esta imprecacion, á gloria y honor de Dios damos fin á este tercer libro. . . ."

". . . and may it please God that now, which is the passing year of '61, the Council may be free from it: and with this imprecation, to the glory and honour of God, we finish this third book."

todos los colegiales la lean, sino los más prudentes, porque no se publique ántes de tiempo, porque no hay para qué ni ha de aprovechar.

" Fecha por Noviembre 1559.

" Deo gratias

" El Obispo Fray Bartolomé de las Casas."

" I, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, formerly Bishop of Chiapas, leave this *Historia* in confidence to this College of Sant Gregorio, by charity praying and entreating of those persons who shall be the Rector and Counsellors of the College for the time, not to give it to any secular person; in order that for the time of forty years, counting from this year '60 which is approaching, it may not be read,—neither within the said College, nor much less without it; which matter I charge upon their consciences. And those forty years having passed, if they see that it is for the good of the Indians and Spain they can order it to be printed, principally for the glory of God and the manifestation of the truth. And it does not appear fitting for all the Collegians to read it, only the most prudent ones, that it may not be published before the time, as it is not for that purpose nor must it be so used.

" Done in November, 1559.

" Deo gratias,

" The Bishop Friar Bartolomé de las Casas."

Three years later, in 1564, he wrote a memorial on Peru and two years still later, in 1566, he went to Madrid to plead the cause of the Indians of Guatemala. The Audiencia, which had been so long established there and which was always a check on the rapaciousness and wickedness of the Spaniards, was removed and if a native sought justice he had to travel all the way to Mexico to plead his cause, and this he could not do. The brave-hearted, gallant old Las Casas won his case, and Philip ordered the restitution of the Guatemalian Audiencia. Alas! it was the last time the lance was ever to balance in his hand, the final appearance in the jousting list of the greatest knight of his time. He took a severe cold at Madrid, although it was July, and he yielded up his spirit there after its having occupied its earthly tenement for two and ninety years.

Thus passed the grandest figure, next to Columbus, appearing in the Drama of the New World. Against the purity of his life, no voice among all his enemies ever whispered a suggestion. If the Apostle Peter was a much better man, the story is told elsewhere than in his acts. If the Apostle Paul was braver, more zealous, more consecrated to the cause of

humanity, which alone can ask for Apostleship, Las Casas was a consistent imitator. The Church has never passed a saint through the degree of canonisation more worthy of this signal and everlasting honour than Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indies.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER XXVII

INTRODUCTION

No one has attempted to classify heroes. It is difficult to compare the work of the sword with the display of intellectual and moral qualities. The heroism of the sword may be put in a class by itself and whatever is not of the sword goes into another class,—above it or below it. Sometimes the degree of heroism may be determined by the general aspect of the thing accomplished, sometimes by the priority of an event, sometimes by its sequence. As the field, for instance, precedes the tent and the tent anticipates the city, so the discoverer of the field may be more important than Abraham and his family or Lycurgus and his laws. As the building of a city is accompanied by assaults from without and contentions within, so the man who establishes peace is a hero of a different sort and of a higher sort than he who drives the besiegers away from the walls or who overcomes an insurrection in the market place.

Heroism has in it something beyond its mere military attitude. War is nearly an exact science. Given the number, equipment, position, and temperament of two armies, and the fight can be determined before the firing of a gun. It requires courage to face an armed enemy, but when one is armed one's self the courage is not necessarily of the highest type. Death is the universal enemy of mankind and yet his known presence has failed to daunt some men, while now and then one goes forth purposely to meet him. Men have mounted the scaffold without trembling and sung as they passed in the tumbrils. To sail out into an unknown sea, far beyond the sailings of any other known ship, out into a sea which the imagination for ages has filled with horrors and portentous fears,—this

requires an order of courage which the military soul can scarcely experience.

The hero must have a purpose. This is an intellectual process. The mind first conceives and then prepares the action. The purpose need not be ultimate,—as regards the man's life. It suffices if it be complete within itself. The purpose must be high and be accompanied with steadfastness. The purpose must result in fulfilment. The fulfilment must be reasonably complete. And all these elements must be present in the composition of any one hero.

It has frequently been said that the discovery of America was an event which was about due at the end of the fifteenth century and that it would have come sooner or later from one of three causes and by one of three roads: by way of the north, from pushing the fishing grounds of Europe farther and farther west: by what may be called the middle way, from the legitimate advancement of western discovery; by way of the south, from some vessel falling under the influence of a westerly going current or of a westerly travelling wind. If the discovery came by the second way it would be by design; if by the first way or by the last way it would be by accident.[1] This last road was actually travelled by the commander of a Portuguese expedition, Pedro Alvarez Cabral, when setting forth from Lisbon in March of the very last year of the fifteenth century, expecting to pass around the southern point of Africa to establish a sort of colony on the southern point of Asia, his ship was delivered by strange currents and strong winds upon the American coast of Brazil. Cabral's discovery, then, was not that of a hero. The high purpose of discovery was not present with him on the way.

The Englishman with his Bible, shut up in Khartoum, fed on a high purpose, but his soul was not suffered to see the Nile valley freed from Moslem control. To this hero the fulfilment of his purpose was wanting.

In the days before our Civil War when only a bold man dared to oppose slavery, a certain man assumed heroic proportions

[1] Humboldt, in his *Examen Critique de l'histoire de la géographie du Noveau Continent*, vol. i., p. 32, remarks: "The history of geography unrolls to us this long series of attempts to advance westward; attempts prompted by profit, by a spirit of adventure, by chance of storm."

when on a platform before a thousand sympathetic listeners. As he moved abroad women and children drew away from him on the walk and rude men jostled him into the muddy street. Full of courage, he denounced the women and fought with the men, but growing weary of the contest he abandoned for a time his lofty purpose. Some years afterward he had a new impulse and circumstances gave him a conspicuous hand in the emancipation of the slave. Here were courage, high purpose, final success, yet the hero fell short of full heroism, for he was without steadfastness and his purpose was not fixed.

Into the composition of a hero, the philosopher pours a further element and requires that the perception of virtue shall be a sufficient reward. His victor must spurn the wreath; his poet may not wear the bay. We confess that we do not find this element in the heroic characters of actual life. It is a quality which belongs rather to the closet and the cloister. Such a formula will make a saint. A hero must not be selfish nor be moved by motives centring in himself. Such interest would colour his purpose and thus in his character there would be wanting the essential moral ingredient of a high and lofty purpose.

When we analyse the character of Christopher Columbus, we find each of these elements richly represented in his composition and we know that their united presence gave to the world a hero. He had, first of all, that spirit which enables one to encounter dangers without fear. This quality of mind was common to the first expedition to the New World. To have been enrolled in that gallant company was a certificate of courage. The sea-folk knew but one story of the great ocean, the *Mare Tenebrosum* of the ancients, the *Mare Occidentale* of their own time.[1] When they pointed to the westward it was to a mysterious region, where frightful monsters played in the deep, awaiting the coming of some adventurous ship or helpless caravel. Many had gone that way; none had returned. Gorgons and demons, succabi and succabæ, maleficent spirits and unclean devils, unspeakable things,—these inhabited this region and ruled therein. The very currents of the ocean obeyed them and swept the ships away from the known world. There were islands of

[1] In the first engraved map in Ptolemy's geography, printed at Rome in 1478, it is called *Mare Atlanticum*. The sea to the north and west is called *Oceanus Occidentalis*.

magnetic power drawing vessels to sure destruction on their rocks.[1] There were other islands peopled by cannibals. Now and then a brighter thread ran into the picture and some sailors returning from Gomera would tell of men who there had seen a vision of the island of Saint Brandon as in a cloud floating on the surface of the sea. But the walls and towers and minarets of that fabled isle were unsubstantial and the vision vanished as it came. Even this picture was regarded as the temptation of evil working forces, inviting the daring to their ruin. These were dangers not merely whispered in a winter's night, but actually represented in terrifying delineations upon the maps and charts.[2] There were learned men who declared that a theory which maintained the Antipodes was absurd, since men could not keep on their feet on the other side of the globe. There were fathers of the Church who preached that God never would suffer men to dwell in a portion of the earth where their eyes could not behold the coming of the Saviour. If to-day the imaginations of the sailors and travellers produce varying types of the sea-serpent, what must have been the monsters, visible and invisible, painted by the fancies of the simple sailors and fishermen of the fifteenth century! The enlightened mind of Columbus beheld no evil spirit, no mythical monsters of the sea, but his soul may well have been troubled at the thought of unknown dangers and at the responsibilities which his own persistency had brought upon him. After God and wooden walls, the safety of nearly fivescore lives depended on his skill, his prudence, his courage. This peculiar, this particular test of courage can never again be applied to the heart of man. So, too, can there never again be just such a discovery made. The corners of the globe have been searched. No other Cape of Good Hope is for the first time to be rounded. No unknown continent remains to be unveiled. There is left but one possible terrestrial discovery to be made by man and that is reserved for him who first shall place his foot on the extremity of the earth's axis. That discovery will be great and famous, but beyond satisfying certain scientific inquiries, it will be of no utility. If the polar

[1] Albertus Magnus, in the book *De Natura Locorum* contained in his *Philosophus Philosophorum Princeps*, says, speaking of the lower hemisphere or Antipodes: "Perhaps also some magnetic power in that region draws human stones even as the magnet draws iron." See also the legends in Ruysch's *Map of the World*, Rome, 1508.

[2] See legends on *Map of the World* in Ruysch's *Ptolemy*, issued at Rome in 1508.

region be soft as Andalusia, yet the way thereto must ever be through an Arctic night.

* * * * * * * * * *

The purpose of Columbus was a high purpose. The conception of this purpose was an intellectual triumph. Columbus begins his manuscript *Journal* with a formal declaration that having called the attention of the King and Queen to the Great Khan and other princes and the countries of the Indies and to the fact that their peoples were of many faiths and had on former occasions applied to the Pope for teachers in the Catholic religion, and whereas their Majesties as Catholic and Christian princes thought it good to send him, Christopher Columbus, to the said countries of the Indies to see the said princes and the peoples and to learn their dispositions and their condition, they ordered him "to go to the East not by land as is the usual manner of journeying, but to take, on the contrary, the route of the west by which way, so far as we know at the present time, no one has ever passed." And then Columbus goes on to formally state in his *Journal* that he was to be "Perpetual Governor of all the islands and mainlands I may discover and acquire, or which in the future may be discovered and acquired."

The purpose of Columbus then was not merely to find a short way to the East. It was not merely to visit the Orient and study its peoples. It was not merely to open a missionary field for the propagation of the Catholic faith. His purpose was to discover new lands in the Western Ocean and this purpose, complete in itself, was sufficiently fulfilled. He entertained the further design of civilising the inhabitants and converting them to Christianity. Columbus ever proclaimed himself a servant of the Church, and as such he was bound to provide heathen peoples with an opportunity to embrace his own religion. The lands to be discovered might be rich and as a loyal subject of Spain he was bound to secure his sovereigns the blessings of commerce. But these were incidental to the discovery of new lands.

This was the purpose announced by Columbus himself and frequently repeated in his letters and writings. What were these lands sought by Columbus, the discovery of which he

predicted with so much assurance? A Venetian traveller in the thirteenth century, Marco Polo[1] by name, had brought back reports of the marvellous extent of the far East and the wealth of its people, thus confirming with the credible voice of a

[1] Marco Polo says, in the prologue to his book of travels, that, being in prison in Genoa in the year 1298, he narrated his travels to Messer Rusticano of Pisa, who was his fellow prisoner and by whom the whole narration was reduced to writing. Gio Battista Ramusio, his first biographer, says Marco Polo wrote the account of his travels in the Latin tongue, employing a Genoese gentleman to help him. Therefore it was probably Genoese tradition which repeated the marvellous stories of Polo to the youthful and impressionable Columbus, for it is probable that the travels were not printed in a tongue known to him until after the latter's correspondence with Toscanelli. They were not printed in Italian until after his first two voyages to the New World. They had been printed in the German tongue and issued from the Nuremberg press of Frederick Creussner, the second printer to establish himself in that city, in the year 1477. Books of travel were rare in those days, and it is quite possible that even in its German dress the book may have been read by Columbus. Sailors know all the tongues. There is in the Bibliotheca Columbina in Seville a copy of Marco Polo's book, *De Consuetudinibus Orientalium regionum ex vulgari in latinum traductus per Fratrem Franciscum de Pepuris de Bononia.* This book is a small quarto of seventy-four unnumbered folios, but without date, place, or name of printer. There are copies in the British Museum, which Mr. Robert Proctor assigns to the press of Gerardus Leeu at Gouda, in Holland. It is in the type known to have been employed by that printer in the year 1484. It is believed to have been with Columbus on his first voyage, and has certain unimportant marks in the Admiral's hand.

Ramusio says that the stories told by Marco Polo seemed so incredible, his unit of measure being millions in speaking of all things, of cities, of fortunes, of temples, and palaces, that the Venetians even in the public documents of the Republic named him Messer Marco Millioni, and his house on the canal of Santa Maria was spoken of as Corte del Millioni. It is said that for generations, in the masquerades which were the forerunners of the Carnival of the Venetians, there was always one figure to represent their travelled fellow countryman, not in honour of his distinguished career, but in derision of the distorted stories they believed he had told to them.

There were others who not only believed his narrations, but who were ready to attribute to him the great inventions of the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing. There was a discourse by the Hon. R. Curzon (afterward Lord de la Zouche) entitled "A short Account of Libraries in Italy," *Bibliog. and Hist. Miscellanies, Philobiblon Society*, vol. i., in which the author claimed that printing by movable types had been invented and used as early as 1426 by Panfilo Castaldi of Feltre, who had been employed by the Venetian Republic to engross deeds, records, and edicts. Pietro di Natale, Bishop of Aquileia, had previously invented stamps or types of Murano glass. Castaldi, so the story went, had seen some Chinese books brought from China by Marco Polo and improved upon them by inventing movable wooden types, from which he printed in Venice some broadsides and single leaves. To complete the legend, Johannes Faust (once, in the different versions of the legend, Gutenburg is substituted for Faust) became acquainted with Castaldi and appropriated the glory of the invention. It is scarcely worth while to state that there is no ground at all for this story. The fame of John Gutenberg as the inventor of movable metal types is too well rooted to be torn up in this day, and Jean de Spira was incontestably the first to exercise his art in the city of Venice, as may be seen in his edition of Cicero's *Epistolæ ad Familiares*, printed in 1469.

Although this Marco Polo neither invented the compass nor introduced printing into Europe, he had his share in the great discovery of the islands of America.

European the stories of merchants of Arabia who traded in those distant lands. He told, as they had told, of cities populous and rich and grand. A city must indeed have been magnificent in its walls and towers, its palaces and public works to have excited the admiration of a traveller whose home was under the shadow of the Lions of St. Mark.[1] But Marco Polo told of more important things. He declared that Asia was washed by an ocean, even as the waters of other seas washed the coasts of Europe and of Africa; that beyond the eastern shores of Asia were islands rich in precious stones, in gold, in spices. He told of the great ships made of the fir tree; ships with four and five masts and with water-tight compartments so deftly joined that though one should be broken by striking some rock, the water would not leak into its companion compartment; ships with fifty and sixty cabins for the accommodation of the merchants sailing in them to trade in the distant countries; ships so large that from two hundred to three hundred hardy mariners were required to sail them and to manage the sweeps,—and these ships in countless numbers traded constantly with the islands out, far out, in the Indian Ocean. These ships went to Japan (Cipango), which was 1500 miles, said Polo, eastward of the continent, and to islands still farther east. The people of Cipango were "white, civilised, and well favoured." If Asia extended to an ocean, whither did the ocean extend? To Europe? If so, it was the same ocean, the *Mare Atlanticum* or *Oceanus Occidentalis* of Spain and Portugal, of Europe and Africa. If it was the same ocean, then clearly one could navigate its waters and by following the suggestion of the ancient writers and sailing upon the course marked down eighteen years previously upon the chart of Paolo Toscanelli, the Florentine astronomer, there might come to be fulfilled the prophecy in the *Medea* of the poet Seneca[2]:

"Nil, qua fuerat sede, reliquit
Pervius Orbis: Indus gelidum
Potat Araxem: Albin Persæ

[1] Paolo Toscanelli, in his famous letter to Fernam Martins, dated June 24, 1474, a copy of which he afterwards sent to Columbus, says, "One alone of their rivers has upon its banks two hundred cities with bridges of marble."

[2] There was only one dated edition of the tragedies of Seneca printed previous to the first voyage of Columbus, and that was issued from the Lyons press of Antonius Lambillonis and Marinus Saracenus, and dated in 1491, with marginal commentaries

Rhenumque bibunt: veniunt annis
Sæcula seris quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet: & ingens
Pateat tellus: Tiphysq; novos
Detegat orbes: nec sit terris
Ultima Thyle." [1]

by Gellius Bernardinus Marmita of Parma. There was in the library of Ferdinand Columbus in Seville a copy of the Venetian edition of 1510, in which this son of the Admiral had written on the margin opposite this passage, "Haec prophetia expletã ẽ per patrẽ meum, Christoforũ Columbũ Almirãtẽ Anno 1492."

In Ferdinand's copy of *Tragedie Senece cum Duobus Commentariis* there are many other holograph notes, from which we learn that he bought the volume in Valladolid, sometime early in March, 1518, paying six reals for it, including two reals for binding. We also learn that Ferdinand began to read the book, annotating it, in the same month, March 6, 1518, and finished it on Sunday, July 8, 1520, while he was in Brussels.

[1] Act II., line 371, *Medea.* Last nine lines of chorus.

This famous passage profoundly fixed itself in the mind of Columbus. In his manuscript work, *De las Profecias*, which he began to write in 1501, he quotes it twice and adds to it a Spanish translation. The Admiral saw himself the one selected by the ages for the fulfilment of the prophecy.

The poet begins the chorus of *Medea* by glorifying the courage of the sailors and adventurous travellers at a time when neither the stability of the stars was known nor the winds were distinguished by names and directions. He then says that the sea is open to all since the Argonauts made their famous expedition; and that there is no need now of a vessel fashioned by the hand of Minerva. Ships of all kinds traverse the high seas. Seneca then contrasts the first navigations with the conditions existing in his time when the East and West came close together:

There is left to be found no thoroughfare. The Indian to-day drinks of the icy Araxes, and the people of Persia quaff the waters of the Albis and the Rhine. Then there shall come a time when the ocean shall break its bounds and a vast world shall appear, and Tiphys shall discover new lands and Thyle shall no longer be the most distant point of the earth.

The above passage is generally incorrectly quoted and a wrong metrical arrangement bestowed upon the lines. Tethys is often substituted for Tiphys, weakening, if not destroying, the sense. Tiphys was the pilot of the ship of the Argonauts, and there was poetical propriety in a new Tiphys, our own Columbus, opening new lands. Lord Bacon, in his *Essays Civil and Moral*, in the thirty-fifth essay, entitled *On Prophecies*, quotes the passage and then remarks, "A prophecy of the Discovery of America."

Gellius Bernardinus, the commentator, observes on the margin opposite this passage, *Quod Navigabimus ultra Tylem: & alias insulas inveniemus.*

Herrera, in his *Historia de las Indias Occidentales* (Dec I., Book I.), in referring to this passage accuses Seneca of being a bad prophet, "because the Roman Philosopher fancied that America would be discovered on the side of the north and not toward the west." Without criticising the Spanish historian for not distinguishing between the philosopher and the tragic poet bearing the same name, he may be justly criticised for thus interpreting the passage *Nec sit terris ultima Thylæ.* The poet does not say that the new land will appear in the direction of Thyle, but that when it does appear, when the New World is discovered, it will be situated beyond, farther away from the then inhabited world than the island of Thyle, then known to be the farthest out in the Western Ocean. The commentator, the learned Gellius Bernardinus, in the edition of 1491, remarks on this passage, "Tile: an island situated between the north and west seas, was the last land known to the Romans."

The geographer Strabo, in his first book, quotes the belief of Eratosthenes that it might be possible to go by sea from Spain to the Indies on a parallel described by a

We know from his writings that Columbus was familiar with all that the ancients had to tell of the earth, of its probable sphericity and of its having in the Antipodes both land and inhabitants. He was acquainted with the sound arguments of the philosophers and the imaginary creations of the poets. Himself a maker of maps, he must have seen many charts which contained islands, such as Atlantis, Saint Brandon, the Isle of Seven Cities, and others situated in the *Mare Atlanticum.* Then in other maps he beheld the shores of Asia with islands out beyond and with which the subjects of the Great Khan maintained profitable traffic, as related by Marco Polo and his relatives and by the English traveller Sir John Mandeville.[1]

line drawn through the Atlantic Ocean in the temperate zone, a line which would pass through *Thinæ* (Θῖναι), a city of Eastern India at the further extremity of the habitable world—and the Mediterranean, and that in this same temperate zone inhabited by us, somewhere in the same parallel, there might be found habitable lands, two and perhaps more than two. We reproduce the passages, following the Latin translation of Strabo:

"Itaque nisi Atlantici maris obstaret magnitudo, posse nos navigare per eundem parallelum ex Hispania in Indiam: id quod reliquum est ultra dictam distantiam, quod totius circuli trientem excedit: siquidem circulus per Thinas ductus minor est ducentis milliaribus, ubi nos stadia dimensi sumus ex India in Hispaniam. Ne haec igitur recte dicit. Haec enim ratio de zona temperata nostra secundum mathematicos potest constare, cujus pars est terra habitata: de hac autem (vocamus autem eam quam inhabitamus er notam habemus possunt autem in eadem temperata zona vel duæ habitatæ terræ esse vel plures semper, etiamsi proxime circulum per Thinas transeuntem circulus per Atlanticum mare describatur)."

"And so, if the great extent of the Atlantic Ocean did not stand in the way, it would be possible for us to sail on the same parallel line from Spain to India: and that which would be left beyond this distance would not exceed a third part of the entire globe: since the circle drawn through Sina on the parallel which we reckon our distance from India to Spain is less than 200,000 stadia. Here, also, he [Eratosthenes] does not reason correctly—for speculation concerning that part of the temperate zone in which is the habitable earth is the province of those who understand mathematics, but not so concerning this (so we call that part which we inhabit and of which we have knowledge. But there may be two or more habitable lands in the temperate zone and especially in the neighbourhood of the parallel which passes through Sina and the Atlantic Ocean.)"

This passage, containing as it does the speculation of one if not of two great geographers of antiquity, is more marvellous in its prophetic utterance than that of Seneca.

Kramer and some others here read Athens for Thinai or Sina.

[1] The travels of Sir John Mandeville were printed in French, Italian, German, and Latin, in thirteen editions, between 1480 and 1492. The first edition is either that printed in French and at Lyons, February 8, 1480, or that printed in Italian with Latin preface, at Milan, July 31, 1480. If the year is intended to begin with March, then the Milan example has priority of date.

Sir John Mandeville was born in the city of St. Albans. Devoted to study, he became a special expert in medicine. Fond of travel, he visited the principal countries of the three continents, going into the remote parts of Asia and visiting the Indies. He left England in 1332, and spent four and thirty years in foreign travel. He died in 1372, at Liege in France. The stories he told of Cathay, of the Great Khan, and of the provinces, confirmed the narrations of Marco Polo.

Thus between the coasts of Asia and the coasts of Europe lay in his mind a picture of a vast ocean containing what we may call two sets of islands, the first those told of in legend and in fable, but which after all might be real, and the second set those which were reported by travellers and merchants as lying in the ocean in the region of the Indies. He could sail to Cathay. to the country of the Great Khan, but he would probably pass by these two sets of islands on his way. The second set, those lying in the region of the Indies and which were reported rich in stones and gold and spices, he must find at all hazards. The great purpose, then, which he had in mind, the purpose to which he clung with such tenacity and which he was permitted to see fulfilled, was the discovery of islands and mainlands lying between Spain and India. A land such as was Cathay, inhabited by people populous enough and rich enough to build great cities, would be too powerful to be brought under the dominion of the King and Queen of Spain. The Spanish monarchs never could have entertained the thought that they were embarking on another prolonged and uncertain war with a powerful Eastern prince whose subjects were war-like and innumerable, whose wealth was vast and inexhaustible. The Great Khan had a bodyguard of 12,000 horse. As long before as in the thirteenth century the Mongols sent a fleet with an army of 100,000 fighting men against the distant island of Cipango. When King Ferdinand reviewed his troops in the month of April in the year 1491 in the last struggle against the Moslem power in Granada, he counted all told not more, according to the best historians, than fifty thousand soldiers horse and foot.

The Moors were conquered at Granada, but the victory had emptied the treasuries of the Spanish kingdoms. The power of the Church, never so great as when it stood with cross and sword over the fallen Moslem, had at that moment insisted upon the expulsion from the realms of every person professing the Jewish faith, and thus the country was deprived of a people not only possessing commercial riches but constant producers of national property, a people sober, dexterous, and thrifty. The land of Spain was drained of a quickening force without which the fertile ground in vain smiles back at warming sun and gentle rain,—an industrious, frugal, intelligent population. In

this situation their Spanish Majesties might find the means to partly equip three small vessels, but not to launch them on a sea of expensive conquest. It is true that Columbus speaks of lands to be acquired and it is true that the King and Queen likewise adopt this expression, but it is the kind of acquiring or conquering which will take and retain new territory without perhaps the firing of a lombard shot; not that kind of conquering which comes from war, from countless battles, from the devastation of fields, and the destruction of armies. Spain well knew this last kind of conquering and at that particular time desired no more of it. In speaking of some of the commodities found in the islands the Admiral says he believes that the cotton will sell very well; that it need not be carried into Spain for a market but sold in the cities of the Great Khan, and that the products of Spain and those of the Orient will there be exchanged. Commerce, not conquest, is occupying his mind.

Columbus expected to reach the Indies or Cathay, even to interview the Great Khan,[1] the ruler of that country, but everything points to his expectation of finding islands and lands on the way.[2] In Bernaldez's[3] history we read:

Columbus came to the Court of the Catholic sovereigns—Ferdinand and Isabella—and revealed to them his plans, to which at first they gave no faith. But having declared to them that he was certain to succeed, and

[1] Toscanelli, in his letter to Columbus, says: "You are sure to find [in Cathay] populous cities and rich provinces and you will cause much joy to the king [the Great Khan], and to the other princes who govern those far countries, in opening to them a road of communication with Christians."

In the *Journal* kept by Columbus on his first voyage, he begins with a short discourse addressed to the King and Queen. In this is the following passage: "And in accordance with the information I gave Your Highnesses of the lands of India and of a prince who is called the Great Khan . . . Your Highnesses thought . . . to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said countries of India to see the said Prince . . . and on that occasion they accorded me great favours, ennobling me to the end that henceforth I should call myself by the title of Don and that I should be Grand Admiral of ocean sea and Viceroy and perpetual Governor of all the isles and mainland which I should discover and conquer."

[2] In the *Book of Privileges* made by Columbus is copied the Patent given him by the King and Queen under date of April 30, 1492, and in which they say: "Inasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command to discover and conquer, with some of our vessels and our subjects, *certain islands* and mainland in the ocean, and as it is hoped, with the assistance of God, that some of the *aforesaid islands* and mainland in the said ocean will be discovered and conquered through your labour and industry," etc.

[3] *Reyes Catolicos*, vol. i., chap. cxviii.

having exhibited to the sovereigns a map of the world,[1] he awakened in their breasts a desire to discover these new islands. They gathered there some people of their Court [2] skilled in geography, who having understood the explanations of Columbus became convinced that he was right.

In one of the letters written by Peter Martyr to Count Tendilla and the Archbishop of Granada, dated Barcelona, September 15, 1493, there occurs this passage:

Meministis Colonum Ligurem institisse in castris apud reges, de percurrendo per occiduos Antipodes, novo terrarum hemisphærio, meminisse oportet. Qua de re vobiscum aliquando actum est. Nec sine vestro, ut arbitror, consilio rem hic aggressus est.

" You remember that Columbus, the Ligurian, when at the camp with the sovereigns, insisted upon the [possibility of] reaching *a new hemisphere of the earth* by the western Antipodes. It is important you should remember this. It was occasionally discussed with you; nor did he undertake that enterprise without your advice, I think."

Whatever conceptions Peter Martyr had formed of the purposes of Columbus, they were evidently not modified but strengthened by his personal conversation with the Admiral. He thus recalls to the minds of his correspondents the persistent views held by Columbus before he set out on this voyage and which had the acquiescence of these two men, the latter [3] of whom was his good friend and supporter.

It is true that Columbus proposed to find a short route to the Indies by the Western Ocean; it is true that he expected to reach Cathay and visit the home of the Great Khan; but it is also true that he expected first of all to find inhabited islands and to take possession of them in the name of their Majesties, the King and Queen of Spain.

* * * * * * * * * *

Columbus possessed the heroic quality of steadfastness. He now and then despaired of accomplishing his purpose through

[1] This was, perhaps, the map made by Toscanelli or one modelled after it. On the Toscanelli map, as reconstructed by late writers, twelve squares each of 250 miles in length would take Columbus from the most westerly of the Canary Islands to what the Florentine physician believed to be the islands in the region of the coast of Asia.

[2] This was the conference held in 1491, while the Court was before Granada in Santa Fé, and is not to be confounded with the alleged council at Salamanca.

[3] The Archbishop of Granada was Hernando de Talavera, who had been Prior of the monastery of Prado, near Valladolid.

the help of Spain, but he never relinquished for a moment his hope of final triumph. In the fancy of writers he is represented as travelling from one European Court to another, offering his plans first to one and then to another, pleading, beseeching, supplicating, becoming more and more despondent at every rejection. Columbus himself never visited but two courts upon his errand, that of Portugal and that of the Spanish Sovereigns.[1] But with those two Courts he laboured years against prejudice, jealousies, and obstacles of many kinds. He persevered and pursued steadily his design. It was a project for the carrying out of which he must have the aid of a powerful prince. No man ever showed a more undaunted heart or clung more tenaciously to a purpose.[2]

The purpose of Columbus was reasonably fulfilled.

In the *Journal* of Columbus as reported by Las Casas under date of February 14, 1493, it is recorded that the Admiral, to preserve a record of his discoveries in the event of the destruction of himself and his companions, as seemed imminent from the

[1] Columbus represents himself as refusing to serve other Courts. Navarrete (vol. ii., p. 254) quotes a document in the handwriting of the Admiral which was written toward the end of the year 1500 (the original of which is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua). In this he says: "Seventeen years have passed since I came to serve these princes in the enterprise of the Indies; eight years passed in discussion and in the end my projects were ridiculed. I persevered, nevertheless, with zeal and replied to France, England, and Portugal that I reserved to the King and Queen, my Sovereigns, these countries, and these domains."

Again, he says in the *Historie* (Life of Columbus, by his son Ferdinand, page 35 of the Italian edition of 1571, the passage being omitted in the French edition of 1681): "To serve your Majesties I have listened neither to France, nor England, nor Portugal, whose princes have written me letters as your Highnesses may still see in the hands of the Doctor Villalano."

Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to the Court of Henry VII. of England. Bartholomew was probably afterwards for a time in France, in the household of the Princess Anne of Bourbon, the wife of Pierre de Beaujeu.

There is no foundation for the story that Columbus had offered his services to the country of his nativity. It might have been in accordance with the dramatic unities that the adventurous Genoese should have desired his enterprise to be undertaken by that great maritime Republic, but the story rests alone on the supposition of Ramusio, supported by neither document nor record. Nor, indeed, is the legend ever mentioned again until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[2] An Italian alienist has lately (see *Forum*, July, 1899) discovered that Columbus was a paranœic, because, for one reason, of this very constancy of purpose, supported as it was by a faith in a Supreme Being and a belief in his own selection as an agent for working out great designs. This same scientist, who clearly reveals his want of acquaintance with historical facts in the case of Columbus, has made a ludicrous blunder in discovering a national American characteristic based on 10,000 incidents reported in the newspapers by facetious paragraphers. He might have made an observation more or less interesting on a national characteristic of American humour.

violence of the storm then upon them, took a parchment and wrote upon it a brief account of the discoveries of which he was the author, begging that whosoever might find it would immediately carry it to the King and Queen. This parchment, hermetically sealed and attached to a log of wood, he committed to the sea.[1] It was never heard of again. But there have come down to us in printed form the contents of two letters written during the voyage, the one dated February 15, 1493, and addressed to Luis de Santangel, an official of the King [Escribano de Racion] and another dated three days afterward, February 18, 1493, and addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, the royal Treasurer. In the first letter the Admiral writes:

As I know that you will have pleasure in the great victory which our Lord hath given me in my voyage, I write this to you that you may know how in twenty days [2] I passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, had given me, where I found *many islands* filled with inhabitants without number.[3]

In the letter to Gabriel[4] Sanchez the Admiral says:

As I know that it would be agreeable to you to learn that I have been successful in my enterprise, I have resolved to acquaint you by this and in minute detail with the things which have happened and the discoveries which have been made in our voyage. Three and thirty days after I departed from Cadiz, I entered the Indian Sea, where I discovered *many islands* [5] inhabited by innumerable people.

Columbus himself believed his purpose had succeeded. His final purpose was not complete and much remained to be done,

[1] In the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, the *Journal* records that a second account was written on parchment in like manner, but placed upon the deck, thus floating in the event of the ship's foundering. The *Historie* also states that 1000 ducats were to be paid to whomever should find and deliver the package.

[2] This is, of course, an error. The word in the text of the first Spanish edition being *veinte*, which is corrected in the subsequent editions to the numerals xxxiii.

[3] The first printed copy of this letter has these words at the bottom of the leaf: "Columbus sent this letter to the Escribano de Racion [Luis de Santangel] concerning the *islands* found in the Indies. Received with another for their Highnesses." This was probably the endorsement of some clerk or Court official, and being on the document was printed with the text.

[4] In the Latin translation of this letter, made by Leander de Cosco about April 25, 1493, and printed in many editions, the recipient of the letter is called Raphael Sanchez.

[5] The titles of all the Latin editions of this letter ran: *De Insulis Indiæ Supra Gangem Nuper Inventis.*

but he had accomplished his more immediate purpose, the discovery of certain islands which he was persuaded were lying in the waters east of the Asiatic coast. When he sailed back to Spain there was no suggestion on his part and no idea on the part of the King and Queen of Spain that he had found Cathay or continental land. Apparently a thought crossed his mind that the island of Joanna or Cuba might be Cathay, but he dismissed it at once. We shall see that later[1] he adopted this idea,—to again abandon it. The islands he had found were, in his mind, those lying far out *beyond the Ganges* reported but not visited by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville. He says in his letters to Santangel and Sanchez: "Although men have talked or written of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from actual observation, and those hearing the accounts judged them to be fabulous." None of these islands was within the realm of known lands like Cathay and Cipango.

No invention springs from the brain into the hand of man perfected and complete. It comes by development. And so it is with discovery. It is a principle of law that one may enter upon an estate by occupying a portion. The discovery of a part of a territory entitles the original discoverer to the whole. In discovering, possessing, occupying a group of islands in the Western Ocean, Christopher Columbus for the King and Queen of Spain, in whose name the great enterprise was undertaken, discovered the New World, the western hemisphere, and thus fulfilled the purpose born in the days of his early manhood, absorbed into his very being in the years of his maturer life, tenaciously held throughout vicissitudes and discouragements and finally satisfied in success and triumph.

* * * * * * * * * *

Christopher Columbus was wedded to another purpose, an ultimate purpose, one which dominated his life and which in dying he bequeathed as a legacy to his heirs,—the institution of a new Crusade and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. All else that he proposed or accomplished was subordinate and subsidiary to this absorbing project. This was his mission. He believed that to effect this he had been brought into the

[1] On the second voyage one of the officials under Columbus compelled his men to declare against the insularity of Cuba.

world,—a predestined agent of God to restore to the Christian world the birth-place of the Saviour. He believed himself a messenger of the Most High charged with the deliverance of Jerusalem. The discovery of new lands was a single step in this ultimate purpose. The accumulation of wealth for the sovereigns and himself was another advance toward the accomplishment of the great plan. The key to the character of Christopher Columbus lies within our hands and we can comprehend him only when we see him as he saw himself, when we realise that he held himself a Divine agent selected to execute a grand design, the accomplishment of which he believed would close perhaps the last chapter of the world's history and introduce the thousand years of peace. He was still a mere lad when he heard preached in Genoa, as it was throughout all the lands of Europe, the pious Crusade ordered by Calixtus III. In every city, in every church, there was offered a plenary indulgence to those who should take the sword, and remission of sins to those who contributed towards the raising of an army. Almost the last act of this Pope was to grant a three years' indulgence to all who, at the tolling of the bell at high noon, should say three Paternosters and three Ave Marias for the success of the Christian arms against the Moslem powers.

When Æneas Sylvius assumed the Papacy in 1458, this Genoese lad of twelve heard discussed on all sides the project of the new Pope, Pius II. While yet he was carding wool in his father's shop he listened as men told of the Council called to meet at Mantua and he must have watched the travels of the Pope as he slowly wended his way through Italy, leaving Rome on February 18, 1459, and reaching Mantua only on May 27, every step of his journey marked with a vehement exhortation to support the new Crusade. As he left his father's house and began to learn of the sea, the youthful Genoese found sailors and soldiers ready to take their part in the expedition. In the year 1464 he might have seen the fleet gathered at Ancona and even beheld another Christopher, the Doge Maurus, coming with his own ships from Venice. He might have met somewhere on the road between the Ligurian and Adriatic seas two travellers bent upon the same errand of witnessing and speeding the departing Crusaders, the one Paolo Toscanelli, the other Fernam Martins, a Portuguese priest, destined ten years

later to be the two correspondents who should discuss a western route to the Indies and who should confirm by that very correspondence the purpose of the Genoese adventurer then living in Portugal.[1]

Before Columbus sailed from Palos on his first voyage he had exacted what he believed to be a promise from the sovereigns that whatever profits might come from his enterprise should be employed in the conquest of Jerusalem. In his *Journal* under date of Wednesday, December 26, 1492, Columbus writes concerning the wealth which he expects to find gathered by the men he leaves behind during his absence:

"y dice que espera en Dios que á la vuelta que él entendia hacer de Castilla, habia de hallar un tonel de oro que habrian resgatado los que habia de dejar, y que habrian hallado la mina del oro, y la especería, y aquello en tanta cantidad que los Reyes antes de tres años emprendiesen y aderezasen para ir á conquistar la casa santa, *que así* (dice él) *protesté á vuestras Altezas que toda la ganancia desta mi empresa se gastase en la conquista de Jerusalen, y vuestras Altezas se rieron y dijeron que les placia, y que sin esto tenian aquella gana.* Estas son palabras del Almirante."

"And he says that he hopes in God when he returns from Castile, as he intends, he will find a tun of gold which those people he is to leave will have traded for, and that they will have found the Mine of Gold and the spices, and all *that* in such a quantity that before three years the Sovereigns will undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre (casa santa). '*Because,*' he says, '*I thus protested to Your Highnesses that all the profit of this, my undertaking, should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and Your Highnesses laughed and said that it was pleasing to them and that even without this, they had the inclination to do it.*' These are the words of the Admiral."

When on February 22, 1498, Columbus instituted the Majorat as authorised by the Sovereigns he introduced the following paragraph which, as confirmed by him just before his death, became a part of his last will and testament.

"Item: porque á persona de estado y de renta conviene por servir á Dios, y por bien de su honra, que se aperciba de hacer por sí y se poder valer con su hacienda, allí en San Jorge está cualquier dinero muy seguro, y Génova es ciudad noble y poderosa por la mar; y porque al tiempo que yo me moví para ir a descubrir las Indias fuí con intencion de suplicar al Rey y á la

[1] In the letter of Toscanelli to the Lisbon Canon, the words *Crusade* and *Holy Sepulchre* do not occur. But who knows what messages and what influences go into paper or parchment besides the written word?

Reina nuestros Señores, que de la renta que de sus Altezas de las Indias hobiese que se determinase de la gastar en la conquista de Jerusalem, y así se lo supliqué; y si lo hacen sea en buen punto, y si no que todavía esté el dicho D. Diego, ó la persona que heredare deste proposito de ayuntar el mas dinero que pudiere, para ir con el rey nuestro Señor, si fuere á Jerusalem á le conquistar, ó ir solo con el mas poder que tuviere: placerá nuestro Señor que si esta intencion tiene é tuviere, que la dará él tal aderezo que lo podrá hacer, y lo haga; y si no tuviere para conquistar todo, le darán á lo menos para parte dello; y así que ayunte y haga su caudal de su tesoro en los lugares de S. Jorge en Génova, y allí multiplique fasta que él tenga tanta cantidad que le parezca y sepa que podrá hacer alguna buena obra en esto de Jerusalem, y yo creo que despues que el rey y la Reina nuestros Señores, y sus Sucesores, vieren que en esto se determinan, que se moverán á lo hacer sus Altezas, ó le darán el ayuda y aderezo como á criado é vasallo que lo hará en su nombre."

"Item: Because it becomes every man of rank and income to serve God, and for the benefit of his honour that it may be perceived that it is by himself and by means of his fortune, and as any money whatever yonder in St. George is very secure and Genoa is a noble and powerful city by the sea; and because at the time I started to go and discover the Indies, it was with the intention of supplicating the King and Queen, our Lords, that the revenue which their Highnesses might have from the Indies, they should determine to spend in the conquest of Jerusalem; and in this manner I supplicated it, and if they do it, it will be a good design; and if not, that it may yet be the said Don Diego, or the person who inherits in this purpose, to collect the said money in order to go with the King, our Lord, if it should be to Jerusalem to reconquer it; or to go alone with the greatest force that he has, that it will please our Lord if he has and shall have this intention, to give him such aid that he will be able to do it, and may do it; and if he shall not have money to conquer all, that he will give him at least enough for a part of it; therefore let him collect and make his fund from his treasure in the places of St. George in Genoa, and let it there multiply until he has a sufficient quantity so that it may appear to him and he may know, that he will be able to do some good work in this matter of Jerusalem; because I believe that after the King and Queen, our Lords, and their successors, shall see that he is determined in this, their Highnesses will be moved to do it themselves, and will give him aid and comfort, as to a servant and vassal, and will do it in their name."

The Admiral was acquainted with the history of the nine Crusades. He knew the efforts put forth by Pope after Pope to destroy the power of the Moslem and recover the Holy Sepulchre, and he knew that there still stood in the way the petty quarrels of the Christian nations. There was but one agent to be employed, one instrument to be used in this great

work which would be effective, one power attracting all elements, subduing all differences, uniting all nations, inviting Church and State, King and Prince, Knight and Squire, the devotee and the adventurer,—and that agent, that instrument, that power was gold. Gold would form armies, equip ships, furnish munitions of war, and smooth the road from the rocky coast of Syria to the high walls of Jerusalem.

* * * * * * * * * *

Leaving aside his connection with Beatriz Enriquez which the times and customs tolerated, there are only two charges brought against Columbus worthy of notice, the one his approval of human slavery, and the other his rapacity for honours and for wealth. Both charges are practically true, yet both are explained when we remember his ultimate purpose. We are to consider Columbus as living at the end of the fifteenth century. The very conception of a Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre seems to-day chimerical and absurd. In the time of Columbus it was the project of every reverent prince, the hope of every pious person. To-day the idea of involuntary human servitude is repulsive and in any civilised community impossible. It was not so in that day. While the Portuguese had long been bringing home from Africa negro slaves and while many of these had been brought into Spain, they were not generally employed and were not inhumanly treated. Involuntary human servitude cannot for a moment be defended in any age or among any people. But there certainly is a difference between enforced bondage with humane treatment and slavery with cruelty. Columbus at first did approve of slavery, but he never approved of the abuses which almost immediately followed in its train. He appealed to the Sovereigns against these abuses and condemned those who were guilty of cruelty. But it must be remembered that when these cruelties began Columbus was no longer in power and was helpless to prevent the abuse or to aid the natives. He found himself in a country rich in gold and silver and precious stones. These were to be obtained as soon as possible and in quantities as vast as possible, to be employed in the great design he had so much at heart. The Spaniards who accompanied him upon his second voyage as colonists and adventurers would not and could not mine the gold and dig the

silver. In neighbouring islands were Indians who killed the peaceful natives of other islands and fed on their flesh. While the Indians of the islands of Española and Cuba were mild and gentle, our own Puerto Rico and some of the Lesser Antilles were inhabited by a wild and war-like race who frequently made incursions upon their western neighbours, capturing the people, killing the men, enslaving the women, and reserving the youths for the feast of the cannibal. The natives of Española begged the Spaniards to protect them against these, their native foes. What sort of a hold on the people of the New World would the Spaniards have had if they had broken the sword and clung to the spade! The subduing and colonisation of a new country is not a task for the faint-hearted or for those of over-tender conscience. Ovando made a better Governor than if some fifteenth-century Wilberforce had held the reins. Indeed, there can be no Wilberforce until there has been an Ovando. It was this race of cruel Indians Columbus proposed to enslave and use in mining and digging. One race had to dominate the other. Either the Spaniards had to absolutely exterminate the anthropophagi or take them captive and enslave them. Afterward, when these understood the power of the Europeans, a milder treatment might be employed and the yoke removed. The domination of one race does not excuse cruelty to the race that is dominated. But these were the conditions which confronted the Spaniards. They were living in the fifteenth century,—not in the twentieth.[1] Columbus saw all this and thought he saw something beyond. He saw in his imagination gold, silver, and

[1] What will the historian of the twenty-fifth century say of a great nation driving out of their own land the humble, simple, God-fearing men of the Transvaal! What will its historian say of an equally great nation beating into insensibility a childish people in the far East, whose ambition is to found a Republic and govern themselves before, perhaps, they are entirely competent for such a government! Can there be any other answer than the excuse offered by the exigencies of the age? It is the road of civilisation. The one unfortunate nation was found encamped directly on the King's Highway, living the simple lives of herdsmen over mines of wealth; and the greed of man wanted that wealth with which to build cities, found hospitals, establish libraries, and promote the welfare of countless thousands. It is the spirit of the age seeking gold with which to recapture the Holy Land of man's liberty and of human happiness. The other unfortunate nation was found throwing off a hateful yoke, and philanthropic western people insisted on bending the necks of the unhappy islanders until their heads were fitted with the liberty caps cut for them from the western patterns.

In the twenty-fifth century, some critic will arise and ask that the people of the twentieth be judged by the conditions of that century.

precious stones heaping up, gathered for armies and ships: he saw the Moslem falling back from the onslaught of the banner of the Cross; he saw the rites of the Church recited in Jerusalem and in Bethany and then he saw in the same glass the final triumph of Christianity and the coming of the Saviour to rule in peace and glory among all men, Indians as well as Spaniards, and the present burdens of the natives, however grievous to be borne, seemed a very little thing to the joys they were to experience when he accomplished his vast and mighty purpose.

He did bargain for his pay. He did haggle for his rights. But not for himself, not for his family, not for his heirs did he want these honours and revenues. If he died with his great purpose unfulfilled, its accomplishment fell to his successors, to whomever was Admiral of the ocean-sea, to whomever was Viceroy of the Indies. Could one of his descendants bereft of high office, unadorned with ribbons and insignia, into whose empty coffers there flowed neither thirds nor eighths nor tenths, could such an heir hope to enlist soldiers, equip armies, harmonise captains, and reach the Holy Sepulchre? Honours were as necessary as wealth and both were dedicated to this one—to him—vital project, the purpose of his youth, the hope of his manhood, the legacy of his old age. To understand Columbus we must perpetually keep in mind this ultimate, all-controlling purpose which filled his heart and soul. His faults, his shortcomings, his complaints, and his clamourings seem like very little matters. If he thought himself different from other men, he certainly looks to us different. If he believed himself chosen by Providence for what in his age was the foremost project of Christendom, he at times makes us believe he was an inspired agent. He was a strange, composite character. No man could be more practical. No better sailor ever drove a ship. When we remember the size of his vessels, their wretched condition, the unknown waters on which he entered, the dangerous coasts he approached with their hidden rocks and concealed reefs, the discords of his crews, the quarrels of his colonists, the rivalries of the people at home, we marvel that he accomplished what he did. His judgment in dealing with the natives and with his own men, if not infallible, was generally successful. Then we see him like a prophet retiring to his cave, rolling his eyes and clasping his hands, while visions in long procession go stalking

through the chambers of his soul. He believed he talked with God in Paria even as Solomon believed he talked with God in Gibeon. And as Solomon was to gather riches to build a new Temple, Columbus was to acquire wealth to recover for the Church the site upon which it once stood. When he emerged from his visions he was again the practical sailor, the determined Governor. And such we must see him,—now the dreamer, now the discoverer.

* * * * * * * * * *

Historians represent Columbus as dying in profound ignorance of what he had discovered. We are told he closed his eyes in the belief that his discoveries were on the eastern coast of Asia or in the immediate neighbourhood of these coasts. We are not in accord with these writers in this view. In his third voyage the Admiral beheld the Orinoco flowing into an immense gulf and sweetening its waters against the salted Atlantic and he knew such an outpouring never came from within an island. When he returned to Spain, Vasco da Gama had accomplished his voyage to India more than a year before and its results must have been known to him. He must have been told of Calcutta, of the Ganges and its many mouths. One and perhaps two of that famous Portuguese expedition accompanied him when he started upon his last voyage.[1] The Admiral must have known that he had not found the land which Vasco da Gama had reached. He must have known that between the country discovered by him and that land of spices visited by the Portuguese was the land described by Marco Polo and told of by Toscanelli. There was not a single feature connected with his lands bearing any resemblance to the countries visited by the Venetian traveller. There were no war-like fleets or merchant ships upon the seas, no cities with marble bridges, no magnificent temples upon the coasts. He distinctly says that on this coast the people were the same as those found at Española and that their cus-

[1] Pedro de Ledesma, who had been interpreter for Vasco and Paul da Gama, sailed on board the *Viscaino* with Columbus on his fourth voyage. There was a Fernão Martins with Vasco da Gama, and as there is found on the last voyage of Columbus a Martin de Arriera, or Arrayollos, in Portugal, it is possible they are the same. When the Admiral died at Valladolid, one of his faithful servitors at his bedside was Fernão Martins. However, the Fernão Martins who sailed with Vasco da Gama was not only his interpreter, but his Veedor, an office a little lower than that of Majordomo and something above that of butler. The Martin de Arriera who sailed with Columbus went in the capacity of a cooper.

toms were the same. When Columbus was at Veragua upon his fourth and last voyage he was a sick man, but not yet broken as when a little later he was marooned on the Island of Jamaica, writing his remarkable letter to the sovereigns. As the reader will see when he studies the fourth voyage, it is not certain that the Admiral ever landed at Veragua. He suffered great bodily discomfort at that time and remained for the most part in his cabin swung in a hammock. However this may be, the Indians told him that from where he was at a nine days' journey westward across the land one would come to another sea, and the Admiral estimated that from that coast another ten days' journey by water would bring one to the Ganges. His mind is not at this moment troubled with hallucinations. It is clear and his speech is that of a geographer. He says, both in his famous letter of July 7, 1503, to the sovereigns and in his *Journal* as reported by Bartolomé de las Casas, that Veragua is situated as to the coast of this land washed by this other sea, as Venice in the Adriatic Sea is to Pisa in the Ligurian Sea, or as the seaport of Tortosa in the Mediterranean Sea is to Fuenterabia in the Atlantic. Christopher Columbus thus had the earliest knowledge of the Pacific Ocean bathing the western coast of the continental land and he knew that he must cross this ocean to reach the eastern coast of Asia. We must disregard what he says of Ophir and Tarsus, of King Solomon's Mines, and the Great Khan. When we hear him speak of being in the regions known of old to Solomon, we can only think of him as beside himself with physical and mental sufferings or perhaps seeking to arouse the cupidity of his sovereigns at the expense of his geographical reputation. Whoever carefully reads the letter of July 7, 1503, will understand the mental condition in which the Admiral found himself on the island of Jamaica. When he is describing, as reported by Las Casas, the relative positions of Veragua and the province called Ciguare and the land bounded by the two oceans, he is clothed in his right mind and is employing the descriptive terms of a sailor, traveller, and cosmographer.

* * * * * * * * * *

Christopher Columbus was great in himself; he was great by reason of his mere association with a grand design; he was

great in his accomplishment of that design. His position in history is secure. He cannot be exalted by canonisation. He cannot be pulled from his pedestal by the mean and petty.

The time of Columbus was at its period when he made his discovery. After his great part the actor should not again come upon the boards. Each superfluous appearance distorts or dwarfs his figure. Columbus was suffered to lag upon the stage until we find it difficult to reconstruct the scene with its true settings. Part of the background is of mystery and mysticism. As the drama opens, the hero announces his purpose and until the denouement he never lets us lose sight of himself and his project. He moves before us sedate and dignified. We see no great imperfections. He is equal to the exactions of his part. We behold him listening always to a voice sometimes quite audible and we know he is minding the words of the prompter. After many vicissitudes he triumphs and the world applauds. If here we drop the curtain we have a more symmetrical hero, but we have not the true Columbus. We must still observe him crossing and recrossing the stage, posing when the audience will not look, haranguing when they hear him not, waiting for directions which do not come. He carries the flag of a new Crusade and he begs for pence. The properties and trappings he wore in his great scene he wants ever to wear and to transmit to his descendants. The world did not observe his final exit from the stage. Yet was he a great character, one of the greatest ever passing before the eyes of men. It is our duty to watch him as he played his great part and for that part to ever do him honour.

In the Summario [1] or abridgement of his *General History of the West Indies*, Gonzales Ferdinandus Oviedo says:

"If there had byn an image of Golde made in the prayse and fame of Colonus, he had as well deserved it as any of those men to whom for theyr noble enterpryse the antiquytie gave Devyne honoure, if he had byn in theyr tyme."

[1] As quaintly translated by Richard Eden, and published at London in the year 1555.

PART III

THE MAN

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FIRST GENOESE BIOGRAPHERS

THE historian can perform no better service than to present the sources of his information. The search for original authorities is delicate and exacting. Frequently one must go farther back than the printed record. When we seek the earliest biographies of Columbus, we find them not within the pages of a printed book, but locked away in manuscript works deposited in public archives. We make a distinction between historical accounts of the Columbian discoveries and those which give personal information concerning Columbus himself. The *Libretto* is the first printed record to speak of the personality of Columbus. It tells us he was a Genoese, and in a few words describes his person. This little book was printed at Venice in 1504, and will be found reproduced in our present work in exact fac-simile. Naturally we would expect to find in Genoa, the accepted birthplace of the Discoverer, some record of that city's early appreciation of the glory brought her by her son's achievements. The first published account of the family origin of Columbus is found in the *Polyglot Psalter* of 1516. This work, printed at Genoa in 1516, we describe at length, but we are able to produce the authorities from whom the compiler of the *Polyglot Psalter* took his account, and even to ascribe to one of these authorities the distinction of first speaking of the family of Columbus. Although the works of these two Genoese biographers were written contemporaneously with the events described, they remained in manuscript until Lud. Ant. Muratori incorporated them in his great work, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, printed at Milan in 1723–51. Antonio Gallo, the first of these, was one of the most eminent citizens of Genoa. He was

Chancellor of the Bank of St. George,[1] as his father, Ambrosio, had been before him, and as his own son, Bernardo, was after him. From June 14, 1477, until he died he was the official chronicler of the Republic. The following is his record concerning Christopher Columbus:

" Muratori, *Rerum Italicarium*, vol. xxiii., p. 301. Antonii Galli.
" *De navigatione Columbi per inaccessum antea Oceanum Commentariolus*

"Christophorus & Bartholomæus Columbi, fratres, natione Ligures, ac Genuæ plebejis orti parentibus, & qui ex lanificii (nam textor pater, carminatores filii aliquando fuerunt) mercedibus victitarent, hoc tempore per totem Europam, audacissimo ausu, & in rebus humanis memorabili novitate, in magnam claritudinem evasere. Hi siquidem intra pueriles annos parvis literulis imbuti, & puberes deinde facti, de more gentis in navigationes exiverant. Sed Bartholomæus, minor, natu in Lusitania demum Ulissipone constiterat, ubi intentus quæstui tabellis pingendis operam dedit, queis ad usum nauticum justis illineationibus, & proportionibus servatis, maria, portus, littora, sinus, Insulæ effigiantur. Proficiscebantur ab Ulissipone quotannis, ac redibant emissa navigia, quæ cœptam ante hos annos quadraginta navigationem per Oceanum ad Occidentales Æthiopes continuatas terras, gentesque omnibus retro seculis incognitas, aperuere. Bartholomæus autem sermonibus eorum assuetus, qui ab alio quodammodo terrarum orbe redibant, studio pingendi ductus, argumenta, & animi cogitatum cum fratre rerum nauticarum peritiore communicat, ostendens omnino necessarium, si quis Æthiopum Meridionalibus littoribus relictis in pelagus ad manum dexteram Occidentem versus cursum derigeret, ut is procul dubio continentem terram aliquando obviam esset habiturus. Qua persuasione Christophorus inductus, in aulam Regum Castellæ se se insinuans, viros doctos alloquitur, ac docet, in animo sibi esse, nisi adjumenta defecerint, multo præclarius, quam Lusitani fecissent, novas terras, populosque novos, unde minimè putetur, invenire. Hæc autem ad aures Regias per hos viros, quibus ea vana non viderentur, delata, studio gloriæ, atque cum Lusitanis æmulationis incensos, Reges perpulere, ut Columbo bina navigia exornari ad eam navigationem, quam meditatus erat, jusserint. Quibus ille navigiis postquam ab Insulis Fortunatis Meridiem versus navigaverat, ac jam proximus ei Paralello videretur, qui sub Cancro est, declinans ad manum dexteram, atque altum, inaccessum, vastumque petens, omnium navigantium audacissimus complures dies ad Occidentem tenuit. Nec tamen usquam aut Insulæ, aut aliæ terræ apparebant, quamvis quadragies centena millia passuum à Gadibus Occidentem versùs remotum se se jam esse arbitraretur. Jamque in desperationem verti audacia cœperat; nam etiam ex comitibus plerique retro cursuum, ne, si perseverarent, alimenta deficerent, suadebant. Sed

[1] It was in his hand as an official of the bank that one finds recorded in the books of that institution the reception of the two famous holograph letters written by Christopher Columbus.

ipse animi constans, & vultu intrepidus, tum demum dixit, certum sibi esse, quod cognitis ac perspectis signis animadverteret, in posterum diem terras apparituras; dictoque mox fides non deficit: quæ illi maximam auctoritatem, ac dictorum factorumque omnium posthac fiduciam apud suos addidit. Insulæ erant, ut postmodum ipse per epistolas scripsit, ad septingentas à continenti (quam tamen Insulam nondum circumactis navigiis arbitraretur) non multum diremtæ. Ex his feri quidam homines aliquot inculunt, quos Canibales appellant, humana carne vescentes, ac Insularum aliarum Populos latrociniis infestantes. Nam cavatis magnarum arborum truncis navigantes ad proximos trajiciunt, atque homines quasi feras incibos venantur. Ex his cavatis arboribus unum in mari nactus Columbus plenum hujusmodi feris hominibus, non sine prœlio, ac magna vi, cum se se accerrimè defenderent, cepit, captivosque ex his nonnullos in Hispaniam usque postea pervexit.

"Primam, ad quam appulit, Insulam, Hispaniolam nuncupavit, in qua multi mortales paupertate ac nuditate conspicui cernebantur. Hos primo nutibus ad securitatem congressus evocatos, postque donis & omni genere humanitatis alliciebat. Facile apparebant stupentes novi coloris, novique habitus alienigenas homines, non tamquam terrigenas, sed tamquam è cœlo demissos admirati. Nulla ibi animalia quadrupedia, præter canes quosdam pusillos haberi cognitum est. Alimenta hominum sunt radices quædam, & glandes longe aliâ figurâ quàm nostræ, pares tamen sapore, nisi essent etiam jucundiores. Aurum modicum collo pendente laminâ annexum, & pectori hærente; ac ad usque pudenda quasi velamen paucis deductum, virorum mulierumque commune. Sed Christophorus quad maximè quæsiverat, consequutum se existimans, retro ad Hispaniam remeare quamprimum constituit, ut instructior deinde ad has easdem Insulas terrasque rediret. Relictis igitur quadraginta ex suis in locum, quem ceperat, & communiverat, quasi possessionem pro Regibus Castellæ adeptus, & se se mox rediturum pollicitus, linquens littora illa cursum retro ad Orientem, unde venerat, direxit, in Hispaniamque revertitur; nuntiosque præmisit, quibus omnia à se gesta Reges pernoscerent: quibus ea plusquam dici posset gratissimè fuere. Nam Christophorum delatis honoribus extollentes, & Præfectum Regium totius rei maritimæ declarantes, obviam illi miserunt clarissimos ex omni Regno proceres, à quibus ad se honorificentissime deduceretur. Adduxerat ipse ex Barbaris secum aliquot, per quos gestæ rei fides magis confirmaretur. Ceterum ut Reges volebant, fama per omnes terras interea diffunditur, auro plurimo inventum orbem (quem Indiam vocitabant) & aromatibus, & plerisque rebus pretiosissimis ad usum vitæ mortalium abundare. Alia igitur navigia pluscula, & minora parantur, & rebus his instructiora, quibus Barbarorum animi allici magis posse putabantur. In primis autem homines ex omni artificio, & animalia complura ex omni genere, etiam sues, quorum incrementum mirabile postea fuit. Sed triticum à semente prima statim ad altitudinem grandiusculam enatum, antequam spicesseret, evanescens, deperierat. At Regum jussu arma virique navibus numero duodecim imponuntur, ut vel etiam renitentes

Barbari ad quodlibet officium cogerentur. Bartholomæum, ac tertium fratrem Jacobum in ea expeditione Christophorus secum duxit, classemque hujusmodi ad Hispaniolam per navigationem dierum non amplius viginti salvam perduxit; suosque quos reliquerat, ad unum omnes à Barbaris reperit strangulatos, quod in eorum mulieres injurii fuisse dicerentur.

"Sed Christophorus acceptâ quidem Barbarorum ingratitudine atque sævitiâ, cum his tamen per nova beneficia reconciliatus, dolorem dissimulans, quo ad reliqua destinata animo expeditior progrederetur, de auro primò inquirit, & de speciebus in nostro orbe pretiosioribus. Aurum modicum, & semen quoddam Piperi persimile & figurâ & sapore, non multum colligit. Oppidum adductis materiis ædificat, eique Elisabat nomen indidit. Ipse duabus ex omni numero navium assumtis Insulam ipsam circuit; utque ulteriora pernosceret, litus Johannæ, quam Insulam quoque penetraverat, ita primo adventu nuncupatem, dies unum & septuaginta pernavigat, Occidentum versus perpetuò cursum tenens. Nullam umquem navigationem, neque longiorem, neque diuturniorem continuatione fuisse constat; quippe circiter sexagies centena millia passuum vir nauticus, & cursus navigiorum æstimator peritissimus confecisse se ex dierum noctiumque cursu computato, ipsemet in epistolis, quas vidimus manu propria ipsius subscriptas, prodidit. Ultimum locum Evangelistam nuncupavit. Remeansque, quantum licuit, sinus, promontoria, portus, atque omne litus decursum signavit in Tabula. Referebat autem hoc litus elevationem Arctici Poli decem & octo graduum habere, cum quatuor & viginti. Septentrionale littus Hispaniolæ Insulæ Poli ipsius altitudinem ostendat. Dicebat quando etiam ex observatione suorum, Anno Domini Quarto, & Nonagesimo & Quadringentesimo supra Millesimum Eclipsim apparuisse mense Septembris quatuor horis naturalibus ante in Hispaniola quàm Hispali visam fuisse: ex qua computatione colligi licet, eam Insulam horis quatuor, & Evangelistam, si modo vera referuntur, decem à Gadibus & Hispania distare; quo modo non amplius duabus horis, hoc est duodecimâ parte totius circuli terrarum ab eo loco, quem Bartholomæus Catigara vocat, & ultimum habitabilem in Oriente constituit, abesse. Per quas duas horas si dabitur, non obviantibus terris, posse navigare, ultimus Oriens, omni decurso inferiori nostro Emispherio, cursu contrario conjunctus fuerit à tendentibus in Occidentem. FINIS.

"*Brief Relation of Antonio Gallo Concerning the Voyage of Columbus by Way of an Ocean Hitherto Unknown*

"Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus, brothers, of the Ligurian nation, sprung from plebeian parentage and who supported themselves from the wages of wool-working (for the father was a weaver and the sons were at times carders), at this time acquired great fame throughout the whole of Europe by a deed of the greatest daring and of remarkable novelty in human affairs. Even if these had small learning in their youth, when

they were come of age, they gave themselves to navigation after the manner of their race. But at length Bartholomew, the younger by birth, established himself at Lisbon in Portugal, where for his livelihood he undertook the production of painted maps adapted to the use of mariners, on which in correct drawings and their true proportions are represented seas, harbours, coasts, bays, and islands. Every year there went forth from Lisbon and returned expeditions by the sea to the Western coasts of Africa, which had their beginning forty years before, and which revealed continental lands and peoples unknown in all ages. But Bartholomew, influenced by his study of maps and familiar with the tales of those who in some manner returned from distant parts of the world, communicated their arguments and thoughts to his brother, more skilled in maritime matters, disclosing how, as a matter of necessity, if any one leaving behind him the southern shores of Africa should direct his course in the open sea to his right hand, toward the west, he would surely come somewhere on his way upon continental lands. Christopher, influenced by this reasoning, obtaining admission to the Court of the Sovereigns of Castile, discussed the matter with learned men and declared his purpose, unless he failed to secure assistance, to discover much more easily than the Portuguese had done, new lands and new peoples in places little thought to hold them. But these things being reported by these men to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom they did not seem chimerical, the Sovereigns urged on by a desire for glory and roused to action by a spirit of rivalry toward the Portuguese, commanded that Columbus should be supplied with a couple of ships from the expedition which he had planned. With which ships, after that he had sailed toward the south of the Fortunate Islands and when it seemed that he was on the same parallel, turning to the right hand and thus directing his course out on the deep, unknown, and vast ocean, most daring of all navigators, he held on his way toward the West for many days. Notwithstanding, neither islands nor other lands appeared, although he estimated that he had sailed in the distant sea 4000 miles from the straits of Cadiz. And now courage altered and despair began, for many of his crew pleaded with him to turn back on his course, lest if they persevered their supplies should fail. But he himself, constant of purpose and serene of countenance, declared that he was himself certain, judging by signs which he knew and recognised, that lands would appear the following day: and thereupon confidence in him was not wanting: and this increased his great authority and the faith in his words and deeds which ever afterward prevailed among his followers. The islands were seven hundred, as he afterwards wrote in his letters, not very far from the continent (which he considered the island to be as it had not yet been circumnavigated by ships). Of these islands some are inhabited by wild men whom they call cannibals, feeding on human flesh, disturbing the people of the other islands with their robberies, For they cross over to the neighbouring islands, navigating in the hollowed trunks of trees, and the men are hunted for food as if they were wild beasts. Columbus, meeting on the sea with one of these hollowed trees filled with the wild men, captured it, not

without a struggle and great force, for they defended themselves valiantly, and when he returned he brought back to Spain with him as captives some of these. He named the first island on which he landed, Española, in which were seen many people conspicuous for their poverty and nakedness. He enticed to him these people, who were crowded together for safety, first by signs and afterwards by gifts and all kinds of gentleness. They easily appeared affected by their new colour and by men dressed in strange and new ways, admiring them as not natural to their world but as if sent from heaven. No quadrupeds are known to be there except certain very small dogs. The foods of these people are certain roots and acorns longer in shape than ours, but equal in flavour, unless they might be a little more pleasant. From their neck and breasts and fastened by a hanging plate they have a little gold: and some of them have a sort of garment covering their natural parts, a custom common to both men and women. But Christopher, thinking that he had found that for which he so eagerly sought, determined to sail back to Spain in order that with better equipment he might return to these same islands and lands. Therefore forty of his people being left behind in the places which he had taken and fortified, taking possession as if for the Sovereigns of Castile, and promising his people quickly to return, leaving those shores, he directed his course toward the East, whence he had come, and returned into Spain: and he sent messengers, from whom the Sovereigns learned of all that had been accomplished, by which they were pleased more than it is possible to relate. Extolling Christopher with honours and naming him Royal Admiral for all maritime affairs, they sent to meet him the most illustrious men in their whole kingdom, by whom he was most honourably conducted into their presence. He himself had brought with him some of the savages, by whom he was able to confirm the magnitude of the thing accomplished. And so the Sovereigns wished that the fame of this might be disseminated throughout all lands and that the world discovered (which they called India) abounded in much gold and spices and many things most precious for the use of mortals. Other ships were prepared, some larger and some smaller, but better adapted for these things, with which the minds of the savages might be more easily won. But first of all they sent men representing every trade and many animals of every kind as well as sows, whose fertility afterward was marvellous. But wheat from its first sowing sprang up to a most inordinate height, and then, before it had blossomed, it withered away. And at the order of the Sovereigns twelve of the ships in number were loaded with men and arms so that if the savages resisted they might be brought to whatever employment was best. Christopher took with him on this expedition Bartholomew and a third brother Jacobus and he conducted his fleet safely to Española by a navigation lasting not more than twenty days: he found his people whom he had left behind him strangled to the very last man by the savages because they said their women had suffered injury.

"But Christopher, enduring the ingratitude and treachery of the savages, reconciled himself to them with renewed benefits, dissimulating his grief in

order that he might proceed more expeditiously to the things remaining to be done: he inquired first for gold and for the things most precious in our world. He gathered a little gold and a seed like to that of pepper in shape and flavour. He built a town of materials brought with him, and to it he gave the name of Elizabeth. He himself, with two vessels selected from all the fleet, sailed around the island: and as he thoroughly examined the country farther along, he navigated to the coast of Joanna, which island he had found, so naming it on his first voyage, sailing along it for one and seventy days, continually holding a course toward the west. Never has there been such a navigation nor one of such length, nor one of such duration, as this sailor man declares that it was of 6000 miles, and he is most skilled in estimating the courses of navigations, computing the course by days and nights, as he himself described in his letters which we have seen written by his very own hand. He named the region farthest distant, Evangelista. And returning, as he chose, he described on a map the bays, promontories, harbours, and the entire coast. He reported that on this coast the Arctic Pole was elevated 18 degrees and on the north side of the island of Española the elevation was 24 degrees. He declared also from the observation of his people that when in the year of our Lord 1494 there appeared an eclipse in the month of September, it was seen in Española four hours before that it was visible in Spain: from which calculation it may be deduced that this island is distant four hours and that Evangelista, if they are correctly reported, ten hours from the straits of Cadiz and Spain: by which it is estimated that it is not more than two hours, that is the twelfth part of the whole circumference of the earth, from that place which Bartholomew calls Catigara and the last habitable place to the East. So if it be possible to sail on these two other hours, no intervening lands occurring, the farthest East lying directly under our hemisphere will be united in a contrary course by those going to the westward."

Bartolomeo Senarega was another Genoese citizen who, at the close of the fifteenth century, held high official station, and who employed his leisure moments in composing his work, *De Rebus Genuensibus Commentaria*, which remained in manuscript until Muratori gave it light in his important volumes. Both Gallo and Senarega were Ambassadors at Milan in 1499, when Louis XII. was in that duchy. While the account of Senarega is very like Gallo, having been declared by the former to have been taken from his fellow townsman's history, it is thought best to give it here in full.

Gallo says broadly that Columbus was a Ligurian, his family being of Genoa. Senarega definitely says Columbus himself was Genoese. This is important, for without doubt he intends us to understand he was both a native and citizen of the city of

Genoa. Gallo says the islands discovered by Columbus on his first voyage were seven hundred in number, while Senarega corrects this to six. On the other hand, Senarega omits the calculation, by means of the eclipse, of the situation of Española and Evangelista, the former being the island of Santo Domingo or Hayti, and the latter being the Isle of Pines. Gallo does not mention the date of the sailing of the expedition, while Senarega fixes the time as on the first of September, the real date being Friday, August 3, 1492.

"Muratori, . . . vol. xxiv., p. 534.

"*Senaregæ Commentaria de Rebus Genuensibus*

"Anno MCCCCXCII. . . .

"Ii etiam affirmaverunt, vera esse, quæ de Insulis nuper repertis à Christophoro Columbo Genuensi dicta feruntur. De quo quia in mentionem devenimus, non ingratum forsitan legentibus erit paucula quædam referre, quæ à certo Auctore cognovi, & his nostris scriptis addere. Nam ætas nostra illi plurimum debet, qui solus aperuit, quod ante per tot secula latuit. Mirabile certè inventum, perspicax ingenium, constantia in exequendo firma. Sed jam ad eum veniamus. Christophorus & Bartholomæus Columbi, fratres, Genuæ plebejis parentibus orti, & lanificii mercede victitarunt. Nam pater textor, carminatores filii aliquando fuerunt. Sed ne frontem contrahas Lector, quod Carminatores dixerim, declarabo nomen, non quia omnibus, vel mediocriter literatis apertum non sit, sed cum publicum munus geram, ita æquum est, & dicere cogor etiam pro plebejis hominibus, ut hæc intelligant. Carminatores ji sunt, quos vulgus Scarzatores appellat Volo ego humili & plebejo nunc dicendi genere incedere, cupiens etiam populo satisfacere, & per manus omnium tractari, non curans quicquam præter veritatem dicere. Qui fratres hoc tempore per totam Europam audacissimo ausu, in rebus humanis mirabili novitate in magnam claritudinam evasere. Hi siqudem intra pueriles annos parvis literis imbuti, deinde puberes facti de more gentis nostræ in navigationes exiverant. Sed Bartholomæus minor natu in Lusitania demum Ulissipone constitit, ubi intentus quæstui, tabelis pingendis operam dedit, queis ad usum nauticum, justis climatis, & proportionibus servatis, maria, portus, littora, Sinus, Insulæ effinguntur. Proficiscebantur Ulissipone quotannis, & redibant emissa navigia, quæ cœptam ante hos annos quadraginta navigationem per Oceanum ad Occidentales Æthiopes, terras gentesque omnibus retro seculis incognitas aperuere. Bartholomæus autem sermonibus eorum assuetus, qui ab alio quodammodo terrarum orbe redibant, studio pingendi ductus, argumenta, & animi cogitatum cum fratre rerum nauticarum peritiore communicat, ostendens omnino necessarium, si quis, Æthiopum Meridionalibus littoribus relictis, in pelagus ad manum dexteram Occidentam versus cursum diri-

geret, ut is procul dubio continentem terram aliquando obviam esset habiturus. Qua persuasione Christophorus inductus, in aula Regum Castellæ sese insinuans, viros doctos alloquitur, ac docet, in animo sibi esse, nisi adjumenta deficerent, multo præclarius quam Lusitani fecissent, novas Terras, Populosque novos, ubi minime putetur invenire. Hæc autem ad aures Regias per hos viros, quibus ea vana non viderentur, delata, studio gloriæ, atque cum Lusitanis æmulationis incensos Reges pepulere, ut Columbo bina navigia exornari ad eam navigationem, quam meditatus erat, jusserint. Quibus ille navigiis ex Hispanis littoribus solvens Anno 1392 [*sic*] Kalendis Septembris, postquam ab Insulis Fortunatis Meridiem versus navigaverat, & jam proximus parallelo videretur, qui sub Canco est, declinans ad manum dextram, atque altum, inaccessum, vastumque Pelagus petens, omnium navigantium audacissimus, complures dies ad Occidentem tenuit. Nec tamen usque aut Insulæ aut Terræ apparebant, quamvis quadragies centena millia passum à gradibus Occidentem versus remotum jam sese esse arbitraretur. Jamque in desperationem verti audacia cœperat; nam etiam ex comitibus plerique retro cursum vertere, cum si perseverarent, alimenta deficerent, suadebant. Sed ipse animi constans, & vultu intrepidus tum demum edixit, certum sibi esse præcognitis ac perspectis signis, in posterum diem terras apparituras. Dictoque mox fides affuit: quod illi maximam auctoritatem ac dictorum factorumque omnium posthac fiduciam apud suos addidit. Insulæ erant sex, ut ipse postmodum per epistolas amicis scripsit, quibus nomen indidit. Ex ipsis duæ majores; Joanna major Quam tamen Insulam nondum circumactus navigiis arbitraretur . . . [*sic*] feri quidam homines incolunt, quos Canibales appellant, humanâ carne vescentes, ac Insularum aliarum populos latrociniis infestantes. Nam cavatis magnarum arborum truncis navigantes, ad proximos trajiciunt, atque homines quasi feras in cibos venantur. Ex his cavatis arboribus unum in mari nactus Columbus, plenum hujusmodi feris hominibus, non sine prœlio ac magna vi, cum sese accerime defenderent, cœpit, captivosque ex his nonnullos in Hispaniam usque postea provexit. Primam, ad quam appulit, Insulam Hispaniolam nuncupavit, in qua multi mortales paupertate & nuditate conspicui cernebantur. Hi primo nutibus ad securitatem congressus evocati, postquam donis & omni genuere humanitatis aliciebantur, facile apparebant stupentes novi coloris, novique habitus alienigenas homines, non tamquam terrigenos, sed tamquam è Cœlo demissos admirari. Et fugientes insequendo, mulierem quamdam comprehenderunt, quam cum ad naves devexissent, vino & aliis rebus replessent & vestitam vilibus tamen rebus dimisissent (nam nudi incedunt) certerorum postea turbam ad littus catervatim devexit. Nulla ubi animalia quadrupedia, præter canes quosdam pusillos, haberi cognitum est. Alimenta hominum sunt radices rapis similes, & quædam etiam glandes, longe aliâ figurâ quam nostræ, pares tamen sapore, nisi essent usui jocondiores, mollibus castaneis, & recentibus similes. Agis ipsi eos vocant. Aurum modicum collo pendente laminâ annexum; & pectori hærens, ac ad usque pudenda quasi velamen paucis deductum, virorum mulierumque commune. Sed Christophorus quod

maxime quæsierat assecutum se existimans, retro in Hispanias remeare quamprimum constituit, ut instructior deinde ad has easdam Insulas, Terrasque rediret. Relictis igitur quadraginta ex suis in loco, quem ceperat, & communiverat, quasi possessionem pro Regibus Castellæ adeptus, & sese mox rediturum pollicitus, linquens littora illa cursum ultra ad Orientem unde venerat direxit, in Hispaniamque revertitur; nuntiosque præmittit, quibus omnia à se gesta Reges pernoscerent, quibus ea plusquam dici possit gratissima fuere. Nam Christophorum delatis honoribus extollentes, & Præfectum Regium totius rei maritimæ declarentes, obviam illi miserunt clarrissimos ex omni Regno proceres, à quibus ad se honorificentissime deduceretur. Adduxerat ipse ex Barbaris secum aliquot, per quos rei gestæ magis confirmaretur. Ceterum ut Reges volebant, fama per omnes terras interea diffunditur, auro plurimùm inventum orbem, quem Indias vocitabant, & aromatibus ac plerisque rebus pretiosissimis ad usum vitæ mortalium abundare. Alia igitur navigia pluscula & majora parantur, & rebus his instructiora, quibus Barbarorum animi allici magis posse putabatur. In primis autem homines ex omni artificio, & animalia complura ex circurum genere, etiam sues, quorum proventus ad incrementum mirabile: postea multiplicatus est. Sed triticum à sementa primò statim ad altitudinem grandiusculam enatum, antequam spicesseret, deperierat. At Regum jussu arma virique in navibus numero duodedecim imponuntur, ut vel etiam renitentes Barbari ad quodlibet officium retinerentur. Bartholomæum, ac tertium fratrem Jacobum in ea expeditione Christophorus secum duxit, classemque hujusmodi ad Hispaniolam per navigationem dierum non amplius XX. salvam perducit; suosque, quos reliquerat, ad unum omnes à Barbaris reperit strangulatos, quod in eorum mulieres injurii fuisse dicerentur. Sed Christophorus accusata quidem Barbarorum ingratitudine ac sævitia cum his tamen per nova beneficia reconciliatur, dolorem dissimulans ut ad reliquia destinata animo expeditiore progrederetur: De auro primum inquirit, ac de speciebus in nostro orbi speciosioribus. Aurum modicum reperit, & semen quoddam piperi persimile, & figurâ & sapore non multùm contrarium. Oppidum advectis materiis ædificat, eique Elizabeth nomen indidit. Ipse daubus ex omni numero navibus assumtis Insulam ipsam circuit; utque ultiora pernosceret, latus . . . [*sic*] Joannæ, quam Insulam quoque putaverat, ita primo adventu nuncupatam, diem unum & septuaginta pernavigat, Occidentem versus perpetuum curcum tenens. Nullam umquam navigationem neque longiorem spatio, neque diuturniorem continuationem fuisse, constat; quippe circiter sexagies centena millia passuum vir nauticus, & cursus navigiorum Existimator peritissimus, fecisse se, dierum noctiumque cursu computato, ipsemet in epistolis, quas vidimus manu propriâ ipsius scriptas, prodidit. Ultimum locum Evangelistam nuncupavit. Remeansque quantum licuit, sinus, promontoria, portu, atque omne latus decursum signavit in tabella. Referebat autem is, latus elevationem Artici poli decem & octo graduum habere, cum quatuor & viginti Septemtrionale latus Hispaniolæ Insulæ poli ipsius altitudinem ostendat."

"*The Commentary of Senarega Concerning Genoese Affairs*

"Year 1492.

"They also have declared that the reports are true concerning the discoveries made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese. Since we have mentioned him perhaps it will not be unacceptable to the reader to narrate a few things which I have learned from a certain writer and to include them in our own writings. For our day owes much to him, who alone disclosed what before had been concealed for so many ages. Truly it was a wonderful discovery, his nature most acutely penetrating and his purpose most unwavering in its execution. But now we must come to tell of him.

"Christopher and Bartholomew, brothers, sprung from plebeian parentage in Genoa, supported themselves by the wages of wool-working. For the father was a weaver and the sons were sometimes carders. But do not wrinkle thy brow, Reader, because I have said carders; I will explain the name, not that it is not known to all those versed a little in letters, but since I am dealing with public affairs, I think it right to describe it to common folk that they may understand it. Those are carders whom the world calls *scarzatores*—combers. I wish to adopt a kind of speech intelligible to the humble and common people, desiring also to satisfy the public and placing things in the hands of all, not recording aught except the truth. In this time these brothers have reached great fame throughout the whole of Europe by a most daring act, a remarkable novelty in human affairs. Although these had small learning in their youth, when they were come of age, they gave themselves to navigation after the manner of our people. But at length Bartholomew, the younger by birth, established himself at Lisbon in Portugal and for his livelihood he undertook the production of painted maps adapted to the use of mariners, with the proper climatic zones and exact proportions, and on which were represented the seas, harbours, coasts, bays, and islands. Every year there went forth expeditions from Lisbon and returned by the sea to the western coasts of Africa, which had their beginning forty years before and which revealed lands and peoples unknown in all the preceding ages. But Bartholomew, influenced by his study of maps and familiar with the tales of those who in some manner returned from distant parts of the world, communicated their arguments and thoughts to his brother more skilled in maritime matters, disclosing how as a matter of necessity, if any one leaving behind him the southern shores of Africa should direct his course in the open sea to his right hand, toward the West, he would surely come somewhere on his way upon a continental land. Christopher, influenced by this reasoning, obtaining admission to the Court of the Sovereigns of Castile, discussed this matter with learned men, and declared his purpose to discover, unless he failed to obtain assistance, much more easily than the Portuguese had done, new lands and new peoples in places little thought to hold them. But these things being reported by these men to the ears of the Sovereigns, to whom they did not seem chimerical, moved by a desire for glory and roused to a spirit of rivalry toward the

Portuguese, the Sovereigns commanded that Columbus should be supplied with a couple of ships for the expedition which he had planned. With which ships departing from the coasts of Spain in the year 1392 [*sic*] on the first day of September, after that he had sailed toward the south of the Fortunate Islands, and when he seemed to be on the parallel nearest them, which is under the Tropic of Cancer, turning to the right hand and thus directing his course out on the deep, unknown, and vast ocean, most daring of all navigations, he held on his way toward the West for many days. Notwithstanding, neither islands nor lands appeared although he estimated that he had sailed in the distant sea 4000 miles from the straits of Cadiz toward the West. And now courage altered and despair began. For many of his crew pleaded with him to turn back on his course, lest if they persevered their supplies should fail. But he himself, constant of purpose, serene of countenance, declared that he was himself sure, judging by signs which he knew and recognised, that lands would appear the following day. Confidence in his words was immediately restored. And this increased his great authority and the confidence in his words and deeds which ever after prevailed among his followers. The islands were six in number, as he himself afterwards wrote in letters to his friends and to these he gave names. Two of these are larger than the others. Joanna is the larger. Notwithstanding this is an island, he did not think it was to be circumnavigated by ships . . . [*sic*] certain of the inhabitants who are wild are called cannibals, feeding on human flesh and disturbing the people of the other islands with their robberies. For they cross over to the neighbouring people, sailing in the hollowed trunks of great trees, and so the men are hunted for food as if they were wild animals. Columbus meeting on the sea with one of these hollowed trees, full of the wild men, took it, not without a fight and with great force, the men defending themselves most spiritedly. And afterwards he brought captives into Spain some of these. The first island on which he landed he called Española, in which were found many men conspicuous for their poverty and nakedness. He enticed to him these people, who were crowded together for safety, first by signs and afterwards by gifts and all kinds of gentleness. They easily appeared affected by the new colour and by the men dressed in new ways, admiring them as not natural to their world but as those sent down from heaven. Pursuing some fugitives, they took a certain woman whom they brought away to the ships, bestowing on her wine and other things; they sent her back clothed with a few common things (for they go naked) and afterwards she brought a crowd of the others in groups to the shore. They are not known to have any quadrupeds except certain little dogs. The foods of these men are roots like turnips and also certain acorns longer in shape than ours, but equal in flavour unless they might be even pleasanter, like ripe and fresh chestnuts. These they called Agis. They have a little gold united by a plate hanging from the neck: and also hanging from the breast: and some few have a sort of garment covering their natural parts, a custom common alike to men and women. But Christopher believing that which he had sought was found, determined to sail back to Spain in order that he might return to these islands and lands with

better equipment. Therefore, leaving behind forty of his people in that place which he had taken and fortified, taking possession thereof as if for the Sovereigns of Castile and promising to soon return, departing from those farther shores, he directed his course to the East whence he had come, and returned to Spain: he sent messengers by whom the Sovereigns learned all the news, which was more grateful than it is possible to tell. Praising Christopher with honours and declaring him Admiral of the Sovereigns for all maritime affairs, they sent to meet him on his way the most illustrious Princes in the entire kingdom, by whom he was most honourably introduced into their presence. He himself had brought with him some of the savages, by whom was confirmed the greatness of what he had done. Moreover, as the Sovereigns wished, the report was spread throughout all lands, that the world discovered, which they call the Indies, abounded in gold, spices, and many things most precious for the use of man. Then other ships both large and small were prepared and better equipped with things which they considered more adapted to alluring the savages. And first were men representing all the employments, many animals of all kinds, even sows, whose fertility proved most marvellous: afterwards it was increased. But wheat from its very first sowing sprang up to a most tremendous height, and before that it flowered, withered away. And by the order of the Sovereigns men and arms were loaded into twelve ships of the number, so that if the savages resisted they might be brought under some control. Christopher took with him on this expedition Bartholomew and the third brother Jacobus, and he conducted the fleet safely to Española by a navigation of not more than 20 days: and he found every single one of his people whom he had left behind strangled by the savages, because they said their women had been injured. But Christopher, arraigning the savages for their ingratitude and barbarity, was nevertheless reconciled to them through new benefits, dissimulating grief, in order that the things remaining to be done might more expeditiously progress: he first inquired concerning gold and concerning things more beautiful than what we have in our world. He found a small quantity of gold and the seed of a pepper not differing materially [from ours] in shape and flavour. He built a town with the materials carried over and to it he gave the name of Elizabeth. He himself with two ships selected out of the entire number circumnavigated the island and as he was exploring the shore of Joanna (. . . lacuna) which he had considered an island and so called it on his first expedition; he sailed along it for one and seventy days, keeping a course continually toward the West. There is known no such navigation for extent or for time occupied: for this sailorman, a most skilled calculator of the courses of navigation himself, has declared in his letters which we have seen written in his own hand, that he sailed above 6000 miles computing his course run by day and by night. The last place he named Evangelista. Returning as it pleased him, he inscribed on a map the bays, promontories, harbours, and the entire coast. And from these it was reckoned that the Arctic Pole on this coast had an elevation of 18 degrees and on the north coast of the island of Española it had an altitude of 24 degrees."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE "POLYGLOT PSALTER"

IN the year 1516, Agostino Giustiniano published at Genoa the *Polyglot Psalter*. He was a native of Genoa and acquainted with the history of those of its citizens who had acquired fame. Opposite one of the psalms he placed a note concerning Columbus, in which he said the great discoverer was *ortus vilibus parentibus*,—sprung from common parentage. Giustiniano had for authority two local Genoese historians whose works were then in manuscript, and who said that the discoverer, when a boy, worked with his family at the occupation of wool-combing, declaring that the family was of plebeian origin. This reference was regarded by Ferdinand Columbus as a reflection upon his father, and when he wrote the life of the Admiral he sought to identify certain distinguished seamen as relatives and ancestors, and to associate Christopher Columbus with one of these captains in a desperate sea-fight. Ferdinand's story has found its way into history, and we proceed to examine its credibility.[1]

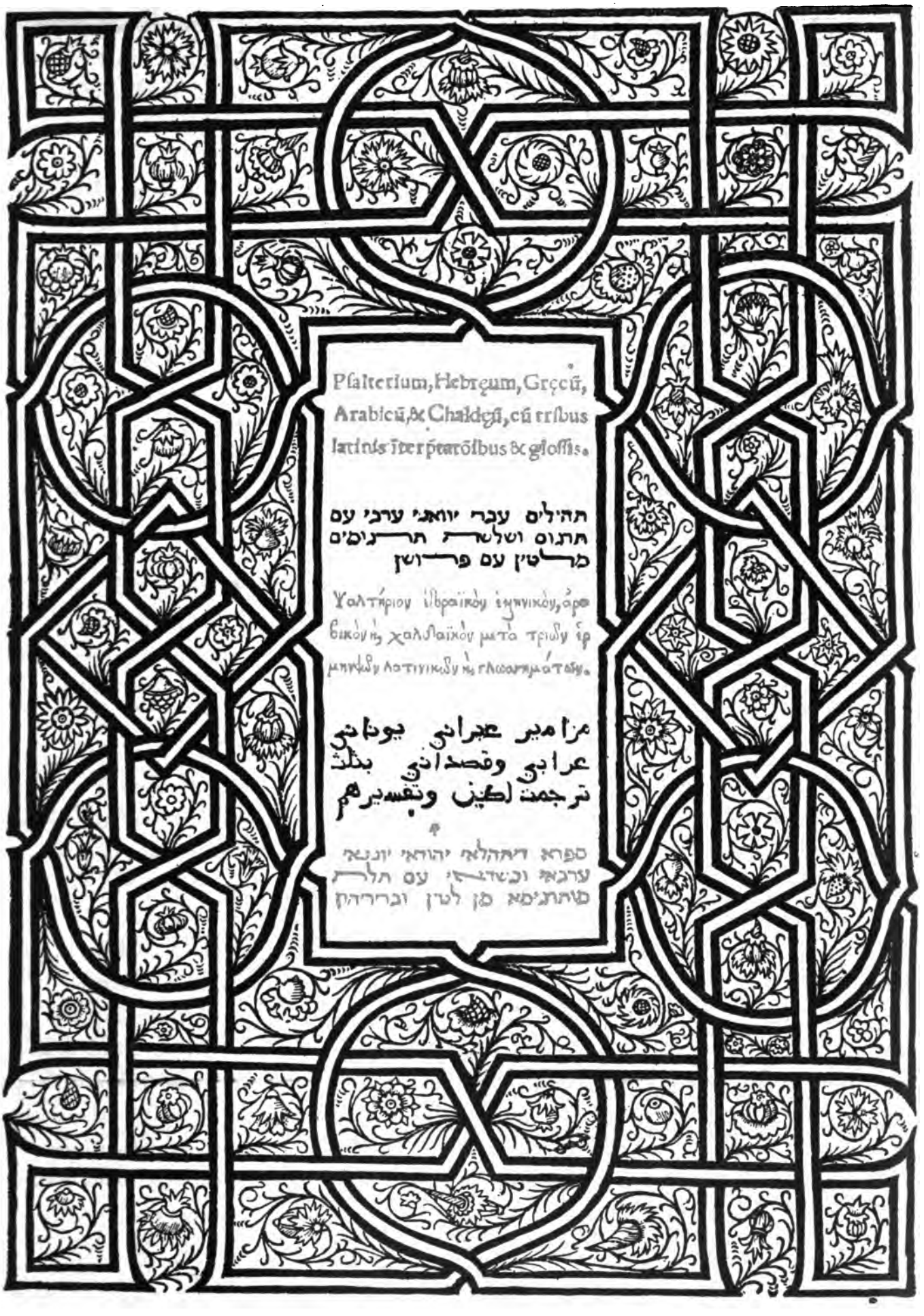
Polyglot Psalter

1516

Folio: title printed in Latin (in red), Hebrew (in black), Greek (in red), Arabic (in black), and Chaldaic (in red), (verso A^1 blank.): on recto of folio A*i*, letter in Latin of Jacobus Antiquarius in

[1] The exigencies of the subject seem to demand the insertion out of their time of certain matters which might appear with greater propriety later in our work. But as we must quote at least one passage from the work of Giustiniano, we have thought it well to reproduce the entire passage in which it occurs.

We may here observe that it is our purpose in noticing early and rare editions to give such bibliographical information concerning them as will enable the reader when he meets with examples to identify them.



Title-Page of the "Polyglot Psalter."

לִי׃ בְּנֵי־נֵכָר יְכַחֲשׁוּ־	mihi, filii alieni defluent	mihi, filii alieni inueterati sunt,	μοι· ὑιοὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐπαλαιώθησαν
וַיַּחְגְּרוּ	& cingentur	& claudicauerunt	καὶ ἐχωλάνεν
מִנְּתִיבוֹתֵיהֶם׃ חַי	a clausuris suis, viuit	a semitis suis. Viuit	ἀπὸ τῶν τριβῶν αὐτῶν. Ζῆ
יְהוָה וּבָרוּךְ	DEVS & benedictus	dominus & benedictus	κύριος καὶ εὐλογητὸς
צוּרִי	fortis meus, (tis mee.	DEVS meus,	ὁ θεός.
וְיָרוּם אֱלוֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי׃	& exaltabitur DEVS salu(	& exaltetur Deus salutis mee.	καὶ ὑψωθήτω ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου.
הָאֵל הַנּוֹתֵן נְקָמוֹת	DEVS ipse dans vindictas	Deus qui das vindictas	Ὁ θεὸς ὁ διδοὺς ἐκδικήσεις
לִי וַיַּדְבֵּר עַמִּים תַּחְתָּי׃	mihi, & iterimés plos sb me	mihi & subdis populos sub me,	ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑποτάξας λαοὺς ὑπ' ἐμέ
מְפַלְטִי מֵאֹיְבָי	Eruis me ab inimicis meis,	liberator meo de inimicis meis	ὁρύστης μου ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου
אַף־מִן־קָמַי	& insuper ab insurgentibus	iracundis. Et ab insurgentibus	ὀργίλων. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπανισταμένων
תְּרוֹמְמֵנִי	eleuas me,	in me exaltabis me,	ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὑψώσεις με.
מֵאִישׁ חָמָס	a viro iniquo	a viro iniquo	ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκου
תַּצִּילֵנִי׃	liberas me.	eripies me.	ῥύσῃ με.
עַל־כֵּן	Propterea	Propterea	Διὰ τοῦτο
אוֹדְךָ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה	cõfitebor tibi ĩ gẽtibo Deus	cõfitebor tibi ĩ natiõibus dñe,	ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι κύριε,
וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמֵּרָה׃	& nomini tuo cantabo.	& nomini tuo psalmum dicam.	καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ.
מַגְדִּיל יְשׁוּעוֹת	Magnificanti salutes	Magnificans salutis	Μεγαλύνων τὰς σωτηρίας
מַלְכּוֹ וְעֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד	ẽgis tui & faciẽti mifericordiá	regis eius, & faciẽs mifericordiã	οὗ βασιλέως. καὶ ποιῶν ἔλεος
לִמְשִׁיחוֹ לְדָוִד	A, MESSIE tuo Dauidi,	Christo suo dauid,	τῷ χριστῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ Δαβὶδ
וּלְזַרְעוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם׃	& semini eius vsq ĩ eternũ.	& semini eius vsq in seculum.	καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος.
לַמְנַצֵּחַ	XIX. Ad victoriam.	XVIII. In finem	εἰς. Εἰς τὸ τέλος
מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד׃	Psalmus. Dauidis.	Psalmus Dauid.	ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαβίδ.
הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים	Cœli enarrant	Celi enarrant	Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται
כְּבוֹד־אֵל וּמַעֲשֵׂה	gloriã DEI, & opa (sio A	gloriam DEI, & opera	δόξαν θεοῦ. ποίησις δὲ
יָדָיו מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ׃	manuũ eius annũciat extẽ(	manuũ eio ãnũciat firmamẽtũ.	χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα.
יוֹם לְיוֹם יַבִּיעַ	Dies diei dicit	Dies diei eructat	Ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται
אֹמֶר וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה	verbum, & nox nocti	verbum, & nox nocti	ῥῆμα. καὶ νὺξ νυκτὶ
יְחַוֶּה דָּעַת׃	indicat scientiam.	indicat scientiam.	ἀναγγέλλει γνῶσιν.
אֵין־אֹמֶר וְאֵין	Nõ sunt loquelle, & nõ sunt	Non sunt loquelle neq	Οὐκ εἰσὶ λαλιαὶ οὐδὲ
דְּבָרִים בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע	verba, non auditur B	sermones, quorũ nõ audiantur	λόγοι ὧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται
קוֹלָם׃ בְּכָל	vox eorum, In omnem	voces eorum. In omnem	αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν. Εἰς πᾶσαν
הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם	terram exiuit filũ eoꝝ, C	terram exiuit sonus eorum,	τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν. (αὐτῶν
וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם	& ĩ fines mũdi verba eoꝝ, D	& ĩ fines orbis terre verba eoꝝ.	καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα
לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אֹהֶל	soli posuit tabernaculum	In sole posuit tabernaculum	Ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκήνωμα
בָּהֶם׃ וְהוּא כְּחָתָן	in eis. Et ipse tanquã spõsus	suum, & ipse tanq̃ sponsus	αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος
יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ	procedens de thalamo suo,	procedens de thalamo suo.	ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστοῦ αὐτοῦ
יָשִׂישׂ	exultauit	Exultauit	Ἠγαλλιάσατο
כְּגִבּוֹר	vt fortis	vt gigas	ὡς γίγας
לָרוּץ	ad currendam	ad currendam	δραμεῖν
אֹרַח׃ מִקְצֵה	viam. A summitate	viam, a summo	ὁδόν. ἀπ' ἄκρου
הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצָאוֹ	celi egressus eius,	celo egressio eius.	τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡ ἔξοδος αὐτοῦ

Fac-simile of Two Pages of the "Polyglot Psalter"

דְּמַמֵּי בְנֵי עַמְמַיָּא סְפוּן	ובנו الغربا عتقو
וְיַטְלְטוּל מִבְּרַנְיַתְהוֹן קַיְמִין	وصاروا عرجا
הוּא אֵ֫לָהּ וּבָרִיךְ בְּקִנְיָנֵא	في كرمهم حي
דְּמִתְקָרֵי מְרֵי הַבְרַיָּא	هو الله تبارك
תְּקוֹף וּפוּרְקָן אִמְרוֹתָם	الله
אַתְּ תְּקוֹף פּוּרְקָנִי :	خلاصي
אֱלָהָא דְּעָבַד פּוּרְעָנוּתָא לִי	تعالى الرب الذي انقذني
וּמְחַבֵּר עַמְמַיָּא תְּקִיפִין	الله الذي وهب لي الانتقام
לַאֲנָשָׁא לִי תְּחוֹתִי :	اخضع الشعوب تحتي
מְשֵׁזִיב יָתִי מִבַּעֲלֵי דְּנָבַי	ونجاني من يد اعداي
דְּקִיפִין לַאֲנָשָׁא דִּי	المبغضين ورفعني من الذين
תְּנִפְרִינָנִי מִן נוּ וּמִשְׁ	قاموا علي ومن
עַמְמִין חֲטוֹפִין דְּעַמֵּיהּ	الرجال الاثمة
יְשֵׁזִבְנָנִי : מְטוּל דְּנָנָא	نجني لذلك
אוֹדֵי קֳדָמָךְ בֵּינֵי עַמְמַיָּא	اشكرك يارب بين الشعوب
וְלִשְׁמְרֵי מַ תּוּשְׁבְּחָן :	وارتل اسمك
מַסֵּג לְמֶעְבַּד פּוּרְקָן	يا معظم خلاص
עִם מַלְכֵּיהּ דָּוִד מְשִׁיחֵיהּ	الملك وصانع الرحمة
לְמִשִׁיחֵיהּ לְדָוִד :	لمسحه داود
וּלְזַרְעֵיהּ עַד עָלְמָא :	وزرعه الى الابد
לְשַׁבְּחָא	
תּוּשְׁבְּחָא לְדָוִד	المزمور الذا من عشر
דְּמְסַפְּרִין בִּשְׁמַיָּא מְשַׁבְּחָא	السموات تنطق
יְקָרָא דַיְיָ עוֹבְרֵי אַיְתִי	بمجد الله والفلك
מְחַוְּן דְּמִרְמָן בַּעוּתָא :	يخبر بعمل يديه
וּמָאלִילְמָא מוֹסִיף וּמוֹעֵי	يوم يبدي كلامة
מֵימְרָא דִּילֵיהּ לְיוֹמָא וְלֵילְיָא	ليوم وليل يبدي
פְּתוּת וּמְחַוֵּי מַדְעָא	علما لليل
לֵית מֵימַר וְתוּרְעֵמְלֵית	ليس بقول ولا
מֵילֵי דְּשִׁמְשָׁא וְלֵית	بكلمات الذين لاتسمع
מִשְׁתְּמַע קָלְהוֹן : בְּכוּלָא	اصواتهم خرجت
אַרְעָא מְתָת עִנְיְנֵיהוֹן	اصواتهم في الارض كلها
וּבְסִיפֵי תֵּבֵל מִלֵּיהוֹן	وبلغ كلامهم اقطار
לְשִׁמְשָׁא שַׁוִּי מַשְׁכְּנֵיהּ	المسكونة جعل مسكنه في
וְהוּא כְּחָתָן דְּהוּא נָפֵק	الشمس وهو مثل العريس
בְּרִיעוּתָא גַּפֵּק מְגִנּוּנֵיהּ	اذا خرج من حجرته
גְּרִיסוּתָא וּבְפַלְגוּת יוֹמָא	يفرح
אֲזַל חֵיל נִיבְרָא וְעָבֵד	مثل الجبار
מְסִירְתֵּי דְּתַקִּיף כְּאוֹרַח	الذي يسرع
מֵעִלַּוֵי דְּפַנְיָא : מְסִיפֵי	في سبله من اطراف
סַיָּא מַפְקָנֵיהּ	السما خروجها

Having the Beginning of the Famous Note to Psalm XIX.

יְ : בְּנֵי־נֵכָר יִכָּל
חֲזָרוּ
מִכִּכְּרוֹתֵיהֶם׃ חַי
הוָה וּבָרוּךְ
יִרְ
רוֹם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁע
אֵל הַנּוֹתֵן נְקָמוֹר
הַדַּבֵּר עַמִּי תַּחְתָּ
פַּלְטִי מֵאֹיְבָי
רִכִּין קְרָבַי
רוֹכְמֵנִי
אִישׁ חָמָס
צִילֵנִי׃
כֵּן
דְךָ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָ
שִׁמְךָ אֲמַרְיָה׃
הֵל יְשׁוּעוֹת
כּוֹ וְעֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד
שִׁיחוּ לְדָוִד
דְעוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם׃
לַמְנַצֵּחַ
מוֹר לְבָנֵי׃
מַיִם מְסַפְּרִים
דְ־אֵל וּמַעֲשֵׂה
מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ׃
לְיוֹם לְיוֹם
וְתֵלָה לַיְלָה
דַּעַת׃
אֹמֵר וְאֵין
קוֹם בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע
בְּכָל׃
ץ בָּאָה
וֹרָה תְּבֵלְמִלְּתָם
שׁ עַם־אֵל
וּא יִרְתָּן
מַחֲשָׁתָו
מִקְצָה׃
יִם סְעָדָה

seventeen lines to Agostino Giustiniano, dated Milan, Kaleñ. Aprilis M.D.VI. [*sic*] on the verso of the same folio A*i*; letter of Aug. Giustiniano to Pope Leo X. dated at Genoa Calends August M.D.XVI. on the recto A*ii*, repeated in Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic, ending on the recto of A*iiii* with an official certificate from Bernardus Granellus and Gaspar de Varagine, Inquisitor of heretical depravity, to the effect that they have seen the work on the Psalms of David wonderfully done into five tongues and that they not only approve, praise, and admire the same but give their authority for its publication in a large edition. On the verso of A*iiii* and running across the recto of A*y* in eight columns begin the Psalms, the first column being in Hebrew, the second a Latin translation of the Hebrew, the third the Latin Vulgate, the fourth in Greek, the fifth in Arabic, the sixth in Chaldaic, the seventh in a Latin translation of the Chaldaic, and the eighth Scholia or running notes: across the verso of folio ϽV and the recto of ϽVI—unmarked—runs the colophon in the five languages, the Latin being:

> " Impreſſit miro ingenio, Petrus Paulus
> Porrus, genuæ in ædibus Nicolai Iuſti
> niani Pauli, præſidente reipub. genuenſi
> pro Sereniſſimo Francoꝝ Rege, præſtan
> ti viro Octauiano Fulgoſo, anno chriſtia
> ne ſalutis, milleſimo quingenteſimo ſex
> todecimo menſe. VIIIIbri."

Then on the recto of the same folio ϽVI is the Registrum, consisting of A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z & Ͻ. *A* being in five double leaves, Ͻ in three, and the rest in fours, making 200 in all: occupying what would be the sixth column, in the upper right-hand corner of this leaf is the printer's mark 81 mm. high by 51 mm. wide, containing a lily-like plant with the initial letters P. P. inclosed in a heart, and underneath the words:

> " Petrus Paulus Porrus Medio
> lanensis, Taurini degens."

Agostino Giustiniano was born in Genoa in the year 1470. He was of an illustrious ancestry, his grandfather, Andreola Giustiniano, being a man of great learning. He was admitted to the Order of Dominicans on the 25th of April, 1487, and early

attracted notice for his mental acquirements, and particularly for his knowledge of the ancient languages, which for eighteen years he taught in the province of Lombardy. In those days ecclesiastical preferment was often the result of family influence or personal scheming, but in the case of our author, Pope Leo X. made him Bishop of Nebbio, in the island of Corsica, on the 15th of November, 1514, and it is said he had no notion of his appointment until the Papal Bull was placed in his hands. Francis I. invited him to France, and under him a course of study in the Oriental languages was opened in the University of Paris. From France he went into England and received attention from King Henry VIII., and was on terms of intimacy with Thomas More and other English scholars. Besides his *magnum opus*, he wrote many other works, as he himself said:

> I have caused to be printed at Paris, twelve pieces for improving youth: I have translated several things into Italian, for the benefit of the ecclesiastics of my diocese, who are all illiterate: I have translated the *Œconomics* of Xenophon for the instruction of my sister-in-law and of my nephew: I have made a very exact description of the island of Corsica for the service of my country inscribed to the Prince Andrea Doria, which description I afterwards presented to the Bank of St. George.[1]

In the dedication to Pope Leo X. in his *Polyglot Psalter*, he declares it his intention, if the Holy Father approves, to print the entire Scriptures in the five languages, and in a letter to Cardinal Bendinello Saoli, his cousin and the patron to whom he probably owed his appointment of Bishop, he writes that the Old Testament is nearly finished, and begs him to interest himself in its printing. The New Testament was evidently completed and in manuscript, for he gave leave to the Hebraist, Conrad Pellican, who was in Rome at the time (1517), to transcribe the preface to his New Testament into eight languages.[2]

Of the *Psalter*, this learned Bishop caused no less than two thousand copies[3] on paper and fifty on vellum to be printed.

[1] This last work is preserved in manuscript in the Vatican library.

[2] Conr. Gesner, in his *Bibliotheca Instituta*, tells this, and says that he himself saw the letter respecting the preparation of the Old Testament and the manuscript of the New Testament.

[3] This edition of 2050 copies was an extraordinary issue for that time. An edition of 300 copies was considered an average publication. The reader will find in *Glossæ in Universa Biblia* of Nicholaus de Lyra, printed at Rome in 1472 by Sweynheym and Pannartz, a most interesting review of their editions, with the number of copies for each impression, the average being 275 copies. The reader must bear in

The vellum copies were distributed among the potentates of the earth, both Christian and pagan.[1] He bitterly and justly complained [2] of the want of public appreciation, and was enabled barely to dispose of a fourth part of the two thousand copies. Giustiniano is not the first author to complain of the public for not purchasing his books, but his lamentation is natural and even creditable, knowing as he did the magnitude of his labours and his years of toil, measured not only by the published *Psalter*, but by the completed polyglot New Testament and the unfinished Old Testament in the same variety of languages, the whole the work of a rare scholar, smoothing a difficult road for students and teachers. As he was the first to employ the printing-press in a chorus of so many different tongues, so he was perhaps the first to deplore the unwelcome reception

mind that when the printers say they printed *D. Augustini de civitate Dei. Volumina octingenta vigenti quinque*, they include three separate editions of this particular work, the one at Subiaco in 1467, the other two at Rome in 1468 and 1470, each of the three editions consisting of 275 examples.

[1] Perhaps the pagan recipients parted with their copies, for examples of the *Psalter* printed on vellum are frequently to be met with in public and private libraries.

[2] "Feci stampare in Genoua alle mie spese con quel travaglio, e con quella spesa, ch'ogni letterato può giudicare due mila volumi del Davidico Psalterio in le predette cinque lingue Hebrea, Chaldea, Greca, Latina, & Arabia, parendomi di quest' opera dover' acquistare gran laude, e non mediocre guadagno, il quale Pensavo esporre in la souventione di certi mei parenti, ch'erano bisognosi, credendomi sempre che l'opera dovessi havare grande uscita, e che i Prelati richi, ò Principi si dovessero movere, e mi dovessero ajutare in la spesa di far imprimere li restante della Bibbia in quella varietà di langue: ma la credulità mia restò ingannata, perche l'opera fù da ciaschedun laudata, ma lassata riposare, e dormire, perche a pena si sono venduti la quarta parte de i libri, come che l'opera sia per valent huomini e per ingegni elevati, che sono al mondo rari, e pochi, e con stento puoti ricavar i danari, ch' haveva poste in la stampa che furono in buona quantità, perche oltra i due mila volumi stampati in papero ne feci imprimere cinquanta in carte vitelline, e mandei di essi libri. . . . a tutti i Re del mondo cosi Christiani come Pagani."—*Annali, lib. quinto.* Chap. ccxxiiii.

"I had printed in Genoa at my expense, with what trouble and expenditure every learned man can judge, 2000 volumes of the Psalter of David, in the aforesaid five languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, Latin, and Arabic, it appearing to me that this work should acquire great praise and not indifferent gain, which I intended to employ in the assistance of certain of my kinsmen, who were needy; I believed all the time that the work would be greatly used, and that the rich prelates or princes ought to be moved and might be incited to assist me in printing the remainder of the Bible in those various tongues: but my credulity was deceived, because the work was praised by every one, but left to repose and sleep as scarcely the fourth part of the books were sold; although the work may be by an able man and one of great intelligence, a kind of person rare in the world, it is with difficulty that I am able to recover the money that I had spent in the printing, which was in good quantity, because besides the 2000 volumes printed on paper, I caused 50 to be printed on vellum, and I sent examples of these to all the sovereigns of the world, Christians as well as pagans.

which met the fecundity of that instrument of progress and learning.

Ferdinand Columbus, in the *Historie*,[1] is very bitter against Giustiniano for asserting in the *Psalter* that the Admiral was sprung from plebeian stock, and in the second chapter of his book he charges Giustiniano with uttering twelve specific falsehoods, and then says that as a punishment for this utterance the Republic of Genoa, by a public decree, cancelled and withdrew the privilege of printing his work. Writers have attempted to find in this alleged action of the Genoese seigniory the real reason of the failure to dispose of but a fourth part of the edition. There is no such decree on record. No other writer mentions this cancellation of the privilege. Giustiniano refers to his literary mortification over the failure to sell this work, but does not allude to any such cause as an estoppel. The frequency with which one meets this book to-day in the book-stalls of the antiquary proves that the edition was very large and not easily absorbed.

Sometime in the year 1530, Giustiniano embarked at Genoa to return to his bishopric in Corsica. His ship never was heard of again, and no man knows to this day his unhappy fate.[2] Some think the vessel was lost in a storm, some that it was taken by the Barbary pirates and that the Bishop and his fellow voyagers worked out their days beneath the sun of Morocco and the whip of the Moor.

This account of Columbus, as we have explained, is not the original work of Giustiniano. In his *Annales*, printed at Genoa in 1537, Giustiniano gives a short biographical sketch of the Admiral, and then says that he will give no more, since "Antonio Gallo has fully written his life."

The following is the passage found as a note to Psalm xix.:

"Et in fines mundi uerba eorum, Saltem tēporibus noſtris qbo mirabili auſu Chriſtophori columbi genuenſis, alter pene orbis repertus eſt chriſtianorumqꝫcetui aggregatus. At uero quoniam Columbus frequēter p̃dicabat ſe

[1] *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, Venice, 1571.

[2] The Abbot Michael Giustiniano, in his *Scrittori Liguri Descritta*, quotes from the official registry to show that the Bishopric of Nebbio was given to Cardinal Jerome Doria on November 15, 1536.

Vossius says that Giustiniano was never seen after 1530, and that it is not known whether he perished by shipwreck or at the hands of pirates.

a Deo electum ut peripſum adimpleretur hec prophetia. non alienũ exiſtimaui uitam ipſius hoc loco inſerere.

"Igitur Chriſtophorus cognomento columbus patria genuenſis, uilibus ortus parentibus, noſtra etate fuit qui ſua induſtria, plus terrarum & pellagi explorauerit paucis mẽſibus, quam pene reliqui omnes mortales uniuerſis retro actis ſeculis. Mira res, ſ3 tamen plurium iam non nauium modo, ſed claſſium & exercituũ euntium redeuntiumq; teſtimonio explorata & certa. Hic puerilibus annis uix prima elementa edoctus, pubeſcẽs iam rei maritime operam dedit, dein ꝑfecto in luſitaniam fratre, ac uliſſippone queſtum inſtituente, pingendarum tabellarum ad uſum maritimum, effigiantium maria & portus & litora, huiſumodi maritimos ſinus atq; inſulas didicit ab eo, que ibi tum forte is a plurimus acceperat, qui ex regio inſtituto ibant quotannis ad explorandas inaceſſas ethiopum terras, & occeani intra meridiem & occaſum, remotas plagas. Cum quibus is pluries ſermonẽ ſerens queq; ab his acceperat conferens cum his que & in ſuis ipſe iam dudum fuerat meditatus picturis, & legerat apud coſmographos, tandem uenerat in opinionem poſſe omnino fieri, ut qui ethiopum ad libicum uergentiũ litora linquẽs, rectus dirigat inter zephirum & libicum nauigationẽ, paucis menſibus aut inſulam aliquam, aut ultimas indorum continentes terras aſſequeretur. Que ubi ſatis exacte percepit a fratre, ſerio intra ſe rem examinans, nõnullis regis hiſpani ꝓceribus oſtendit eſſe ĩ animo ſibi, modo rex neceſſaria conficiende rei ſubminiſtret, longe celerius quam luſitani feciſſent nouas terras, nouoſq; adire populos, regiones poſtremo ante hac incognitas penetrare. Fit celeriter de re hac uerbum regi, qui tum regum luſitanorum emulatione, tum ſtudio huiuſmodi nouarum rerum & glorie, que ſibi ac poſteris poſſet de ea re accedere pellectus diu re cum Columbo tractata, nauigia tandem exornari duo iubet quibus ſoluens Columbus ad inſulaſq; fortunatas nauigans curſum inſtituit paululum ab occidentali linea finiſter inter libicum. s. ac zephirum remotior tamen longe a libico & ferme zephiro iunctus. Vbi cõplurium dierum curſus exactus eſt & computata ratione cognitum quadragies ſe ſe iam centena paſſuum millia eſſe permenſum recto curſu ceteri quidem ſpe omni lapſi: referendum iam eſſe pedem & curſum in contrariam partem flectendum contendebant, ipſe uero in incepto perſiſtere & quantum coniectura aſſequi poſſet promittere haud longius diei unius nauigatione abeſſe uel continentes aliquas terras, uel inſulas. Haud abfuit dictis fides. Quippe ſequẽti luce terras neſcio quas conſpicati naute eum laudibus efferre, & maximam in hominis opinione fiduciam reponere. Inſule erant ut poſtea cognitum eſt ferme innumere, non longe a continentibus quibuſdam terris ut preſe ferebat aſpectus. Ex huiuſmodi inſulis nonullas animaduerſum ferre homines incultos cognomento caniballos, humanis ad eſum carnes minime abhorrentes, ac uicinos populos latrociniis inſeſtantes, cauatis quibuſdam magnarum arborum truncis quibus ad proximas trahicientes inſulas homines quaſi lupi in cibum uenentur. Nec defuit fortuna ex his unam nauiculis cum ſuis huiuſmodi ductoribus comprehendendi. idq; haud incruenta pugna qui poſtmodum uſq; in hiſpaniam ſoſpites uecti ſunt. Que prima est inuenta ex inſulis hiſpana eſt

noncupata. In eaq̄ inuenti mortales innumeri paupertate & nuditate conſpicui, quos primo nutibus ad congreſſum comiter inuitatos doniſq̄ allectos, ubi propius acceſſerūt, facile apparebat & diſſimilem ſuo candorem, & habitum & inauditum antea ad eos acceſſum, ceteraq̄ omnia quaſi e celo aduenientium obſtupefcere & mirari, quippe color illis lōge diſſimilis noſtro, minime tamen niger ſed auro perſimilis, lacerna illis collo pēdebat herebatq̄ pectori conte gens pudenda quaſi uelamen, cui modicum annexū eſſet aurum, eaq̄ cōmunis mariū & feminarū, no amplius uirginū. Nam uirgines nude prorſus incedunt, donec a viris quibuſdam, eius rei peritis oſſeo quodā ueluti digito, uirginitatē exuantur. Nulla apud eos animalia quadrupedia, preter canes quoſdam puſillos, alimenta illis radices ex quibus panes conficiuntur, haud diſſimilis ſaporis triticeo tum glandes alia figura q̄ noſtre ſed eſui iocūdiores. Voti cōpos iam factus Colūbus, remeare in hiſpaniam conſtiruit communitoq̄ loco quem primum occupauerat ſoliſq̄ quadringinta ad cuſtodiam relictis in hiſpaniam nauigat. proſperamq̄ fortitus nauigationem, ubi primū ad fortunatas appulit inſulas nuncios cū literis ad regē premittit, qui de his omnibus factus certior mirum immodū gauiſus eſt, prefectumq̄ eum totius rei maritime conſtituēs, magnis honoribus ornat. Procedunt ei ueniēti obuiam uniuerſi proceres, magnoq̄ gaudio excipitur noui orbis inuentor. Nec mora, parantur alie naues & numero & magnitudine, priores longe excedentes omniumq̄ rerum genere implentur. Mittit hiſpania iam ſua in innocuum orbem uenena, oneratur plurima & ſerica & aurata ueſtis, & cui non ſatis erat de hoc noſtro orbe triumphaſſe nauigat in puros & in innocuos populos luxus, & que uix noſtram ſatiare ingluuiem poterant ſilue quamuis inceſſantibus pene exhàuſte uenationibus, in remotiſſimas plagas mittunt ſuem aprum q̄ illorum ante hac neſcios uentres diſtenturos. Sed nauigant cum his qui ex parata & populos iam iam captura ingluuie, prouenturis morbis Eſculapii inuento medeantur. Deferuncur ſemina & plante arborum. Nam triticum ut poſtea cognitum eſt ubi terre conditum fuerat, primo ſtatim ad grandiuſculam altitudinem creicens, paulo poſt euanefcebat, quaſi damnante natura noua cibariorum genera, & eos ſuis radicibus eſſe contentos iubente. Soluens igitur Columbus claſſem duodecim nauium, armis uiriſq̄ ac omni rerum copia inſtructam, non amplius uiginti dierum nauigatione ad inſulam hiſpanam appellit, oftendit quos reliquerat ad unum a barbaris ſtrangulatos, cauſa pretenſa quod in eorum mulieres impudici & iniurii fuiſſent, igitur accuſata eorum ſeuicie & ingratitudine, ubi uidet eos ad penitentiam uerſos, ueniam eis edicit indulturum modo fideles in poſterum & dicto audientes ſint. Deinde miſſis inq̄ſitoribus in quaſcūq̄ partes, ubi uidet iſulā eſſe & magnitudine, & æris tēperie, & ſoli fecūditate, & ppforū frequētia inſignem, ſimulq̄ affetur inueniri certis in locis, aquarum in preruptis, puriſſimū aurum, nec deeſſe in campis ſemen quoddā piperi perſimile & figura & ſapore, ſtatuit oino oppidū cōdere. Vndiq̄ igitur cōquiſita materie, adhibiti ſq̄ eaꝝ rerū peritis, breui erectū eſt oppidū, cui Heliſabet, inditū nomē. Ipſe pfectus duabus ſibi nauibus aſſumptis, iſulā ipſam circuit. Deinde cotinētis illius ſoli quod Ioane nomine noncupauerat litus legēs, dies unū & ſeptuaginta adnauigat ei litori, iugiter occiduū

ſolem uerſus prorā tenens, circiterꝙ ſexagies centena millia paſſuū uir nauigioꝝ curſus pertiſſimus eſtimator, ſe eē progreſſuūm, ex dierū noctiūꝙ ſupputatione cognoſcit. Id quo cōſtitit ꝑmonto iū Euāgeliſta appellat, retroꝙ flectēdi curſum cōſiliū capit, rediturus eo pararior & īſtructior. Inter nauigandū uero, ſignātur in tabula & ſinus & litora. & ꝑmōtoria. Retulitꝙ hoc mūdi latus poli artici decē & octo graduū eleuationē habere, cū quatuor tñ & uiginti ſeptētrionale litus inſule hiſpane, poli ipſius altitudinē oſtēdat. Cognitum eſt autē ex obſeruatione ſuorū, ſimodo ueram, inire rationem potuerūt, eam que anno dñi quarto & nonageſimo poſt milleſimū & quadrīgēteſimū eclipſim apparuit menſe ſeptembri, quatuor ferme horis ante apud hiſpanam inſulam q̄ hiſpali que uulgo ſibilia nuncupatur uiſam. Ex ea autem computatione colligebat Columbus eam inſulam horis quatuor, Euangeliſtā uero decem a gadibus diſtare, nec amplius duabus horis, hoc eſt duodecima parte totius circuli terrarum, ab eo loco quem Ptolemeus catigara uocat & ultimum habitabilis in oriente ſole conſtituit abeſſe, Quod ſi non obſtiterit nauigantibus ſolum, breui futurum ut ultimum oriens omni dccurſo inferiore noſtro hemiſperio, concrario curſu coniunctus fuerit a tendentibus ad occidentem. His tam miris peractis nauigationibus, regreſſus in hiſpaniam Columbus fati munus ipleuit. Rex ipſe qui uiuēti multa priuilegia cōtulerat, mortuo dedit ut filius in patris locū ſuccederet, pfectur, āc3 indorum mariſcꝙ oceani ageret, qui in hodiernum uſcꝙ uiuit, ſumma cum amplitudine, ſummicꝙ opibus. Nec primores hiſpanie dedignati ſunt illi coniugio copulare, iuuenem nobilitate & moribus inſignem. Moriens autem Columbus, haud oblitus eſt dulcis patrie, reliquit enim officio. ſancti Georgii quod appellant, habentꝙ genuenſes precipuum & ueluti totius reipublice decus & columen, decimam partem prouentuum uniuerſorum quos uiuens poſſidebat. Hic fuit uiri celeberrimi exitus, qui ſi grecorum heroum temporibus natus eſſet proculdubio in deorum numerum relatus eſſet."

"'And their words have gone abroad to the ends of the earth.' At least in our times, when by the marvellous attempt of Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, almost a new world has been discovered and added to that of the Christians: And indeed inasmuch as Columbus frequently declared himself to have been selected by God that through him this prophecy might be fulfilled, I think it proper to insert an account of his life in this very place. I say, then, that Christopher, by name Columbus, a native of Genoa, sprung from a common parentage, in our day by his own energy explored in a few months more land and sea than almost all other mortals in the ages that are gone. The thing is wonderful, but is made certain by testimony and by actual expeditions not only by many ships but by entire fleets going and coming. This [Columbus] who, instructed in his youthful years in the first elements of knowledge, applied himself when arrived at early manhood to a study of maritime affairs: thereafter the Admiral's brother, being in Spain, while in Lisbon pursued the avocation of decorating the maps such as are used on the ocean, and depicting the seas, harbours, and shores: and

in this way, from him, he [Columbus] learned of the lands and the gulfs and of the islands and he likewise learned from many who yearly went on exploring expeditions to the inaccessible regions of Africa and the remote shores of the ocean between the south and the west. Having speech often with these men and comparing what he learned from them with what he had found by studying pictures and with what he had read from the writers on cosmography, he finally arrived at the opinion that it would be possible for one who leaving the shores of Æthiopia where it turns in toward Lybia,[1] and directing his sailing toward the south-west, he would in a few months reach either some island or the farthest shores of India. Thereupon, when he had thoroughly understood these things from his brother and had seriously pondered over them, he declared to the leading nobles of the Spanish King that he was minded, if the King would sustain him in accomplishing the undertaking, to visit new nations to penetrate regions hitherto unknown more quickly than the Portuguese could discover new lands. Word of this was carried quickly to the King who, moved partly by a spirit of emulating the King of Portugal and partly by the desire and glory of accomplishing new things and allured by what would come to him and his posterity, treated at last with Columbus and commanded that two ships should be fitted out for him: with which ships Columbus, loosing his anchor and navigating to the Fortunate Islands, began a course a little to the left hand [below, *i. e.*, therefore, south] of the west between the south and the west, and after getting out into the sea a farther distance keeping strictly to the west. When this course had been followed many days and a reckoning showed them that they had gone forty times a hundred thousand passūs [2] the others lost all hope: they demanded that he should retrace his steps and turn his course to an opposite direction; but he persisted in his undertaking and having made his own calculations as to what would happen, promised them that not more than one day would pass before they would reach continental lands or some islands. Faith in his words was not wanting. Indeed with the coming of the morrow's light, having descried I know not what lands, the sailors accorded him due praise and placed the utmost faith in the judgment of this man. These lands were islands, as was afterwards determined, almost innumerable and not far from certain continental regions, as conditions suggested. In the islands of this region certain wild men were observed who were called cannibals, who consume human flesh and prey upon the neighbouring people, visiting the islands in the vicinity by means of canoes hollowed out from the trunks of great trees, hunting men as wolves hunt food. Good fortune permitted the capturing of one of these little vessels with its occupants, and so after a somewhat hard fight they were brought off uninjured into Spain. That island first found by them they called Hispana. In this there were found

[1] On Ptolemy's Map of the World, printed on copper plates and published at Rome in 1478, this point is on a parallel with the Canary Islands.

[2] A passus was equal to five feet, a thousand passūs will, therefore, equal in round numbers a mile, and forty times one hundred of these miles will give us as the distance reckoned 4000 miles.

great numbers of human beings noticeable for their poverty and nakedness, who were first invited by signs to approach and then were allured nearer: when they drew nigh, it was seen easily that they marvelled and were overcome by the complexion of our people so different from their own, by our dress and countless other things as if we had descended from heaven: indeed their colour is very unlike our own, not so much that it is black but rather a gold tinge: they wear a kind of cloak hanging from the neck and covering the breast and private parts as a veil, to which they affix a small bit of gold: and this cloak is common for both men and women, but not so for unmarried girls. Among these last a peculiar custom exists of divesting themselves of that condition when they enter the matrimonial state. There are no four-footed animals among them except certain very small dogs; they have roots on which they feed and from which they make a bread not dissimilar from wheat in flavour as well as a kind of acorn of a different shape from ours but more pleasant. Having obtained the desire of his heart, Columbus determined to return to Spain; he strongly fortified the place which he had first occupied and having left there forty of his men to guard it, he set sail for Spain. He had a prosperous voyage and when he had landed at the Fortunate Islands, he sent messengers with letters to the King, who when he learned of all his deeds greatly rejoiced, conferred upon him high honours and created him to be the head of all his maritime affairs. The nobility all went to meet him and the discoverer of a New World was received with great rejoicing. Without delay other ships were prepared, greatly exceeding the first fleet in size and number, and fitted with every sort of cargo. Spain already sends her mischievous influences into an innocent world and many a ship is loaded with garments of silk and golden embroidery, and luxury which, has been not satisfied with triumphing over this one world, makes its way to a pure and guileless people: woods exhausted by almost constant hunting and which were scarcely able to satisfy our voraciousness send the wild boar and sow to their distant shore to distend stomachs hitherto ignorant of such food. But with them sail those who by the discovery of Æsculapius will save the people from diseases that gluttony produces. Seeds and plants are sent thither. For it has become known that wheat when it is sown will at first grow up pretty well but then wither, as if nature, condemning new sorts of food for the natives, should command them to be content with their own roots for bread. Thereupon Columbus, sailing with a fleet of twelve ships and furnished with men and arms and all kinds of things, after a voyage of twenty days landed on the island of Hispana, and he found that the men to the very last one whom he had left had been strangled by the native barbarians, on the pretended justification of their having insulted their wives. Therefore accusing them of ingratitude, when he saw them turning toward penitence he declared them a pardon provided they should in the future be faithful and obedient. Then searchers being sent into various parts, he ascertained that it was an island of great size, that the climate was temperate, the soil

fruitful, with indications of a large population, and when he likewise was told that in certain places broken into by the waters purest gold was to be found, while in the open fields there was a certain seed like in shape and taste to pepper, he concluded to build a town. Materials therefore were brought together and skilled workmen employed, and very shortly a town was built which was called by the name of Elizabeth. The Admiral himself, taking two ships, circumnavigated the entire island. Thence pursuing his way along the shores of that continent which he had christened Joanna, he sailed for one and seventy days along the coast, keeping the prow of his vessel ever toward the western sun; he knew from reckoning the passing days and nights that he had sailed about sixty times one·hundred thousand passūs [six thousand miles], being a most skilful man in estimating the course of his sailings. He called the promontory at which he halted Evangelista, and he then began to consider returning home, coming back better equipped and prepared. In the course of his exploration the bay, shores, and mountains were drawn in a map. He declared that this region of the world had an elevation of eighteen degrees of the Arctic Pole, while the northern shore of the island of Hispana had an elevation of four and twenty degrees. But it was known from his observations, if indeed he was able to reckon correctly, that the eclipse which occurred in the month of September of the year 1494 was seen in the island of Hispana nearly four hours before it was observed in Hispalia, commonly called Sibilia [Seville.] From this calculation Columbus concluded that the island [Hispana] was four hours distant from Cadiz and Evangelista ten hours, and not more then two hours, that is the twelfth part of the entire circuit of the earth, from that place which Ptolemy called Catigara, and which he considers to be the last habitable place toward the East. If this region of land had not stood in the way of navigation, the whole of our hemisphere having been explored, a junction or complete circuit would have been made by those who should sail toward the West. Having accomplished these marvellous navigations and returning into Spain, Columbus fulfilled the work of the prophetic declaration. The King himself, who had bestowed many privileges on him while living, granted on his death that his son should succeed to the station of the father, and should be Admiral of the Indies and the Ōcean-sea, who [the son, Diego] lives even to this time with the fullest honours and fortune. The grandees of Spain have not thought it unworthy to mate him with a young lady distinguished by her noble birth and her personality. And Columbus, dying, did not forget his dear country, for he left to the Bank which is called St. George, which the Genoese regard as the chief beauty and pillar of the whole Republic, a tenth portion of all the properties possessed by him while living. Thus departed this illustrious man, who if he had lived in the time of the Grecian heroes, without doubt would have been enrolled among the number of the gods."

CHAPTER XXX

AN IMAGINARY FAMILY TREE

FERDINAND COLUMBUS, in the *Historie*, cites the work of Sabellicus, a Venetian historian, as a witness to prove the descent of Christopher Columbus from two great seamen of that name who flourished in the fifteenth century. He begins the first chapter of his *Historie* by referring to a fancied reaching of a root of his family tree back into Roman annals.

"Alcuni voleuano, che io mi occupaſſi in dichiarare & dire, come l'Ammiraglio procedette di ſangue illustre: ancora che i ſuoi padri per maluagità della fortuna foſſero uenuti a grande neceſſità, & biſogno; & che haveſſi mostrato, come procedeuano da quel Colone, di cui Cornelio Tacito nel principio del duodecimo libro della ſua opera dice, che conduſſe prigione in Roma il Re Mitridate, per lo che dice, che a Colone furono date dal popolo Romano le dignità Conſolari, & le Aquile, & Tribunale, ò tenda Conſolare. Et voleuano, che io faceſſi gran conto di quelli dui illuſtri Coloni ſuoi parenti, de'quali il Sabellico deſcriue una gran vittoria contra Vinitiani ottenuta: ſecondo che nel quinto capitulo ſia da noi raccontato. Ma io mi ritraſſi da queſta fatica, credendo, ch'egli foſſe ſtato eletto dal noſtro Signore per vna coſi gran coſa, qual fu quella, ch'ei fece: &, perche haueua ad eſſere coſi vero Apostolo ſuo, quanto in effetto fu, volle, che in queſto caſo imitaſſe gli altri, i quali, per publicare il lor nome da mari, & da riuiere, egli eleſſe, & non gia da altezze, & da palagi; & che imitaſſe lui steſſo, ch'eſſendo i ſuoi maggiori del regal ſangue di Gieruſalemme, gli piacque, che i ſuoi genitori foſſero men conoſciuti."[1]

"Some persons wished me to occupy myself in explaining and telling how the Admiral proceeded from illustrious blood; although his fathers through malevolence of fortune had come to great necessity and want: and that I should show how they came from that Colone of whom Cornelius Tacitus speaks at the beginning of the Twelfth Book of his work,[2] who conducted King Mithridates a captive into Rome, for which he was recompensed by the Roman people, who conferred upon him the consular dignity, the honour of bearing the standard and a place among the tribunes.

[1] *Historie Del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, Venice, 1571.

[2] *Historia Augusta*, lib. xii., 21.

And they wished that I should make a great story of those two illustrious Coloni, his relatives, whose grand victory over the Venetian galleys Sabellicus describes,[1] the account of which follows in the fifth chapter of our *History*. But I have abandoned this labour, believing that he was chosen by our Lord for the great work which he has accomplished: and since he was destined to be his true Apostle, as in fact he was, the Lord wished that in this case he might imitate those others whom He chose to publish their names by seas and rivers rather than amongst the great and in palaces: and that he should also imitate the Lord, in that, while His descent was from the blood royal of Jerusalem, yet He was content to have His immediate parentage from an inconspicuous source."

The Roman historian does not speak of a Colone in connection with the capture of Mithridates, but refers to the royal prisoner as having been led *per junium cilonem*. The reader will observe that Ferdinand does not assert the descent of the Admiral from the Roman consul, but places the responsibility for the suggestion on others. The case is different when he speaks of the two illustrious Coloni, for he distinctively calls them *dui illustri Coloni suoi parenti*. We will see later that the words of Giustiniano, in the *Polygot Psalter*[2] declaring Christopher Columbus *vilibus ortus parentibus* (sprung from common parentage) were constantly in the mind of Ferdinand when he wrote the life of his father. This mark of family pride is natural. We may not praise the son, but we can say that in his effort to increase the importance of his father he did what has been done in countless families before and since his time. And in this characteristic touch of a loving and proud son is a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of his *Historie*. This *Historie*,[3] not printed until two and thirty years after the

[1] The account of this occurrence, as related by Sabellicus, is generally taken from his *Rerum Venetiarum ab Urbe Condita*. III., liber iv., Bâle, 1560.

We give the original account as it is printed in his *Enneades*, Venice, 1504, only nineteen years after its occurrence.

In the former Sabellicus speaks of this Columbus as "Columbus junior Columbi piratæ illustris, ut aiunt, nepos."

Sabellicus also wrote a *History of Venice*, in which, *Decad. IV. Lib. III.*, the story of the sea-fight off Cape St. Vincent is retold. Modern writers seem to think it was this work from which Ferdinand Columbus quotes. Ferdinand distinctly says he is quoting from the "Eighth Book of the Tenth Decade," not noticing that the work is written in *Enneades* instead of *Decades*.

[2] *Psalterium*, Genoa, 1516. Marginal note on Psalm xix.

[3] *Historie Del S. D. Fernando Colombo.* Nuouamente di lingua Spagnola tradotte nell' Italiana dal S. Alfonso Ulloa. Venice, 1571.

No original manuscript of a Spanish edition of this *Historie* has ever been discovered.

death of Ferdinand, and then in an Italian version from an unknown Spanish original, has been strongly attacked by Henry Harrisse,[1] but without throwing out of court this internal evidence of its authorship. Anxious to present to the world a rich and ancient genealogical tree, Ferdinand permits himself to claim for the Admiral a family relationship with two famous seamen, and quotes for his authority the Venetian historian, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus. Chapter v. of the *Historie*, to which Ferdinand Columbus directs the attention of the reader in his first chapter, is entitled:

"*La venuta dell' Ammiraglio in Spagna, & come fi manifestò in Portogallo, da che hebbe causa lo scoprimento dell' Indie, che ei fece.*

"Quanto al principio, & alla cauſa della venuta dell' Ammiraglio in Spagna, & di eſſerſi egli dato alle cose del mare, ne fu cagione vn' huomo ſegnalato del ſuo nome, & famiglia, chiamato Colombo, molto nominato per mare, per cagiõ dell' armata ch' ei conduceua contra gl' infedeli, & ancora della ſua patria: tal che col ſuo nome ſpauentaua i fanciulli nella culla, la cui perſona, & armata è da credere che foſſe molto grande, poi che vna volta preſe quattro galee groſſe Vinitiane, la grandeza, & fortezza delle quali non hauria creduta, ſe non che le haueſſe vedute armate. Questi fu chiamato Colombo il giouane a differenza di vn' altro, che auanti era ſtato grand' huomo per mare: del qual Colombo giouane Marc' Antonio Sabellico, che è ſtato vn' altro Tito Liuio a nostri tempi, dice nel libro ottauo della decima deca, che vecino al tempo, nel quale Maſſimiliano, figliuolo di Frederico terzo Imperatore, fu eletto Re de' Romani, fu mandato da Vinegia in Portogallo Ambaſciatore Hieronimo Donato, accioche in nome publico di quella Signoria rendeſſe gratie al Re Don Giouanni ſecondo percioche tutta la ciurma & huomini di dette galee groſſe, che tornauano di Fiandra, egli haueua vestiti & ſouuenuti, dandogli aiuto, con che poteſſero tornare a Vinegia: concio foſſe ch' eſſi preſſo a Liſbona erano ſtati ſuperati dal Colombo giouane, corſale famoso, che gli haueua ſpogliati, & meſſi in terra. Dalla quale auttorità, eſſendo d' vn huomo tanto graue, come fu il Sabellico, ſi puo comprendere la paſſione del ſopradetto Giustiniano; poi che nella ſua historia non fece mentione di eſſa, accioche non ſi ſapeſſe, che la famiglia de' Colombi non era tanto oſcura come egli diceua. &, ſe pur tacque ciò per ignoranza, ancora è degno di riprenſione, per eſſerli meſſo a ſcriuer le historie della ſua patria, & tralaſciato vna vittoria tanto notabile, ch' gl isteſſi nimici fan mentione: poi che l'historico contrario ne fa tanto capitale di eſſa, che dice, che per ciò furono mandati Ambaſciatori al Re di Portogallo. Il quale auttore ancora nell' isteſſo libro ottaua, alquanto piu oltre, come che haueſſe minore obligo d' informarſi dello ſcoprimento dell' Ammiraglio, fa mentione di ciò, ſenza meſcolarui quelle dodici bugie,

[1] L'authenticité des *Historie* attribuées à Fernand Colomb, Par l'auteur de la *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. Paris, 1873.

che 'l Giustiniano vimiſe. Ma tornando al principal propoſito dico, che, mentre in compagnia del detto Colombo giouane, l'Ammiraglio nauigaua, il che ſe lungamente, auuenne, che, intendendo, che le dette quattro galee groſſe Vinitiane tornauano di Fiandra, andarono a cercarle, e le trouarono tra Lisbona, & il capo di san Vicenzo, che è in Portogallo: doue venuti alle mani combattetero fieramente; & ſi accoſtarono in modo, che ſi aſſerrarono inſieme con tanto odio, & coraggio, che d' vn vaſello nell' altro montauano, vccindendoſi, & percotendoſi ſenza alcuna pietà, cosi con arme da mano, come con pignate, & altri ingegni di fuoco: in guiſa tale, che, eſſendoſi combattuto dalla matina fino all' hora di veſpro, & eſſendo hoggimai molta gente d'ambe le parti morta, & ferita, ſi attacò il fuoco fra la naue dell' Ammiraglio, & vna galea groſſa Vinitiana, le quali perch' erano attacate inſieme con ganzi, & catene di ferro, instrumenti, che gli huomini di mare vſano per tale effetto, non potè eſſer rimediato all' vna, ne all' altra parte, per la miſchia, che tra loro era, & per lo ſpauento del fuoco, che già in poco ſpatio era creſciuto tanto, che il rimedio fu, che faltaſſero fuori nell' acqua quelli, che poteuano, per piu tosto coſi morire, che ſopportare il tormento del fuoco. Ma, eſſendo l'Ammiraglio grandiſſimo notatore, & vedendoſi due leghe, o poco piu diſcosto da terra, prendendo un remo, che la ſorte gli appreſentò, & aiutandoſi con quello tal volta, & tal volta notando, piacque à *Dio*, che per altra maggior coſa l'haueua ſaluato, di dargli forze, onde giungeſſe a terra, benche tanto ſtanco, & trauagliato dalla humidità dell' acqua, che egli ſtette molti dì a riſarſi."

"*The Coming of the Admiral into Spain, and what befell him in Portugal, from which was caused the discovery of the Indies, which he made.*"

"As to the beginning and the cause of the coming of the Admiral into Spain and his interest in things relating to the sea, it was caused by a distinguished man of his name and family called Columbus, who was greatly renowned on the sea and also in his country, by reason of the armada which he conducted against the infidels. Such was his reputation that the children in the cradle were frightened by it; which person and armada it can be believed were so great, because at one time he took four great Venetian galleys, the size and strength of which I would not have believed if they had not been seen. This man was called Columbus the Younger, to distinguish him from another who was also greatly renowned on the sea. Of this Columbus the Younger, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, who has been another Titus Livy of our times, says in Book Eight of the Tenth Decade that at about the time Maximilian, son of Frederick, third Emperor, was elected King of the Romans, Jerome Donato was ordered from Venice to Portugal as Ambassador, so that he might render thanks to King John II.. in the public name of that Republic; because King John had clothed and assisted all the men and crews of those great Venetian galleys which were returning from Flanders, giving them aid that they might be able to return to Venice; since, being near Lisbon, they had been overcome by Columbus

the Younger, the famous corsair, who had stripped them and put them on land. The anger of the said Giustiniano can be comprehended by this authority coming from a man of such importance as Sabellicus, since in his history he does not mention this; because if known, the family of the Columbus would not appear as obscure as he said. And even though he is silent through ignorance, he is also deserving of reproval because of having set himself to write the history of his country and omitted so notable a victory, of which the enemies themselves make mention; since the adverse historian makes so much capital of this that he says Ambassadors were ordered to the King of Portugal on account of it. Which author in the same Book Eight a little farther on, although under less obligation to inform himself of the discovery of the Admiral, makes mention of this also without the introduction of the twelve falsehoods of which Giustiniano is guilty. But returning to the principal subject, I say that while the Admiral was navigating in company with the said Columbus the Younger, which he did for a long time, it happened that understanding that the said four great Venetian galleys were returning from Flanders, they went in search of them and found them between Lisbon and Cape San Vincent, which is in Portugal, where they fought fiercely hand to hand with great hatred and courage; and they were so heaped up together that they mounted from one vessel to another killing each other and striking each other without pity with various hand-arms and implements. And after having fought from morning until the hour of vespers and there being already many of both parties dead and wounded, the Admiral's ship and a great Venetian galley which were chained together with iron chains were attacked by fire; and the seamen were so worn out with their efforts in the fray and by the terror of the fire, which increased rapidly, that they were not able to offer assistance to either the one or the other, so that the only remedy was to fall into the water; which they preferred to do, being a quicker death, rather than to support the torments of the fire. But the Admiral perceived himself to be at a distance of two leagues or a little more from land, and being a very strong swimmer, he took an oar which he happened to find in the water, and by assisting himself with it for a time and swimming part of the time, it pleased God, who for a greater thing had saved him, to give him strength whereby he arrived at land; although so wearied and disordered from being in the water that he was many days in recovering."

On the recto of leaf 168 in the work of Sabellicus, only three leaves before he begins to speak of Columbus, is this passage:

"Maximilianus Frederici Cæſaris filius: Romanorum rex declaratus eſt: qd' ille Veneto Senatui per litteras ſignificauit. Dominicus Triuiſanus: qui diui Marci poſtea Procurator fuit: & Hermolaus Barbarus: in Germaniam miſſi: qui ob eam rem publico nomine ambobus gratularentur. Hieronymus Donatus in Luſitaniam: ut publico nomine amico regi ageret gratias: quod remiges & ſocii nauales quattuor Venetarum triremium: ex

Gallicia negociatione redeuntium [quas Columbus iunior archipirata illuſtris cruento proelio oppreſſerat] circa Oliſiponem regiam urbem: in littus ſaucii & ſeminudi a piratis expoſiti: hoſpitaliter & benigne regis iuſſu curati eſſent: ueſtibus & uiatico adiuti."

"Maximilian, the son of Emperor Frederick, is declared King of the Romans: which fact was announced in letters to the Venetian Senate. Dominicus Trivisanus, who afterwards was overseer of San Marco, and Hermolaus Barbarus [1] were sent into Germany, both of whom on account of this thing received the public thanks. Geronimo Donato was sent into Portugal to thank the friendly King [John II.] in the name of the Republic because of the hospitable and kindly treatment and the bestowing of food and clothing—all by the command of the King—on the rowers and sailors of the four Venetian triremes returning from a commercial adventure in Flanders [which were overthrown by Columbus the Younger, the illustrious sea-rover, in a bloody conflict], and who were left by the pirates wounded and half naked upon the shore near the royal city of Lisbon."

The story of this sea-fight is told more at length by two contemporaneous writers, Marin Sanuto in his *Vitae Ducum Venetorum ab Origine Urbis*,[2] and Domenico Malipiero in his *Annali Veneti*.[3] Since early in the fourteenth century, Venice had been in the habit [4] of sending ships laden with merchandise to the Northern nations [5] of Europe, and bringing back their pro-

[1] Hermolaus Barbarus was born in Venice, May 21, 1454, and thus was a comparatively young man when employed on this embassy. Bayle says that the speech which Barbarus composed for this occasion was a most elaborate oration, but was much curtailed in its delivery, a modification which was made on the advice of the courtiers, who reminded him that princes, while they had a great deal of patience, had small leisure. He therefore cut short his own speech and that of his colleague to an address of only one and one half hours, which supplies us with ample testimony as to the patience of Maximilian, the King of the Romans. Barbarus published his *Castigationes* in Rome in 1493, the year of his death, and his translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was published by his nephew. His literary fecundity was such that he is said to have composed no less than twelve thousand verses. His portrait is in Paulus Jovius.

[2] *MS. Calendar.* No. 499, vol. ii., p. 254.

[3] *L'Archivo Storico Italiano.* Florence, 1843.

[4] These commercial expeditions grew out of a treaty made between the Venetian Republic and Baldwin IX., Count of Flanders in 1202.

[5] The produce and manufactures, other than wine and spices, conveyed to England by the Venetians in their Flanders galleys during the fifteenth century, were:

Spun cotton, grown in India and procured by the Venetians in Damascus, and also that grown in Egypt and procured by the Venetians in Messina, in which latter place they also secured the raw cotton from Malta.

Raw silk, procured in Messina and Malaga.

Damasks, satins, and Bawdekins (a word derived from Baldacca or Bagdad) of gold and silk from Venice.

Dyed silks, yellow, blue, and light green, imported from Persia, and procured by

ducts in return. The vessels for the most part employed in this business were galleys called *flamandes*, working under both oars and sails. They touched at the ports of Spain and Portugal both in their outward and homeward journeys, and so great was the importance of these commercial adventures that they became objects of national solicitude and frequent diplomatic correspondence. Harrisse, in his *Les Colombo*, has shown that to this latter circumstance we owe much of our historical information concerning that period. Ships so laden were the natural prey of pirates, or freebooters, or corsairs, whatever we may choose to call them, and the bravest and most successful of these in the latter half of the fifteenth century floated from their mastheads the flag of France. Among these sea-rovers was one called Columbus Junior. These ships were obliged to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, and outside this gateway, in the roomy thoroughfare of the Atlantic, the French corsairs awaited their maritime harvests. On the night of the twenty-first of August in the year 1485, four of these Venetian galleys, under command of Barthèlemi Minio, were off Cape Saint Vincent, having come out of the Mediterranean on their way to Flanders. Sabellicus says distinctly that the Venetian vessels were returning from Flanders,—*Ex Gallicia negociatione redeuntium*,—but the diplomatic correspondence indicates that the fleet was on an outward voyage. The letter of the Venetian Senate to its Ambassador, Jerome Georgius, begins with referring to the affair,—*Quod cum triremes nostre oneravie viagii Flandrie*. Sanuto speaks of the fleet *Le 4 galie nostre de Fiandra—Partidie di Cades*. Moreover, the cargo consisted of spices, Malvoisie wine,[1] cotton, and raisins

the Flanders galleys at Aleppo, while some came from Turkey, and these were secured in the markets of Damascus by the Venetian merchants.

From England the galleys took home tin and wrought pewter, dressed hides, broadcloths, kerseys, friezes, dressed ox-hides, and calf-skins, these latter weighing thirty pounds the dozen. Shortly after the time of which we are writing, in 1498, the Venetian galleys exported grain. The salt from Ivica formed a portion of a galley's return journey.

From out the Flanders galleys Bruges would take silks from Syria, wax from Barbary, rock-alum from Constantinople, ostrich feathers from Macedonia, and, in turn, export by the same ships cloths of serge and baize, gloves and caps of wool, cutlery, and hardware. Antwerp was supplied by these galleys with sulphur from Sicily, ivory for combs, and jewels of various kinds.

[1] This was probably Malmsey or Malvasian wine, a wine both red and white, made from grapes grown on rocky ground and of a peculiar sweetness. Originally it was a name applied to the same kind of wine grown near Naples, but the term was made to cover similar wines of Cyprus, Candia, and the other islands of the Grecian

from Corinth, a natural consignment of Eastern goods for the Northern markets of Europe. However this may be, they were somewhere near the Cape Saint Vincent, when suddenly they found confronting them seven ships under the French flag, and a battle succeeded, which is declared to have lasted for twenty long hours. The pack-horses of the ocean yielded to the fierce wolves of the sea, and the Venetians lost three hundred of the crew, two captains, and a number of gentlemen. The remainder of the conquered were robbed of their goods and clothes and thrown on the shore of Cascaes, whence the unfortunates made their way to Lisbon. Ferdinand Columbus would have us behold his father, one of the gentlemanly adventurers, sailing with his relative, Columbus Junior, a striking figure on one of the attacking boats; he would reveal to us his father's boat grappling with one of the Venetian galleys; he would have us see fire breaking out on the latter, and the flames quickly communicating to its embracing foe; he would have us watch the future Admiral, with the lurid light falling on his brave face, yielding to the devouring fire, a more terrible enemy than its sister element, the sea, as he catches at an oar and precipitates himself into the water, swimming safely to the friendly shore of Portugal, there to fall into the hospitable arms of his future spouse. It is a spectacular introduction to the life of Columbus—but it is not true.

In the first place, the corsair known from the *Historie* and the *Enneades* as Columbus Junior was not a Genoese, not a Ligurian, not an Italian, but a citizen of France, a subject of Charles, the eighth king of France of that name, and of a family in no way connected with Christopher Columbus or his ances-

Archipelago. The Venetians went over to these islands for the Malmsey, and then carried it in their ships to the West, to Flanders, and to England. The foreign vessels were larger than theirs, and thus could afford to carry the wine for a lower freight rate. There was a formal decree of the Venetian Senate on November 18, 1488,—V. XII., Senato Mar,—putting an export duty for foreign ships of four ducats on every butt of Candian wine, a butt consisting of forty-eight Venetian gallons. This same decree urged the building of larger vessels, and offered a bounty of three thousand ducats for every ship built in Venice capable of holding one thousand tons below deck. It says: "Our forefathers always took care that there would be a good number of large ships in this city for the maintenance of the navy, but at present there is no ship of upwards of one thousand tons burden."

The English also at their end made the Malmsey wine pay an extra duty, and by an act in the first year of Richard III., it was made a charge that for every butt of Malmsey, and every butt of the wine of Tyre, ten good bow staves should be brought in.

tors. The diplomatic correspondence refers to two commanders, and they are called "The Admirals of the king, his subjects and vassals." This passage occurs in a second letter of the Senate to Sir Jerome Georgius, the Ambassador representing the Republic on a special mission at the French Court, and dated December 2, 1485. In this letter reference is made to *Temerarium illum ausum in galeas nostras perpetratum a prefectis classis sue Christianissime celsitris subditisque et vassalis illius.* In still another letter, dated December 15, 1485, the Senate refers to the capture of the triremes as *A prefectis classis Magestatis Sue.*

The allusion to the capturers of the triremes as admirals and subjects of the King of France is important, distinguishing them, as it does, from the common pirates or corsairs preying upon the Mediterranean commerce, one of whom at least had his lair in or about Genoa towards the end of the fifteenth century, and who went by the name of Columbus. It is certain that the Columbus here in question was a French subject and a French Admiral or Vice-Admiral.

Marin Sanuto speaks of the French fleet as being under the command of "Colombo Zovene zoe Nicº Griego,"—Columbus Junior and Nicº Griego. In the official document from the Senate to its Ambassador,[1] dated September 18, 1485, the commanders of the capturing fleet are called *Filius* Columbi et Johannes Grecus. In the official document from the Senate to its Ambassador, dated December 2, 1485, reference is made to the object of his special duty, *Pro recuperatione triremium nostrarum viagii Flandrie interceptorum a filio Columbi et Georgio Greco.*

On the other hand, Domenico Malipiero, in his *Annali Veneti*, speaking of the event under date of August 20, 1485, says: *Colombo Corsaro, el Zovene, fis de Colombo Corsaro, Capetanio de Dette nave Francese Armade, S'ha scontrà sora cas san Vincenzo, ne I Mari di Spagna, in le Quattro Galeazze de Fiandra.* Under date of April 9, 1486, this record is made[2]:

[1] This Sir Jerome Georgius, or Geronimo Zorzi, as he was called in the Venetian dialect, was really the Ambassador of the Republic to Milan, and thus went into France to King Charles VIII. only on a special mission, that of recovering the three uninjured triremes and the restitution of the goods. Charles VIII., while nominally King of France, was still in his minority, having been born June 30, 1470, and his elder sister, Anne, wife of Pierre Beaujeu, was Regent, associating with herself in the conduct of the realm her husband, the Bourbon Prince.

[2] *Annali Veneti.* "Archivo Storico Italiano." Vol. vii., p. 621.

"A' 9 de Avril, Geronimo Zorzi, Ambassador in Franza, scrive che l' ha fatto querela con quel Re, a Nome della Signoria, della presa delle galeazze de Fiandra, e ghe ha domandà refacimento; el Re ghe ha resposo, che ghe era in esser dusento bale de specie, cento cinquanta bote de moscatelo, trenta sachi de contoni e quaranta bote d'uva passa; e che in Biscaia, ghe è specie per 2000 ducati; e ghe se leva un conto del danno patido, chè l' ha intention de satisfar el tutto; che' l Corsaro ha domandà salvo conduto al Rè per tre settemane, per giustificar le so rason; e 'l Rè ghe ha resposo che al vuol, che' l paga; e che' l no è par farghe salvo conduto, se l'ambassador della Signoria no consente; e che esso ha ditto al Rè, che la Signoria ha da negociar conaltri che con la sua Maestà, e che quato al salvo conduto, el fazza quel che ghe par. E con questa resposta, el Rè ha fatto 'l salvo conduto al Corsaro; el quel è comparso, e ha ditto delle so rason fondate su l' interditto e scomunega del Papa, la qual ho notà in la seconda Parte, sotto quest' anno que corre 1486. E' l Rè ha sententià finalmente, che il diebba restituir le galie e tutte le robe, e che si so beni sia obligati a la refation; e ha dechiario, che se i beni del corsaro non satisferà integramente, che' l pagherà esso' l resto; e se ha mostrà facile a satisfar la Signoria, perchè l'è homo giusto, e perchè 'l dessegna de far l'impresa del Regno de Napoli."

"April 9, Jerome Zorzi, Ambassador to France, writes that he has quarrelled with the King in the name of the Republic, on account of the taking of the galleys from Flanders, and that he has demanded indemnity; the King has replied that there were in readiness for him 200 bales of spices, 150 pipes of Muscatel, 30 sacks of cotton, and 40 casks of raisins, and that in Biscay there are spices to the amount of 2000 ducats, and that provided he makes up an account of the damage suffered, he intends to satisfy the whole; that the Corsair has demanded safe-conduct from the King for three weeks to justify his privilege, and the King has replied to him that he wishes him to pay it, and that it is not for him to give him safe-conduct if the Ambassador of the Republic does not consent; and that he [the corsair] has said to the King that the Republic must negotiate with others beside his Majesty, and that as to the safe-conduct he may do as he thinks best. And upon this reply the King had sent the safe-conduct to the Corsair; who has appeared and spoken of his privilege founded upon the interdiction and excommunication of the Pope, which I have noted in the second part under date of the current year 1486. The King has finally sentenced him to restore the galleys and all the merchandise, and that his property shall be devoted to the restitution; and has said that if the property of the Corsair will not satisfy the debt wholly, that he will pay the rest; and the Republic has shown itself ready to be satisfied because he is a just man, and because he intends to undertake the affair of the kingdom of Naples."

We have already seen the Venetian historian, Marin Sanuto,[1] speaking of two commanders of the French fleet, *Colombo Zovene*

[1] Marin Sanuto had access to the national records, for he was employed by the Council of Ten to examine all the secret archives.

[Junior] Zoe [and] *Nicº Griego.* When Sanuto comes to record the event mentioned above, under the date of April 9, 1486, he says:

"E che il rè a bon voler che la Signoria recuperi e vol satisfar contra *Nico Griego ditto Colombo Zovene.*"

Among the secret documents of the Venetian[1] Republic there has been found one giving instructions from the Senate to its consular representative in London, under date of December 2, 1485, in which reference is made to the mission of its Ambassador, *Per Recuperar Legatie Nostra del Viazo de Fiandra intercepte dal fiol de Colombo et Zorzi Griego.*

On November 3, 1485, the Senate gave directions to effect the capture of a French *galéasse*, which ship was supposed to be at Alexandria, and for this purpose sent the sum of five thousand ducats in bags to hire more men to assist the crew of their own ship, commanded by "Ser Hieronimo Bon." The Flanders galleys and their cargoes were carried to Honfleur. Here one Rosetti, the Ambassador's messenger, was set upon by the inhabitants and murdered. Marin Sanuto, in his manuscript, *Lives of the Doges*, preserved in the St. Mark Library, under date of April 9, 1486, writes:

"On the 9th of April letters were received from our Ambassador in France, Hieronimo Zorzi, how he had recovered from the captured Flanders galleys 200 bales of spices, 150 butts of Malmsey, 30 bags of cotton, 40 casks of currants, which were at Honfleur: item, that in Biscay there were spices derived from the same source, to the amount of 2000 ducats; and that the King is well inclined towards the Seigniory's indemnity, and means to give satisfaction."

Nicolo Griego, who is called *Columbus Junior* [*Colombo Zovene*], wanted to obtain a safe-conduct from the King for three weeks, to arrange a compromise; the King made answer that he would not give it to him, unless the Ambassador chose to do so; as he did. The corsair then came to the King, who, having heard his apologies, gave sentence that he had wrongly captured our galleys at a loss to our subjects of 200,000 ducats.

In another secret document, written in Latin and dated April 20, 1486, reference is made to the appearance of Georgius Grecus before the French King, by his command, to make restitution

[1] *Deliberazione Senato* (*Secreta*), vol. xxxii., quoted in Rawdon Brown's *Calendar.*

for the robbery of the Venetian vessels upon the high seas. The capture of the vessels was declared illegal and 200,000 ducats was ordered to be paid as indemnity.

It is recorded in *Deliberazioni Senato Secreta* (vol. xxxiii.), under date of June 17, 1486, that the Republic was willing to abate 50,000 ducats from its original demand, which appears, according to an entry dated December 2, 1485, to have been 200,000 ducats. On March 8, 1487, a record is made of news that two ships arrived in England laden with goods recovered from the Flanders galleys. Under date of September 15, 1487, acknowledgment is made by letters of August 15, from Hieronimo Zorzi, the Ambassador, in which he speaks of the difficulty of recovering the goods belonging to the Flanders galleys, or damages for the loss of same, and the Republic remarks: "Greatly marvel at this, as it is at variance with justice and equity, and remote from our expectation. Doubt not, however, that our citizens and merchants will obtain that satisfaction which is their due." With this somewhat feeble protest ends the recorded controversy between the Republic of Venice and the King of France over the capture of the Flanders galleys by Nicolo Griego, called Columbus Junior.

We think we may read from the records and the Venetian histories this story:

On the twenty-first day of August of the year 1485, just at the first of the light, a company of four Venetian merchant vessels, laden with a miscellaneous cargo of cotton, wine, spices, and dried fruit from the region around about Peloponnæsus, under the command of Captain Bartholomew Minio, was attacked when off Cape Saint Vincent by a fleet of seven vessels sailing under the *fleur-de-lis* emblem, and under two Admirals or Vice-Admirals, the chief being known in Venetian history as Colombo the Younger, and the second in command being Georgius Grecus, both being subjects and vassals of the French King. After a long conflict of twenty hours, in which many were killed, the merchant vessels were defeated. The sailors and passengers were cast upon the shore of Portugal, and so hospitably entertained at the order of the King of that country that the Venetians afterwards took official action in sending an Ambassador to return thanks for his courtesy. The capturers took their plunder, ships and merchandise, into Portugal, where they at-

tempted to dispose of the latter, but the King, John II., issued an edict forbidding any one, under severe penalties, to buy anything coming out of the conquered ships. They then carried their spoils either into France, Flanders, or England. Wherever the booty may have been deposited, Pierre Beaujeu, Prince of Bourbon, acting for the French King, was responsible; and he recognised the responsibility, for, when pressed by the Venetian Ambassador, he ordered before him not Colombo, the Admiral, the chief of the expedition, but Georgius Grecus, the second in command, whom he severely rebuked, and for whose hostile conduct in attacking the vessels of a friendly nation he agreed to make suitable restitution. While Georgius Grecus was a French subject and high in naval command, he was, as his name indicates, a native of Greece. As we shall see, Colombo was a French Admiral or Vice-Admiral high in favour with the French King.

On October 1, 1474, two ships belonging to King Ferdinand of Sicily were captured near the harbour of Vivero, in the Bay of Biscay, by a corsair, a subject of Louis XI., King of France. Under date of December 8, 1474, King Ferdinand made a vigorous complaint to the French monarch, of whom he asked reparation for his vassals' depredations.[1] This bold corsair

[1] In his *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*, Hannover, 1693, Leibnitz publishes the King's letter to the French King, and King Louis's reply, but adds the gratuitous and false information that this Columbus was called Christopher.

"Littere quas Rex Ferdinandus scripsit Regi Christianissimo per Dominum suorum armorum Regem super captione duarum triremum suarum per Columbum et alios subditos Regis, facta apud vivarium portum Hispaniarum recepte Parisius die jovis XXVI Januarii M°CCCC. Septuagesimo quarto.

"Littere scriptæ per Christianissimum Regem supremum Dominum nostrum Regi Ferdinando respondendo litteris quas ipse Rex Ferdinandus scripsit sibi per dominum suum armorum Regem super captione duarum triremum per Columbum et alios subditos regis facta apud vivarium Hispaniarum portum, quæ litteræ factæ fuerunt die ultima mensis Januarii M°CCCCLXXIIIII."

Nicholas Thoynard declared that the Colombo mentioned by Leibnitz was not Christopher Columbus, but Guillaume de Casenove, called Coulomp, a Vice-Admiral of France. Thereupon the German philosopher and historian corrected his statements with regard to the name:

"Sed significavit Toinardus sub Ludovico XI., vice-amiralium fuisse quemdam Gulielmum de Casanova cognominatum Coulomp, cujus et meminit contemporaneus autor libri, qui *Chronici Scandalosi* nomine venire solet."

It is thought that this chronicle is based upon a work—now lost—by Jean Castel, a French historian, and writers are inclined to give it good credence. Three times this chronicle makes mention of a Colombo:

"Le Roy . . . fist aussi arriuer et auitailler la nef de Monsieur l'Admiral, la nef de Colon et aultres plusieurs beaux nauires" [about June, 1470]: "The King also caused to arrive and to victual the ship of Monsieur the Admiral, the ship of Columbus, and many other fine vessels."

was surnamed Colon, Coulon, Coullon, or Coulomp, various old French forms for the name of a dove, and thus the word was written in Latin Columbus. Harrisse, in his *Les Colombo de France et d'Italie*, has identified this Coulon with a cadet of Gascogne named Guillaume de Casenove, who, while the future Louis XI. was yet the Dauphin, became his familiar, and was his companion when the young Prince, after having once revolted against his father, and after one forgiveness, again put himself in opposition and fled to the Duke of Burgundy.[1] Simon de Phares, a celebrated astrologer, speaks of the bold Coullon, Vice-Admiral of Normandy, "cestui sceut le secret de la quarte de naviguer." Louis de Bourbon was Admiral from 1461 to 1483, and thus Guillaume de Casenove was his Lieutenant or Vice-Admiral. He is mentioned in a royal document dated January 20, 1465, in which he is qualified as "Visadmiral de France maistre enquestueur et reformateur des eaues et foretz en Normandie et Picadie"; and in royal letters issued July 15, 1466, Louis XI. confirms Coullon with eulogies in his office of Master of Streams and Forests of Normandy. In the year 1469, in the month of June, Coullon was in the English Channel with a squadron of eight ships, awaiting some Flemish galleys coming from Venice, and in the state papers of the Republic he is called the pirate. The neighbouring State of Milan refers to him less coarsely as "Colombo, homo de guerra del S. Re di Franza per mare." There seems to be no difficulty in identifying Colombo the corsair, or pirate, with Coullon or Colon of France, or in identifying this Coullon with Guillaume de Casenove of Normandy, the Vice-Admiral or Lieutenant of the Admiral. But, under any circumstances, the fanciful claim set up by Ferdinand Columbus that his father was descended from the Admiral Colombo is without foundation.

The following curious letter is to-day preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and relates, beyond doubt, to this same French Admiral Guillaume de Casenove, called Columbus,

" . . . en ung hostel pres d'illec nommé Gaillartbois, appartenant à Colon Lieutenant de M. l'Admiral" [about May, 1475]: "In a house near that called Gaillarbois, belonging to Columbus, the Lieutenant of the Admiral."

" . . . la plus grant desconfiture qui passé à cent ans fut faite sur mer (Coulon et aultres escumeurs de mer)": "the greatest disaster experienced on the sea for a hundred years was inflicted by Columbus and the other sea-rovers" [some time in the year 1479].

[1] Mezerai said of Charles VII. that he might have been called happy if he had been the son of some other King, or the father of some other Prince.

whose exploits upon the sea were in the mouths of the Florentines and all maritime peoples.

The reference to a Columbus by a member of the Vespucius family is interesting, but there is no connection whatsoever between the Columbus there mentioned and the Genoese woolcarder.

"(*fuori*) da Messer p° Vespucci.
(*fuori*) Spectabili viro
Benedicto de deis etc.
Mediolani.

"Febr. 11.

"Spectabilis tamquam frater etc. Tornando da firenze ho trouato. 3. lectere delle tue nelle quali mi avisi piu nouelle. El chaso di S° polo et la partita delli imbasciadori chosti al duca di borghognia mi era nota. Sarammi piacere che seghuiti la rubrica dello scrivere. Sono stato a firenze et ho ueduto el nostro messer bongiami et ricordatogli quelle campane Lascai [*sic*] che Jacopo guicciardini doueua partire fra pochi di. so che non bisogna ti ricordi che uenendo a milano gli tenghi buona compagnia chome hai facto a me.

"E si da ordine al nauicare per ogni banda et questa terra per lo studio et predecto nauicare. Et perche lorenzo ci uerra in questa quaresima et molti altri fiorentini sara uno trionfo.

"Arno ha facto disordine et a firenze ruppe una schafa. ando a trauerso. 15. o 20 huomini che ne e morti cinque et se non fussino state schale, funi et buani a ripescharli haueuano da fare assai et hareb beno facti pellegrini nella aqqua dolce.

"Lo ambasciadore unitiano mi a decto a firenze che l ottoman fa pur segnio di mettersi a ordine et mandare nel mare egeo. Dubito che l pocho credere non ti nuoca.

"Colombo comprendo che si facci sentire in quelli mari di la et habbi preso molti nauilii de bischaini. Direti altre gran nouelle de franciosi se tu non fussi un gran borghognione. Solo ti dicho quelli principi non sono acti a fare arte di lana ne arte di seta. Rachomandami a m. piero da posterla, a Zacheria da pisa, messer pier francesco uisconti se ui e, S. Taddeo, S. Ghiudanio et di al S. messer Tadeo et al S. giudanio che io rachomando la mia chomare la qual tu pregho uiciti personalmente per mia parte. Pisis die XI februarii 1479.

"Donatus, Acaiuolus } orator et p̃

"(*outside*) from Messer *p*° Vespucci.
(*outside*) Spectabili viro [1]
Benedicto de deis etc.
Mediolani [Milan].

[1] Honourable gentleman, Benedetto Dei, etc.

"February 11.

"Spectabilis tamquam frater,[1] etc. On my return from Florence I have found three of your letters, in which you advise me of more news. The matter of the S° Pole and the departure of the Ambassadors there [Milan?] to the Duke of Burgundy, was known to me. It will be a pleasure to me if you follow the rubric of the writing. I have been to Florence and have seen our Messer Bongiami and I mentioned to him those bells I left [*sic*]. As Jacopo Guicciardini ought to leave in a few days, I know that it is not necessary to remind you that in coming to Milan you may keep him good company, as you have done by me. Preparations are being made for voyages on all sides of this country by study of the aforesaid voyage. And as Lorenzo will come here during this Lent, and many other Florentines, it will be a triumph.

"The Arno has caused disorders and at Florence it broke a cock-boat [a kind of small boat] capsized 15 or 20 men, of whom five are dead, and if there had not been good ladders and ropes to fish them out, they would have had enough to do and would have made pilgrims in the fresh water. The Venetian Ambassador told me in Florence that the Ottoman still shows signs of making preparations to send (ships) into the Ægean Sea. I doubt that your little faith will harm you.

"I understand that Columbus makes himself felt in those seas yonder and has taken many vessels from the Biscayans. I would tell you other important news about the French if you were not a great Burgundian. I only tell you that those Princes are not fitted for the carrying on of the woollen or silk trade. Commend me to M. Piero de Postula, to Zacheria da Pisa, to Messer Pier Francesco Visconti, if he is there, S. Taddeo,[2] S. Ghiudanio and say to S. Messer Tadeo and S. Giudanio that I recommend my gossip [wife?], whom I pray you to visit personally on my behalf.

"Pisa, February 11, 1479.

"Donatus
Acaiuolus } Ambassador et[3] p̃

"Laurentian Library, Ashburnham Collection. Dei Correspondence."

At the time of the great fight off Cape Saint Vincent, England was in the throes of civil war. Richard III. was on the throne. Pierre de Beaujeu, ever hostile to England, had fitted out a fleet at Honfleur to aid Henry Tudor, the head of the Lancastrians, and whose mother was Catherine of France. Venice was friendly to England, and therefore France was unfriendly to Venice. The decisive battle of Bosworth Field occurred on the very day following the Franco-Venetian sea-fight off Cape Saint Vincent. It is more than probable that, instead of a picture of a bloody pirate plundering the merchant ships of Venice,

[1] To be honoured as a brother. [2] Notary (Ser.). [3] Ambassador and Alderman.

a proper perspective would show us a hostile force acting hastily and without sufficient official authority, but still within the field of indirect or collateral reprisal. Ostensibly France and the Republic of Venice were at peace, but, in reality, France could not look with restrained distrust at a fleet of four heavily laden merchantmen going around the Portuguese shores, bound, doubtless, for a northern expedition to enrich its English enemies. When diplomatic complaint gained the ear of Pierre Beaujeu, he feigned displeasure at his French admirals, promised restitution, and there he rested both his displeasure and the fulfilment of his promise. The records do not show that the value of the Venetian cargoes was ever recompensed to the Adriatic Republic.

Above all, there is not the slightest reason to accept the statement of Ferdinand that his father had any part in the sea-fight off Cape Saint Vincent in 1485, and that the buoyant oar floated him not only into the harbour of safety, but of matrimonial bliss, in the land of Portugal. Christopher Columbus, in the year 1485, was finishing his career in Portugal, and was getting ready to go into Spain. He had married years before in Lisbon, and had long lived in one of the Portuguese islands off the coast of Africa,—Porto Santo. Such an event as Ferdinand relates would have fitted his life better if it had been placed back some fifteen or twenty years, but we see the quiet, staid, married man preparing for his departure out of Portugal, not to be an aimless wanderer, but holding to his absorbing purpose, ever dreaming of his projects, and striving to convince pilots, philosophers, priests, and princes of a new route to the Eastern lands, and of his knowledge of the way thereto.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LAND OF HIS NATIVITY

In the year 1504, there was published at Venice a little book[1] giving the first narrative history of the Columbian discoveries. This work is represented by a unique example preserved in the library of San Marco at Venice. It is practically the composition of Peter Martyr, translated into the Venetian dialect by Angelo Trivigiano. In its opening sentence—Cristophoro Colōbo Zenoeſe—we find the first announcement to the world that Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa. In the letters of Columbus reporting his first voyage, published in 1493, in Spanish, first in folio and then in octavo form, or in the several Latin translations of the letter, there is no mention of his nationality. Nor is any reference to the place of his birth found in the account of the second voyage of Columbus, as published in 1495 by Nicolaus Syllacius.

Peter Martyr, in his epistle to Johannes Borromeo, dated from Barcelona May 14, 1493, says:

"Poſt paucos inde dies rediit ab antipodibus occiduis Chriſtophorus quidam Colonus vir Ligur":

"A few days afterwards a certain Christopher Columbus, a Ligurian, returned from the Western Antipodes."

These letters of Peter Martyr, while more or less encyclical in character, were necessarily known only to the privileged, and no part of them reached the public until the *Libretto* appeared in 1504.

Peter Martyr, then, in speaking of Christopher Columbus, calls him a Ligurian. Angelo Trivigiano, who also had a per-

[1] This little book is known bibliographically as the *Libretto*.

sonal acquaintance with Columbus, in translating Peter Martyr improves upon his author, and calls the Discoverer a Genoese. In ancient times, Liguria included the territory in north-western Italy on both sides of the maritime Alps and of the Apennines extending northward to the river Po, from the land of Gaul on the west to Etruria. The Greek colony of Massilia was spoken of as having been established within the borders of Liguria. In the time of Columbus the Ligurian territory extended on the coast from Porto di Moneco—Monaco—on the west to Porto Ericis, the east side of the bay of Spezia. Genoa was but a part of Liguria. A Genoese, then, was certainly a Ligurian, but a Ligurian was not necessarily a Genoese. Trivigiano is more exact than Peter Martyr. However, this does not tell us if Christopher Columbus was born in the city or in the State of Genoa.

Oviedo[1] says of him:

"Digo que Christobal Colen segun yo he sabido de hombres de su nasçion, fué natural de la provincia de Liguria, que es en Italia, en la qual cæ la

[1] Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo of Sobrepeña, or of Valdès, was born at Madrid in April, 1478. He was a page or attendant on the young Prince John, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and was at Barcelona in April, 1493, when Columbus was received by the sovereigns on his return from the first voyage. He must have been born an historian, or perhaps, more properly speaking, a chronicler, one who fills a greater office than that of a historian. Writing of himself when scarcely fifteen years of age, he says:

"Assi que no hablo de oydas en ninguna destas quatro cosas, sino de vista; aunque las escriba desde aqui, o mejor diciendo, occurriendo á mis memoriales desde el mismo tiempo escriptas en ellas."

"Therefore I do not write about any of these four things from hearsay, but as an eyewitness; although I write of them from this place, or, more properly speaking, according to my memorandum books, wherein they have been written since the time itself."

He rose rapidly and to high preferment. He was at one time secretary to the Great Captain Gonsalvo de Córdova. The superintendence of the gold refineries in the New World was bestowed upon him, and in this position he must have reaped great wealth. In the English translation of Peter Martyr, printed at London, 1555, in the preface to the reader Richard Eden says:

What shulde I heare speake of the golde which themperous maiestie receaveth frome all the Indies, wheras onely in the two meltynge shoppes of the gold mines of the Islande of Hispaniola, is molten yearely three hundreth thousande pounde weyght of. VIII. unces to the pound, wherof the fyfte parte is dewe vnto hym, whiche amounteth to three score thousande weyght yearely.

Oviedo was Governor of the city of Santa Maria in Darien, and afterward Governor of the province of Carthagena. Later he was appointed to be the Governor of the important fortress of San Domingo. In 1525 he became chronicler to Charles V., and, later, was historian for the Indies. He made no less than twelve voyages between the Old and New World. At the second marriage of King Ferdinand, Oviedo performed an important function, and he was at Cordova when the Great Captain Gonsalvo de Córdova was preparing to march into Italy. His chief work was the *History of the Indies*. He wrote not only of human events, but in his *Summario*, printed first in 1526, he describes the natural history of the Indies, the climate, plants, and animals. He died at Valladolid in 1557.

cibdad é Señoria de Génova: unos dicen que de Saona, é otros que de un pequeño lugar o villaje, dicho Nervi, que as á la parte del levante y en la coste de la mar, á dos leguas de la misma cibdad de Génoa: y por mas cierto se tiene que fue natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo." [1]

"I say that Christopher Columbus, according to what I have learned from men of his nation, was a native of the province of Liguria, which is in Italy, in which is situated the city and Seigniory of Genoa: some say that he was from Saona, and others that he was from a small place or village, called Nervi, which is in the eastern part and on the seacoast, two leagues distant from the city of Genoa itself: and more certainly, it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo."

Las Casas, in first speaking of Columbus, says:

"De nacion Genovés, de algun lugar de la prouincia de Genova." [2]
"Of the Genoese nation, from some place in the province of Genoa."

Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, in his *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos*, thus closes his 131st chapter:

". . . dicho Almirante Christobal Colon de maravillosa honrada memoria, natural de la Prouincia de Milan. . . ."
". . . the said Admiral Christopher Columbus, of marvellously honoured memory, native of the Province of Milan. . . ."

This allusion to Milan is explained by the fact that at the time Bernaldez wrote, Genoa was under the control of its more powerful neighbour, Milan. That is to say, Genoa was a dependency of Milan from 1421 to 1435, and again from 1464 to 1499.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*, speaking of the birthplace of his father, says:

"Per lo che alcuni, che in una certa maniera penſano oſcurare la ſua fama, dicono, che fu di Nerui, altri che di Cugureo, & altri che di Bugiaſco, che tutti ſono luoghi piccioli preſſo alla città di Genoua & nella ſua steſſa riuiera: et altri, che vogliono eſaltarlo piu, dicono, che era Sauoneſe, & altri Genouese: & ancor quelli, che piu ſagliono ſopra il vento, lo fanno di Piacenza, nella qual città ſono alcune honorate perſone della ſua famiglia, & ſepulture con arme, & lettere di Colombo." [3]

[1] *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. ii. [2] *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. ii.

[3] *Historie*, 1571 edition, verso folio 2. This passage is very badly translated in the French edition, reference to Bugiasco and Genoa as his possible birthplace being omitted. Indeed the student should not consult the second edition, that published in French at Paris in 1681. Many other passages are either mangled or omitted in this translation. The first edition published in Italian at Venice in 1571 is in all our great libraries at home and abroad.

"By which some, who in a certain manner intend to obscure his fame, say, that he was from Nervi, others that he was from Cugureo, and others that he was from Bugiasco, which are all small places near the city of Genoa and on the same coast: and others who wish to make him more exalted, say that he was a Savonese, and others a Genoese: and still others who are more given to inexactness, say that he was from Piacenza, in which city there are some honoured persons of his family, and sepulchres with the arms and inscriptions of Columbus."

Here Ferdinand Columbus tells us there was in that early day a question in which of six places Columbus had his birth, and he does not indicate in this particular passage that Genoa was the real birthplace, although he knew well his father's statements concerning that subject. His allusion to the purpose or desire of some to obscure his father's fame refers to the account given by Giustiniano in the *Polyglot Psalter*.

Christopher Columbus, then, was an Italian, a Ligurian, and a native of that province, the capital of which was the city of Genoa.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE MINOR CLAIMANTS

At least eighteen places, more than twice the number which claimed Homer, dead, have claimed Christopher Columbus as their own son,—Nervi, Cogoleto, Bugiasco, Savona, the city of Genoa, Piacenza (Pradilla), Cuccaro, Quinto, Albissola, Finale, Oneglia, Cosseria, Chiavari, Novara, Milan, Modena, England, and Calvi in the island of Corsica. The first six of these places are mentioned by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* in the order given. But that Ferdinand knew his father was a native of Genoa, and that he himself believed Genoa to be the birthplace of the Admiral, is plain from his reference shortly afterward in the same *Historie* to Giustiniano as the *conterraneo*, or the fellow citizen, and we know that Giustiniano was a native of Genoa. The surname Columbus in its Italian forms was most common in Liguria and Lombardy. There were families of this name in nearly every seaport town of the Mediterranean. In those days no baptismal registers were kept, and when the great Admiral had become famous, it was natural that these towns and villages should claim him for their own. By that time it was easier to assert than to deny, and local pride waived the formalities of actual proof. The doubtful legend was transmuted by homely village faith into the indisputable. Then a tablet fastened the story on the wall of some dwelling, and in the market-place a statue for ever declared him a native born.

Nervi is mentioned by Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus, but only as a rumoured birthplace. Each of these writers simply reports, "Some say he was born in Nervi." Oviedo writes:

"Digo que Christobal Colom, segun yo he sabido de hombres de su

nasçion, fué natural de la provincia de Liguria, que ese en Italia, en la cual cæ la cibdad é Señoria de Génova: unos diçen que de Saona, é otros que de un pequeño lugar ó villaje, dicho Nervi, que es á la parte del levante y en la costa de la mar, á dos leguas dela misma cibdad de Génova: y por mas cierto se tiene que fue natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo."

"I say that Christopher Columbus, according to what I have learned from men of his nation, was a native of the province of Liguria, which is in Italy, in which is situated the City and Seigniory of Genoa: some say that he was from Saona, and others that he was from a small place or village, called Nervi, which is in the eastern part and on the seacoast, two leagues distant from the city of Genoa itself; and more certainly it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo."

Nervi is a town of nearly six thousand inhabitants, picturesquely situated a little over seven miles to the east of Genoa. As one climbs the Monte Giugo at its back, there is disclosed a glorious view of the Riviera di Levante as far as Porto Fino on the east, and of the Riviera di Ponente on the west, looking away toward the maritime Alps. The climate is delightful, and one could not select, if he had the choice, a more agreeable birthplace.

Cogoleto,[1] or *Cugureo*, as it was called by Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus, has presented in its time some very strong claims This is a small village some fifteen miles westward of Genoa. A little house, now a shop, is declared in a tablet erected in 1650 to be the veritable birthplace of Columbus. Oviedo first mentions this place in connection with Columbus—"por mas cierto se tiene que fué natural de un lugar dicho Cugureo": "more certainly it is maintained that he was a native of a place called Cugureo."

Ferdinand Columbus, in chapter ii. of his *Historie*, says:

"Baſſando io per Cugureo, procurai di hauere informatione di due fratelli Columbi, che erano i piu ricchi di quel caſtello, & si diceua, ch' erano alquanto ſuoi parenti: ma, perche il men vecchio paſſava i cento anni, non ſeppero darmi notitia di ciò."

"In passing through Cugureo, I strove to obtain information from two Columbus brothers, who were the richest men of that little town, and it was said that they were in some degree his relatives: but, as the youngest

[1] Cogoleto appears written in many different ways, as, for instance, *Cogoreto*, *Cucchereto*, *Cugureo*, *Cogoreo*, *Cucureo* in Herrara, and *Cugurgo* in Puffendorf. It owes its various names to an attempt to express in written form the name of a locality extremely difficult to pronounce in the Genoese dialect.

was more than one hundred years old, they were not able to give me information in regard to this matter."

This passage from Ferdinand's *Historie* has led many writers to accept the theory that Columbus himself was of that rich family. However, years afterward, about the time the *Historie* of Ferdinand was coming from the press, one Bernardo Colombo a descendant of this Cogoleto family, then reduced to comparative poverty and knowing neither to read nor write, learning that the last direct descendant of Columbus in the male line had died, went into Spain, and there, joining forces with another claimant, made an attempt to gain the estates and honours of the great Admiral, made vacant by the death of Diego, the second Duke of Veragua. His claim was that a certain Lança was the father of the Columbus called Domenico, whom he claimed was the father of Columbus; that the same Lança had a brother named Nicolao, and it was from this Nicolao that Bernardo Colomb of Cogoleto claimed descent. The courts denied the claims of Bernardo with some degree of severity, but local chroniclers ave continued to declare Christopher Columbus a member of this family, and a native of the little Mediterranean village of Cogoleto. To trace the line of Columbus, it is necessary to find a man by the name of Domenico, who had three sons, called Christopher, Bartholomeo, and Giacomo. Felice Isnardi, about the year 1838, produced a document which purported to be the last will and testament of Domenico Colombo, son of Giovanni Colombo of Cogoleto, who espoused Maria Giusti of Lerca, and who was the father of three sons, Christopher, Bartholomeo, and Giacomo. The will is dated August 23, 1449, and Harrisse seems to us right in assuming that the testator did not long survive his will. We know that Domenico, the father of our Columbus, was alive fifty years after the date of this will. Moreover, his will bequeaths his property to the three sons, which would require that Giacomo, the youngest brother of Christopher, and who, when he went into Spain, took the Spanish form of his name, Diego, should have been at least at the mature age of thirty-five years when he was apprenticed, in 1484, in the house of a wool-carder or weaver of Savona. [1]

[1] The curious reader may consult *Nuovi Documenti*, by Felice Isnardi, and *Revista Critica*, by Giambattista Belloro, for a continuation of this controversy, where in the little work of the latter author the said will reads *Dominicus Columbus Quondam*

Bugiasco, or *Bogliasco*, is a little village about nine miles from Genoa and a short distance to the east of Nervi. Its claims rest entirely upon the assertion of Ferdinand Columbus that in his day there were some who said his father was of that place.

Savona, a considerable town on the Italian Riviera, about twenty-six miles west of Genoa, has made a very strong claim for the honour of having produced the great Discoverer. Galindez de Carbajal, whose work is preserved in manuscript form in the National Library in Paris, speaks of Columbus as:

Xpval Colon Ginoves Natural de Saona.

We have already seen that Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus both report some persons as assigning the place of the Admiral's birth to the city of Savona. Some two centuries after, an Italian author, Felipo Alberto Pollero, in his *Epichemera*, quoted Francesco Spinola as declaring that he had seen carved on the tomb of Columbus in the Cathedral of Seville, these words:

Hic Jacet Christophorus Columbus Savonensis.

There is no record that the remains of Columbus were ever deposited in the Cathedral Church at Seville before they were taken to San Domingo, nor of any inscription there or elsewhere in the words he ascribes to Spinola.[1]

However, there were discovered by Giulio Salinerio, at the end of the seventeenth century, certain documents which, for a time, seemed to prove the contention of the citizens of Savona on behalf of their beloved city. But these documents only prove that, about the beginning of the year 1470, a certain weaver

Bartholomei. In this document only the names of Bartholomeus and Christophorus are found.

It is not easy at a late day to produce a document that will answer all the requirements of the past.

[1] The remains of Christopher Columbus, when removed from Valladolid, were deposited in the *Monasterio de las Cuevas*, a Carthusian convent founded in 1400 by Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena, who gave it the name Monasterio de Nuestra Señora Santa Maria de las Cuevas, the Monastery of our Lady Holy Mary of the Caves. The chapel within the monastery was built, according to Harrisse, in the year 1507, by the Prior Diego de Luxan, and dedicated to Santa Ana. Here in 1509 the remains of Columbus were removed from Valladolid, where he died in 1506. And here they remained until, some time between 1538 and 1549, they were transported across the seas to the Cathedral Church of San Domingo, where we believe, notwithstanding the claims of the Spaniards that they were taken to Havana, they rest until this day.

named Dominicus Columbus came to settle himself and family for a time in Savona. On March 2, 1470, in the presence of Giovanni Gallo, notary, this Dominicus Columbus engaged an apprentice by the name of Bartholomeus Castagnetus, and in the document the former is thus styled, *Dominicus de Columbo Civis Januæ Q. Johannis de Quinto textor pannorum et Tabernarius.*[1] On the 23d of January, in the year 1477, this same notary, Giovanni Gallo, designates Dominicus de Colombo as *Civis et Habitatoris Savonæ.* This last documentary evidence is quoted by the Savonese to prove their side of the question. The explanation of *civis* is not far to seek, as it is probable that, in the interim between 1470 and 1477, Dominicus, the father, had purchased a home and entered upon the rights of citizenship. In a document signed March 20, 1470, in which Christopher Columbus is a witness, the latter is called *Cristoforo de Colombo Lanerio de Janua.*[2]

In a document dated August 7, 1473, the sale of a house in the city of Genoa in the Gate Olivella, which had been conveyed by Dominicus Columbus (to a certain party whose family name is omitted in the deed), is ratified at Savona in the presence of Pietro Corsaro, notary, by Susanna Fontanarossa, the wife of Dominicus, and by Christophorus and Johannes Pelegrinus, their sons.[3] The opening lines of this document are very important:

[1] It was the custom to file original documents in the archives of the city of Savona under the names of the notaries before whom they were executed, but Harrisse reports that he has not been able to find the original of this particular document, and quotes it upon the authority of Giambattista Belloro and other writers. These archives are preserved to-day in a corridor on the first story of the City Hall. They include the papers of no less than eighty-four official notaries who have exercised their calling in Savona from the year 1364 to 1777. These have been handled, and some of them quoted, by such historians as Julius Salinerius in his notes on Tacitus, printed at Genoa in the year 1602; Giovanni Tommaso Belloro, writing in 1810; Father Battista Spotorno, and Angelo Sanguinete in his *Vita di Christoforo Colombo*, Genoa, 1846.

[2] Preserved among the notarial documents of Lodovico Moreno in the archives of Savona, No. 921–926.

[3] "Anno ſalutiffere nativitatis ejuſdem milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſeptuageſimo tercio indicione ſexta ſecundum curſum civitatis Saonæ die vero ſabati ſeptima menſis Auguſti.

"Sozana filia q. Jacobi de Fotanarubea de biſagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Criſtoforus & Johannis Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozanæ, jugalium & cum auctoritate & conſenſu dictorum parentum ſuorum preſentium conſententium & auctoritatem eorum præſtantium conſtituta in preſentia mei notarii & teſtium infraſcriptorum, ſciens & perfectam ſcientiam habens dictum Dominicum de Columbo virum ipſius Suzanæ & pater ipſorum Criſtofori & Johannis Pellegrinis vendidiſſe & alienaſſe & ſeu vendere & alienare velle quamdam domum ipſius Dominici

Sozana filia q. Jacobi de Fontanarubea de bifagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Criftoforus & Johannis Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozanæ.

We learn from this document several facts:

First. Dominicus Columbus was, on August 7, 1473, an inhabitant of Savona; and in another document, dated January 23, 1477, we find Dominicus Columbus was *Civis et habitatoris Savonæ*,—citizen and inhabitant of Savona.

Second. Dominicus had come from the city of Genoa, where he owned real property, and of which city, therefore, he had been a citizen.

Third. The wife of Dominicus was Susanna Fontanarossa, Latinised into Fontanarubea,[1] and she was a daughter of the

fita in civitate Janua *in contracta porte orivelle* cui coheret ab una parte Simonina Bozorina ab [alia parte]. Antonius Ritius de Bifagno, retro viridarium Johannis Berroto de rapallo, antea via publica, & fi qui alii funt veriores confines videlicet Petro . . . textori pannorum de Janua pro pretio librarum centum quin quaginta quinque monetæ Januæ fub modis pactis & formis conventis inter dictum Dominicum ejus virum & dictum Petrum de . . . & de ea vendicione velle fieri facere inftrumentum feu inftrumenta cum claufulis cautellis & aliis debitis & opportunis. Et fciens etiam ipfa Suzana dictam domum & omnia alia bona dicti Dominici viri fui fuiffe & *effe obligata & hypothecata pro dotibus fuis & feu etiam extradotibus*, fponte, confulte, deliberate & ejus certa fcientia ipfa Suzana profe, & suos heredes annuit & confentit, ac annuivit & confentiit dictæ venditioni & alienationi dictæ domus de qua fupra factæ per dictum Dominicum dicto Petro. . . ."

[1] Ferdinand Columbus, in the eleventh chapter of the *Historie*, page 31, edition 1571, relates the journey of Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, into England to the Court of Henry VII.:

"Ma, temendo, fe parimente i re di Caftiglia non affentiffero alla fua impreſa, non gli bifognaffe proporla di nuovo a qualche altro Principe, & cofi in ciò paffaffe lungo tempo: mandò in Inghilterra un fuo fratello che haveva apreffo di fe, chiamato Bartolomeo Colon: il qual quantunque non haveffe lettere Latine, era però huomo prattico, & giudicioſo nelle cofe del mar, & fapea molto bene far carte da navigare, & ffere, & altri inftrumenti di quella proffeffione, come dall' Ammiraglio, fuo fratello, era inſtrutto. Partito adunque Bartolomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la fua forte, che deffe in man di Corfali, i quali lo fpogliarono infieme con gli altri della fua nave. Per la qual cofa, & per la fua povertà, & infermità, che in cofi diverfe terre lo affalirono crudelmente, prolungò per gran tempo la fua ambafciata, fin che, acquiftata un poco di facultà con le carte, ch'ei fabricava, cominciò a far prattiche co'l Re Enrico fettimo, padre di Enrico Ottavo, che al prefente regna: a cui appreſentò un Mappamondo, nel quale erano fcritti queſti verſi, che fra le fue fcritture io trovai, et da me faranno qui poſti più toſto per l'antichità, che per la loro eleganza:

"'Terrarum quicunq: cupis feliciter oras
Noſcere, cũcta decẽs doctè pictura docebit
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolęmeus, Plinius, atque
Iſidorus: non vna tamen ſententia quiſq;
Pingitur hic etiam nuper fulcata carinis.
Hiſpanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,
Torrida, q̃ tandẽ nunc eſt notiſſima multis.'

"Et piũ di ſotto diceva:

"'Pro auctore ſiue pictore.
Ianua cui patriæ eſt nomen, cui Bartholomęus Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit

late Jacobus Fontanarossa of Bisagno, one of the suburbs of the city of Genoa.

Fourth. Christophorus and Johannes Pelegrinus were two sons of Dominicus and Susanna, and both of these sons were arrived at their majority at the date of the document, and had a legal right for themselves to ratify the sale of real estate made by the father.

From the document dated March 20, 1470, we learn that Christopher Columbus was a Genoese, and that he was a worker in wool. The last notarial act in which Dominicus Columbus is mentioned is dated August 17, 1481, executed before Ansaldo Basso, notary. On September 17, 1484, Giacomo or Jacobus Columbus, the youngest son, is contracted in apprenticeship, and this indicates that the father was then living in Savona.

iſtud Londonijs ann. Dñi 1480. atq: inſuper anno 8. decimaq̃; dia cum tertia mẽſis Febr.

" Laudes Chriſto cantetur abunde.'

"Et percioche avvertirà alcuno, che dice Colũbus de terra rubra, dico, che medeſimamente io vidi alcune ſottoſcrittioni dell' Ammiraglio, prima che acquiſtaſſe lo ſtato, ou' egli ſi ſottoſcriveva *Columbus de terra rubra.* . . . ."

"But, fearing, if the King of Castile did not assent to his undertaking, it would be necessary for him to propose it anew to some other Prince, and thus in this manner a long time would elapse: he sent to England one of his brothers, whom he had with him, named Bartholomew Columbus: who although he was not a Latin scholar, was, however, a practical man and of good judgment in matters relating to the sea, and who knew very well how to make charts and spheres and other instruments of that profession, as he had been instructed by the Admiral, his brother. Bartholomew Columbus having left for London then, his fate decreed that he should fall into the hands of corsairs, who despoiled him together with the other persons on his vessel. On account of which, and on account of his poverty and infirmity, which in different lands thus assailed him so cruelly, he prolonged for a long time his Ambassadorship, until having acquired a little means through the charts which he made, he began to negotiate with the King Henry VII., father of Henry VIII., who reigns at the present time: to whom he presented a Map of the World, in which were written these verses, which I found among his papers, and which are placed here by me more on account of their antiquity than on account of their elegance:

" ' Thou which deſireſt eaſily the coſts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the ſame to thee will show:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Iſodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Heere alſo is ſet downe the late diſcouered burning zone
By Portiugalles, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowne.
Whereof the knowledge now at length through all the world is blowne.'

"And underneath he added:

" ' He, whoſe deare natiue ſoyle heigst ſtately Genua,
Euen he whoſe name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra rubra,
The yeere of grace a thouſand and foure hundred and foure-ſcore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London published this worke, To Christ all laud therefore.'

" And since some will say that he says 'Colũbus de terra rubra,' I say, that in the same manner I saw some subscriptions of the Admiral, before he acquired rank, where he subscribed himself 'Columbus de terra rubra.'"

The chapter is quoted in full and translated in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, etc.*, London, 1589; pages 507–508.

These documents prove that, while Domenico and Susanna Colombo, and Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, their sons, were all residing in Savona for a time, they were all Genoese by nativity, and not of the city of Savona.

Piacenza, the French Plaisance, a comparatively large town in ancient Lombardy, some three and forty miles in a south-easterly direction from Milan, claims to be the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, from the assertions of its poets and writers, who seem to depend largely upon Oviedo and Ferdinand Columbus. Oviedo, in his *Historia General de las Indias*, said of the Admiral's family:

El Origen de Sus Predescessores es la Cibdad de Plaçençia en la Lombardia.[1] Ferdinand Columbus says: *& Ancor Quelli che Piu Sagliono Sopra il Vento, lo Fanno di Piacenza, Nella Qual Città Sono Alcune Honorate Persone della Sua Famiglia, & Sepolture con arme, & lettere di Colombo:* and then he adds: *Del antigue é noble linage de Pelestrel.*

"And still others who are more given to inexactness say that he was from Piacenza, in which city there are some honoured persons of his family, and sepulchres with the arms and inscriptions of Columbus . . . of the ancient and noble lineage of Pelestrelli."

There was a family by the name of Colombo at Plaisance, and it may have been, as Harrisse suggests, that some of its members migrated during the period of the civil wars from Lombardy into the southern parts of Liguria bordering the Mediterranean. One finds a Facius de Colombo de Placentia mentioned in certain notarial acts in the year 1248, but, so far, there has been traced no line running from the Genoese branch back to the family of Placentia. There was printed at Viterbo, in 1583, a poem by the almost unknown poet Marinoni, in which were these lines:

"Cui mecum patria est eadem, genevose Colombe
Cujus avos olim præclara Placentia missit,
Antiquæ florent et ubi vestigia prolis."

[1] Oveido had in mind perhaps the family line of the mother of Diego Columbus. Her name was Philippa Moñiz, and either her grandmother or her aunt, Isabel Moñiz, had married Barthomeu Perestrello, who in the fifteenth century emigrated from Plaisance into Portugal.

When Peter Martyr's *Decades* were first published in English (London, 1555), Richard Eden evidently had not read Oviedo very carefully. In the edition of 1612, prepared by Michael Lok, he repeats from Oviedo the story of the Pilot dying in the house of Columbus at Madeira, and also says: "*Hee* [Columbus] *descended as some thinke, of the house of the Pelestreles of Placentia in Lumbardie.*"

Pietro Maria Campi, a canon [1] of one of the churches in Placentia, author of *Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, published, in the year 1662, a pamphlet entitled *Discorso Historico Circa la Nascita di Christoforo Colombo*, in which he declared that not only did the family of the Columbus come from Placentia, but that the great Discoverer himself was born at Pradello, one of the suburbs of Placentia, indeed, part of the city. To substantiate these claims, certain documents were reported, made in the fifteenth century, but not now producible, in which appears a Bertolino Colombo, who was the father of Giovanni, who, in turn, was the father of two sons, Nicolo and Dominico, the latter of whom was the father of Bartolomeo and Cristoforo, and in which, it is said, these two sons, about the year 1471, went to Genoa, "whence they sailed to unknown islands." We may leave the city of Savona in its own interests and as the rival of Piacenza, to show that Christopher Columbus was at that time not on voyages to unknown islands, but within its own walls, engaged in the work of weaving or carding wool. We have already shown in the document dated at Savona, March 2, 1470, in which Dominicus Columbus engaged an apprentice, that the former is said to be the son of Johannes de Quinto, *Textor pannorum et Tabernarius*,—John of Quinto, weaver of cloths and shop-keeper.

Cuccaro, a little town in the Duchy of Monferrato, in Piedmont, claims the honour of being the birthplace of Columbus, but its claims are brought into court at a date later than most of the other claimants. Antonio de Herrera, in his *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, Madrid, 1601, refers to the Columbus family of Cuccaro as if it was that from which the Admiral had descended, and as if it was identical with the family living in Piacenza or Placentia:

Los Colombos de Cucaro, Cucureo, i Plasencia, eran unos mismos.

Baldassare Colombo of Cuccaro laid claim in 1578 to the estates and Majorat [2] of the Admiral, on the ground that, as the

[1] The reader will recall that it was for a church in Placentia, S. Sisto, erected in 1459, that Raphael painted his masterpiece, sold in 1753 to Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, for 20,000 ducats, and which, now in the gallery at Dresden, delights the world as the *Sistine Madonna*.

[2] The Majorat was instituted by Christopher Columbus, February 22, 1498, and was entitled *Institucion del Mayorazgo*. It was first given in full in Navarrete, vol. ii., pages 226–235, forming part of Document No. CXXVI., and will be found reproduced

last male heir, the second Duke of Veragua, had left no proper heirs, the property and its accompanying honours should go to him, as he could trace his line directly from the grandfather of Columbus. He declared that his ancestor, Lançà Colombo, Lord of Cuccaro and of Conzano, had three sons, Enriotto, Franceschino, and Domenico, and that the last of these, Domenico, had also three sons, Bartolomeo, Cristoforo, and Giacomo. He declared that Domenico died in 1456. As the Domenico of Genoa or of Savona, the father of three sons, Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, was alive until nearly the close of the century, and inasmuch as the father of the Genoese Dominicus was Giovanni (as will be seen when we discuss the claims of Genoa), manifestly the descent was not along the same line. On November 5, 1590, the Cuccaro claimant caused to be printed at Madrid, in the printing establishment of Pedro Madrigal, a memorial of thirty-two leaves, but which, so far as we know, is not now extant in any public library. One of its chapters, how-

in our present Work. This document was supposed to provide Diego and his heirs with directions for securing, holding, and dispensing the rights and privileges accorded Columbus in his agreements with the Spanish Sovereigns, particularly in regard to "the eighth part of the lands and revenues" coming from his discoveries.

The history of this document is most interesting. The heirs at law attached to it much more importance than it really possessed, since it was at most a memorandum, and not a legal instrument. It was signed, however, by the Admiral, in the seven capital letters which he devised for his strange and formal signature:

.S.
.S. .A. .S.
X M Y
El Almirante.

When Luis Columbus, the profligate grandson of the Admiral, was sent into exile to Oran in Africa, the Council of the Indies directed Pedro de Artiaga, a magistrate of Seville, to inventory the family papers of Columbus stored in the monastery of Las Cuevas. This was done on July 24, 1566, in the presence of the Prior, Andrés de Aguilar, and of two notaries who prepared the inventory. The originals were then replaced in the great iron chest and left in the monastery. Luis Columbus had an illegitimate son by Luisa de Carvajal, named Cristoval, and the reader will be careful not to confound this character with Christoval Colon y Toledo, the second son of Diego (son of the Discoverer) and of Maria de Toledo; nor yet again with Cristoval de Cardona, Admiral of Aragon, son of Maria Colon y Toledo, who married Sancho de Cardona. When the nephew of Luis, Diego Colon y Pravia, the second Duke of Veragua, died, January 27, 1578, this Cristoval Carvajal obtained possession, if not of all the papers and documents, certainly of this *Institucion del Mayorazgo*, and his father's lawyer, Dr. Verastegui, to whom it had been delivered by the Prior of Las Cuevas upon Cristoval's order, carried it to the *Curator ad litem* of Cristoval, one Dr. Hurtado. The Council of the Indies ordered this Dr. Hurtado to place it in the hands of Francisco de Valmaseda, official clerk of the Council, and this was done on May 13, 1579. Cristoval de Cardona, great-grandson of the Discoverer, demanded the return of this document, and on April 29, 1585, by order of the Council it was restored to the Ad-

ever, was embodied in the *Memorial del Pleyto*.[1] It gives a history of the Admiral and his family, made up of extracts or facts or assertions from the *Historia* of Oviedo and the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus, and from allegations made by the claimant and his counsellors. We read:

When Cristoforo set out [from Cuccaro] in 1451 his father Domenico, as has been proved, was then alive and it does not appear that he was then dead, that which happened only in 1456, as will be hereafter proved . . . the fact that the said Domenico died in the year 1456 is learned from the

miral through the hands of his agent, Gaspare de Zarate. When it left the possession of the official keeper of documents for the Council of the Indies, this *Institucion* consisted of eight leaves, but when afterwards it was ordered to be produced in court, one of the leaves was missing. The Admiral and his agent were accused of mutilating the document, were arrested, tried, and acquitted. It was just at this time that Baldassare of Cuccaro produced a legalised copy of the missing leaf, which the Council directed should be added to the original to complete the eight leaves.

After Nuño de Portugal was declared sole heir of the estates and rights of Christopher Columbus, the family papers, including the Majorat, were ordered to be returned to him, December 22, 1608, although the actual delivery does not appear to have been made until May 15, 1609. In the year 1796, after two centuries of litigation, these papers were taken from the house of Berwick-Alba, whose chief, Don Jacobo-Felipe Carlos Fitz-James Stuart, was the defeated claimant, being a descendant of the youngest daughter of Luis Columbus, and transferred to Don Mariano de Larreategui, grandfather of the present Duke of Veragua. The full title of the present Duke is Don Cristobal Colon de la Cerda, Duke of Veragua and of La Vega, Grandee of Spain of the first order, Marquis of Jamaica, Admiral and Grand High Steward of the Indies.

The missing page which Cristoval de Cardona, the Admiral of Aragon, was accused of purloining from the original document, is said to have been that portion providing for distant relatives possessing the Majorat, in case the heirs designated under that document should fail to leave male posterity. As Cristoval claimed the interest only through Maria Colon y Toledo, he, or his agent, might have been suspected of purposely mutilating the document.

[1] "*Memorial del Pleyto sobre la succession en possession del estado y Mayorazgo de Veragua, Marquesado de Jamayca, y Almirantazgo de las Indias, que fundó don Christoval Colon, primero descvbridor, Almirante, Virrey y Gouernador general dellas.*"

Folio in form, no date or place of printing, but probably at Madrid in 1606. Collation: 1 leaf of errata, 15 leaves not marked, and 262 leaves of text marked. It is found in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris (Inventaire Reserve, F. 363), and in the *Biblioteca de l'Academia de historia* at Madrid (Collection Salazar, Est. 8, 3a, S, 53).

In this documentary work are found details of the descent of the three daughters of Diego, second Admiral of the Indies; Maria of Toledo, Condesa de Guadaleste, whose line became extinct in 1580 with Cristoval Colon de Cardona, Admiral of Aragon; Juana y Toledo, wife of Louis de la Cuera, who, having no male heirs, was excluded from the succession; Isabella, wife of George of Portugal, whose son finally inherited the Majorat. In this volume are found the details of the scandalous life of Luis Colon, the grandson and the third Admiral of the Indies, and who was convicted of polygamy.

Harrisse (*Christophe Colomb*, vol. i., p. 51) enumerates no less than nineteen memorials relating to the descent and inheritance of the Columbus family, and declares that there were still others which he could find in no library, although he frequently met with references to them.

will of Franceschino his brother and in which one reads these words: "cui cohæret hæredes nobilis Dominici Columbi," from which it is plain that the said Domenico was not then living.

We have already seen that the Cogoleto branch of the Colombo family, with Bernardo Colombo at its head, had produced in the Spanish Court[1] a Dominicus Columbus, who had lived at Cogoleto, and who had had in that town three sons, Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo. The Cogoleto branch was poor, and it united what strength came from its pretensions with the forces of Baldassare of Cuccaro. But the facility with which the latter and his legal advisers produced their proofs, and the abundance of their documentary evidence, were the undoing of both Baldassare and Bernardo. It was recalled that the Admiral himself had spoken of sending moneys to Italy, for the use of his father Domenico, and therefore that father, Domenico, could not have been the Domenico of the family at Cuccaro. They produced a priest, who testified that Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, was born in Cuccaro, and gave various particulars of events which had happened more than a hundred years before. Baldassare fought long and zealously, but finally he and his claims were rejected, and, in 1606, he left Spain, returning to his family castle in Monferrato. There are members of the Colombo family still in Cuccaro, and to this day they tell of the glories of their ancestors, and of the wrongs of their house.[2]

Quinto, one of the suburbs of Genoa, is situated on the coast about six miles east of the city. The wealthy inhabitants of the capital here have summer villas among the palms and plantations of lemon trees. No one to-day disputes its claim to have once held within its bosom the humble but industrious family of the Columbi. It is possible, but not probable, that the Discoverer was born in this village. It is the only spot which can contend with the city of Genoa itself for the distinguished honour. The

[1] The Council of the Indies created this court called the Tribunal, and which consisted of seven judges. They rendered final judgment on June 13, 1607, declaring Nuño de Portugal sole heir.

[2] G. F. Galeani Napione produced an interesting work, which the reader may consult in reference to the claims of Cuccaro:

Della Patria di Christoforo Colombo dissertazione Publicata nelle Memorie dell' Accademia Imperiale delle Scienze di Torino Ristampata congiunte, Documente, Lettere Diverse ed Una Dissertazione Epistolare intorno all' Autor del Libro De Imitatione Christi. Florence, 1808.

Also, *History of Monferrato*, by Vicenzio Conti.

house in which he is said to have been born is No. 8 Via del Colombo, and is now a tenement house occupied by several families of peasants. It is owned by Giuseppe Piaggio.

Albissola is a little village on the coast where the Sansobbia enters the Mediterranean, twenty-four miles west from Genoa, and about two and a half miles east of Savona. So far as we know, its pretensions have been recorded by no other writer than Julius Salinerius,[1] and probably no resident of the little place ever heard of its claims.

Finale, or *Finalmarina*, is a little seaport town some fourteen miles westward of Savona. It is mentioned, with its claims, by the Chevalier Luigi Bossi in his *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, published at Milan in 1818.

Oneglia is a rather important town on the coast some eight and sixty miles westward from Genoa. It is dignified as a claimant by the Father Spotorno in his work on the family and country of Columbus.

Cosseria is a small and unimportant village situated between Millesimo on the Bormida and Le Carcare, and derives its fame as a claimant, and perhaps the suggestion itself, from a dissertation by Dr. Ravina, as reported in Father Spotorno's *Life of Columbus*.

Chiavari is situated on the coast twenty-four miles east of Genoa. It may be classed with most of the other doubtful towns as persistent in its claims, but weak in its proofs. Father Spotorno recognises them as claimants, but says: "Non ha testimonianza nè di antichi scrittori, nè di monumenti sincere."

Novara, in Piedmont, some forty miles west of Milan, no longer presents serious claims, and owes what prominence it already has as a claimant to former consideration and to the association of its name with Savona, Cogoleto, and Genoa. The dramatic unities seem to call for a seaport village in which Columbus must first have seen the light of day, and neither Lombardy nor Piedmont can fulfil this condition.

Milan is mentioned by Domingo de Valtanas, in his *Compendio de Algunas Cosas Notables de España*, printed without date at Seville. It will be remembered that Andrés Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, related that Columbus was a native of

[1] *Adnotationes Julii Salinerii Jureconsulti Savonensis ad Cornelium Tacitum. Genuæ apud Josephum Pavonem, MDCII.*, Quarto. (See pages 336–357.)

the province of Milan. More than once in the vicissitudes of the wars of those times, Genoa was a dependency of its northern neighbour, and it is evident the good curate did not intend to indicate the city of Milan as the actual birthplace of the Discoverer.

Modena, in the fifteenth century, possessed a noble family of Colombo, which asserted that the great Navigator must have sprung from its house. Father Spotorno points out that if there had been the least foundation for this claim, both Muratori and Tiraboschi, anxious as they were for the glory of Modena, would have spoken of the matter, but they are silent as to this claim.

England takes its place as a claimant rather as a mask and domino than as a serious figure. The claim rests on the following passage from the book *De Jure Maritimo*[1] *et Navali*, printed at London in 1682:

> Nor ought alone the praises of those great monarchs, whose mighty care had always been to preserve the Reputation of their Empire in their Maritime preparations, to be remembered; but also those of our Inhabitants who always have been as industrious to follow the encouragement of those Princes under whom they flourished, and who with no less Glory and timely application in Traffick, did constantly follow the examples of those of Genoa, Portugal, Spaniards, Castilians and Venetians, whose fame in matters of commerce ought to be enrolled in Letters of Gold, since the Ages to come, as well as present, having been doubly obliged to their memory, the third of which making use of *a discontented Native of this Isle*, the Famous *Columbus*, who prompted by that Genius, . . . [Then, close in the margin]: *Born in England, but resident at Genoa.*

Calvi, a fortified town in the northern part of the island of Corsica, long possessed a tradition that the great Discoverer was born in that little town. It is only fair to say that the tradition existed before the claim was formally made by the Abbé Martin Casanova de Pioggiola. Corsica was a part of the territory of Genoa from the middle of the fourteenth century until 1768, when it was ceded to the French by the Genoese. The claim, of course, is ridiculously weak, and the reader is referred to Har-

[1] *De Jure Maritimo et Navali:* or, *A treatise of Affairs Maritime and of Commerce.* In three books. The third edition enlarged. By Charles Molloy.

London, printed by John Bellinger in Clifford's-Inn Lane, against the west door of St. Dunstan's Church: and George Dawes in Chancery Lane, against Lincoln's-Inn Gate. 1682.

8vo, title preceded by two magnificent steel engravings, and followed by 11 prel. ls.; text, 433, numb. pp.; 6 unnumb. ff.

risse in *Christophe Colomb et la Corse*, Paris, 1888, for its formal refutation. In 1882, President Jules Grévy of the French Republic, gave it the sanction of the French people in approving of the erection of a statue in Calvi to commemorate the birth of Christopher Columbus in that place. The great seal of a great nation cannot stamp the image of historical fact on the metal of unsubstantial tradition.

CHAPTER XXXIII

GENOA THE BIRTHPLACE

WHEN we approach the city of Genoa to consider her claims as the birthplace of the Discoverer, we are met on all sides by documentary evidence of an indisputable character, and by direct and positive declarations of reliable witnesses. The family name of Colombo was common in Italy, and particularly so in the province of Liguria. In ancient documents constant references are made to this familiar surname. We find that the Christian names were similar likewise, there being many called Christopher, many called Domenico, many called Giovanni in the same generation and in neighbouring villages, and, for the most part, all following the same profession of workers in wool. We have seen the following genealogical table:

The Columbus family in *Piacenza* (*Pradilla*):	in *Cuccaro:*	in *Cogoleto*[1]:
Giovanni.	Lança.	Giovanni.
Domenico.	Dominico.	Domenico.
Bartolomeo, Cristoforo.	Bartolomeo, Cristoforo, Giacomo.	Cristoforo, Bartolomeo, Giacomo.

It will now be necessary to add a fourth brief genealogical tree, which, we think, can be demonstrated to be the true Arbor Columborum:

The Columbus family in *Genoa.*

Giovanni, of Quinto.

Domenico of Genoa and Savona.

Cristoforo The Discoverer.	Bartolomeo The Adelantado.	Giacomo, called in Spain, Diego.

[1] This is the genealogy as given by Isnardi, correcting that claimed by Bernardo Colombo, who gave Nicolao as the father of Domenico, instead of Giovanni.

Domenico Colombo, son of Giovanni, hires an apprentice:

"In nomine domini amen. *Petrus de Verzio de Fontanabona* quondam Guilielmi, habitator dicti loci, promiſit & ſolemniter convenit *Dominico de Columbo Filio Johannis Textori Pannorum Lane*, preſenti ſtipulanti & recipienti, quod *Antonius Filius Quondam Lodiſii de Leverono*, de ponte Cicanie *Etatis Annorum XII.* in circa ſtabit & perſeverabit cum ipſo Dominico pro famulo & diſcipulo ſuo ad artem ipſam textorum pannorum lane, & ad exercitum ipſius artis, *Annis Quinque* proxime venturis, nec abeo recedet toto dicto tempore, res & bona ſua cuſtodiet & ſalvabit, nec furtum aliquem in domo ipſius Dominici magiſtri ſui committet. . . . Actum Janue in platea palatii ducalis comunis Janue prope hoſtium dicti palatii, anno dominice nativitatis melleſimo quadringenteſimo trigeſimo nono . . . die mercurii prima Aprilis. . . ." [1]

Domenico Colombo, son of the late Giovanni [2] buys a house at Quarto [3]:

"Paulinus *de Moconexi de Monteghirphi*, habitator in villa Quarti poteſtacie Biſamnis quondam Antonii: Jure proprio & in perpetuum per ſe heredes & ſucceſſores ſuos & habituros & habentes cauſam ab eo vel eis, vendidit & titulo & ex cauſa vendicionis dedit & traddidit *Dominico de Columbo, Teſtori Pannorum Lane in Janua Quondam Joannis*, preſenti ſtipulanti & recipienti pro ſe heredibus & ſucceſſoribus ſuis & habentibus & habituris cauſam ab eo vel eis, pecium unum terre poſitum in poteſtacia biſamnis in villa Quarti, in loco dicto toppore, arboratum olivis ficubus & aliis diverſis arboribus, videlicet a domo ipſius pauli infra, cui coheret a parte ſuperiori ipſe paulinus, videlicet domus predicta, a parte inferiori foſſatus, ab uno latere *Simon de Moconeſi*, & ab alio latere *Benedictus de Maiono*, & ſi qui. . . . Cum omnibus. . . . Ad habendum. . . .

"Actum Janue in contracta porte Sancti Andree videlicit in apoteca magiſtri Andree de Clavaro barberii, anno a nativitate domini MCCCCL primo indicione XIII ſecundum Janue curſum, die Veneris XXVI Marcii . . . . "

Domenico Colombo, son of the late Giovanni, at Genoa, March 26, 1451, serves as a witness.[4]

[1] The Marquis Marcello Staglieno discovered this document in searching in the notarial archives of the city of Genoa. He gave it to Henry Harrisse, who inserted it in the Appendix to the second volume of his *Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884.

[2] It was the notarial custom in the Middle Ages to place before the name of a deceased person the adverb *quondam*, meaning the late, the former, the deceased.

Valeriani quondam centurionis testamentum: Matris tuæ quondam mancipia: in the Justinian Code.

[3] Quarto is a little village about one mile westward of Quinto and about five miles east of Genoa. The house Domenico buys has its orchard of olives and figs, and would have made a pleasant home for any one, but in another document we learn that Domenico immediately leased it for a period of two years, so that he evidently did not propose to occupy it himself when he purchased it.

[4] The document is a bill of sale from a man by the name of Cressio of Moconesi

[At the end of the same document.] "Actum Janue in contracta *Porte Sancti Andree* videlicet iuxta bancum reſidentie mei notarii infraſcripti anno a nativitate domini MCCCCL primo indicione XIII ſecundum Janue curſum die ſabbati XXVII marcii hora ſigni meridiei in circa preſentibus teſtibus Berthono de Muzante de Quinto, teſtore pannorum lane quondam Guillielmi, & *Dominico de Columbo textore pannorum lane quondam Johannis, civibus Janue ad hec vocatis & rogatis.*"

Giovanni Colombo de Moconesi obtains, January 17, 1466, as security, Domenico Colombo, then dwelling in Genoa in the street of the Gate St. Andrea:

". . . Inſuper pro premiſſis omnibus & ſingulis per dictum Johannem eidem Luce, firmiter attendendis complendis & obſervandis pro dicto Johanne venditore, eiuſque precibus & mandato, verſus dictum Lucam emptorem preſentem & ut ſupra ſtipulantem, videlicet de & pro evictione & legitima defenſione dicte petie terre, ſolemniter interceſſit & fideiuſſit *Dominicus de Columbo quondam Johannis textor pannorum lane, habitator Janue in contracta extra portam sancti Andree* his preſens, videlicet uſque ad annos decem proxime venturos, ita quod lapſis dictis annis decem huiuſmodi fideiuſſio ſit caſſa & nulla, & locum non habeat ultra dictos annos decem, & inde ſe proprium & principalem promiſſorem ac defenſorem dicte petie terre conſtituit & eſſe voluit in omnibus pro ut ſupra.

"Sub ypotheca & obligatione omnium bonorum ipſius Dominici preſentium & futurorum. . . .

"Actum Janue extra portam Sancti Andree videlicet in apotheca dicti Dominici de Columbo. Anno a nativitate domini *Milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſexageſimo ſexto*, indictione tertia decima ſecundum Janue curſum, die veneris, *decima ſeptima menſis Januarii*, in veſperis, preſentibus teſtibus *Juliano de Caprili* quondam Jacobi habitatori ville Zeneſtreti poteſtacie Biſamnis, *Luca de Honeto de Fontanabona* quondam Berthorini, & *Quirico Cavacia* textore pannorum lane quondam Johannis, cive & habitatore Janue ad premiſſa vocatis & rogatis."

Domenico Colombo of Genoa, the son of the late Giovanni of Quinto, at Savona, March 2, 1470, engages an apprentice:

"Dominicus de Columbo civis Januæ q. Johannis de Quinto textor pannorum & tabernarius parte una & Bartholomeus Caſtagneti de Fontanabona q. Nicolai olim famulus dicti Dominici parte alia ſponte, . . ."

Susanna Fontanarossa, at Genoa, May 25, 1471, consents to the sale of property:

to Paolo de Moconesi, an inhabitant of the village of Quarto, and Domenico Colombo simply signs as a witness, together with Berthono de Muzante, both being citizens of Genoa.

"*Suzana, filia quondam Jacobi de Fontanarubea, & uxor Dominici de Columbo textoris pannorum lane*, preſentis & auctorizantis omnibus & ſingulis infraſcriptis ſciens & certam notitiam habens de quadam vendicione per ipſum Dominicum facta *Juliano de Caprili & Stampino de Caprili* de certis terris & poſſeſſionibus, . . .

"Actum Janue in ſala ſuperiori palacii comunis Janue videlicet ad bancum reſidentie mei notarii infrascripti *Anno Dominice nativitatis milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſeptuageſimo primo* indicione tertia ſecundum curſum Janue die ſabati *vigeſimo quinto maij* poſt tercias preſentibus teſtibus *Johanne de Benedicto Antonii & Antonio Garello, Jacobi*, civibus Janue ad hec vocatis & rogatis."

Christopher Columbus of Genoa serves as a witness in an act dated at Savona, March 20, 1472.

[At the end of Document.] "Actum Saone in contracta palacij cauſarum comunis in apotheca ipſius Nicolai teſtatoris quam titulo locationis conducit a Johanne de Uxilia, preſentibus Johanne Vigna ſartore, Franciſco Urmeta, Dominico de Facio accimatore, Jeronimo. . . . Calegario, Bernardo Sambaldo ſartore, *Cristoforo de Columbo* lanerio de Janua & Dominico Vigna ſartore, teſtibus vocatis & rogatis ore proprio ipſius teſtatoris. . . . Saonæ, MCCCCLXXII, die XX Martij."

[Notarial document of Lodovico Moreno, No. 921–26.]

Christopher Columbus becomes surety with his father:

"*Dominicus Columbus lanerius habitator Saonæ & Criſtoforus ejus filius* patre conſentiente &c. ſponte confitentur *Johanni de Signorio* preſenti, &c. se eidem teneri ac dare et ſolvere debere l. centum quadraginta monetæ Januæ & ſunt occaxione precii vendicionis cantariorum VII lanæ de . . .[1] ad racionem de libris XX*ti* Januæ pro ſingulo cantario . . .

"Actum Saonæ ſub Palatio. . . . MCCCCLXXII, die XXVI Augusti.

Susanna Fontanarossa at Savona, August 7, 1473, publicly consents to the sale of the house in the Gate Olivella, in the city of Genoa:

"Anno ſalutiffere [*sic*] nativitatis ejuſdem *milleſimo quadringenteſimo ſeptuageſimo tercio* indicione ſexta ſecundum curſum civitatis Saonæ die vero ſabati *ſeptima menſis Auguſti*.[2]

[1] There are two words here which are not legible in the manuscript. The document is in the notarial effects of Tommaso del Zocco.

Mention is made of a document dated September 10, 1471, and executed at Savona by Domenico Colombo, in which he becomes surety for one Pasquale di Fontanabona, and in which Domenico is called "habitator Savonæ," but the original of this cannot be found. It is cited by Tomasso Belloro.

[2] Harrisse calls attention to the illegibility of this passage in the original.

"*Sozana filia Q. Jacobi de Fontanarubea de biſagno & uxor Dominici de Columbo de Janua, ac Criſtophorus & Johannis Pelegrinus filii dictorum Dominici & Sozanæ*, jugalium & cum auctoritate & conſenſu dictorum parentum ſuorum preſentium conſententium & auctoritatem eorum præſtantium conſtituta in preſentia mei notarii & teſtium infraſcriptorum, ſciens & perfectam ſcientiam habens dictum Dominicum de Columbo virum ipſius Suzanæ & pater ipſorum *Criſtofori & Johannis Pellegrenis* vendidiſſe & alienaſſe & ſeu vendere & alienare velle quamdam domum ipſius Dominici ſita in civitate Janua *in contracta Porte Orivelle* cui coheret ab una parte *Simonina Bozorina* ab (alia parte) *Antonius Ritius de Biſagno*, retro viridarium *Johannis Berroto* de rapallo, antea via publica, & ſi qui alii ſunt veriores confines videlicet Petro . . . textori pannorum de Janua pro pretio librarum centum quinquaginta quinque monetæ Januæ ſub modis pactis & formis conventis inter dictum Dominicum ejus virum & dictum Petrum de . . ."

Domenico Colombo at Savona, August 19, 1474, buys an estate in the village of Legine:

"Seius civis Saonæ ſponte & eius certa ſcientia, per ſe & ſuos heredes titulo & ex cauſa venditionis, iure proprio & in perpetuam dedit, vendidit, ac tradidit ſeu quaſi *Dominico de Columbo de Quinto Januæ lanerio habitatori Saonæ*, præſenti, ementi, & acquirenti per ſe & heredes ſuos petiam unam terræ vineatæ, campivæ & arboratæ ac boschivæ cum una domo ſuprapoſita, *ſitam in villa Legini in contracta valcadæ* . . . .

"Actum Saonæ in contracta palatii cauſarum communis Saonæ . . . MCCCCLXXIV. Indictione ſeptima die 19 Auguſti."

Domenico Colombo serves as a witness to a document executed at Genoa, September 30, 1494:

[End of document.] "Actum Janue in burgo Sancti Stephani videlicet prope portam arcus [buco] . . . olim domus *Johannis quondam Gaſparis Piſurni:* patris dieti Carloti ubi nunc habitat Tomas & . . . predicti anno dominice nativitatis milleſimo quadringenteſimo nonageſimo quarto indicione duodecima ſecundum Janue curſum die martis trigeſimo Septembris in terciis preſentibus *Dominico de Columbo olim textore pannorum lane quondam Johannis*, *Nicolo de Borzeno* callegario quondam Johannis, *Bartholomeo Viola*, revenditore fructorum filio Raymondo Dominico. . . . *Batilana* filio Vincencii DOMINICO DE ALBARO quondam Baptiſte & *Gullielmo de Paſſano de Romagna* . . . quondam Duilij civili & homine intellectus . . . ad premiſſa vocatis ſpecialiter & rogatis—MCCCCLXXXXIV *30 Septembris*."

Giacomo Colombo (although not in Savona at the time), in a document dated at Savona, January 26, 1501, is known as Diego Colombo:

". . . Quare cum predicta vera ſint, dictus Titius heres pro dimidia icti q. *Seii* ejus patris, petit exequi & executioni mandari dictum inſtrumentum contra dictos *Chriſtophorum & Jacobum dictum Diegum* modo ſupra narrato, cum venerit, dies & conditio dicti inſtrumenti iuxta formam capituli Saonæ ſub rubrica de ſolutione facienda ad preſens. . . ."

Christopher Columbus and his brothers, Bartolomeo and Jacobo, sons of the late Domenico Colombo, are absent in Spain in January, 1501[1]:

"Die ea in Veſperis. Supradictus *Titius* dicto nomine conſtitutus in iure coram ſpectabile domino vicario & magistratu Saonæ ſedente in iure pro tribunali in palatio cauſarum communis Saonæ ad eius conſuetum juris bancum.

"Dicit & exponit quod pro hac die & hora fecit citari *Monetum Rudatium & Emanuelem Rubatum* cives Saonæ hic præſentes conſtitutos tanquam vicinos, & notos domus habitationis *Criſtophori, Bartholomei & Jacobi de Columbis filiorum & Heredum q. Dominici* pro ſumenda & habenda informatione de ipſis iuxta formam ſtatuti de contumacibus.

"Qui Monetus & Manuel ſic ut ſupra iuſſi & citati, conſtituti ubi ſupra, prius delato iuramento & interrogati de infraſcriptis eorum & cuiuſlibet ipſorum iuramento. Dixerunt & dicunt coniunctim vel diviſim, ac omni validiori modo via, dictos *Criſtophorum, Bartolomeum, & Jacobum de Columbis, filios & heredes dicti q. Dominici eorum patris, iam diu fore a civitate & poſſe Saonæ abſentes ultra Piſas & Niciam de Proventia, & in partibus Hiſpaniæ commorantes*, ut notorium fuit, & eſt, & ſimiliter ſe ſe neſcire an habuerint, vel dimiſerint aliquem procuratorem, vel cauſidicum intervenientem pro ipſis, vel altero ipſorum & ſic eorum iuramento referunt: præſente dicto Titio dicto nomine, & de ipſorum relatione iuramento firmata ut ſupra rogante, per me notarium infraſcriptum confici publicam ſcripturam, ad hoc ut fieri poſſit iudicium præpatarorium cuicumque cauſſæ movendæ contra ipſos de Columbis quibuſvis nominibus.

"Qui quidem præfatus dominus vicarius & magiſtratus, exiſtens ubi ſupra, prædicta admiſit ſi & quatenus, &c., & mandavit per me notarium ad

[1] In an act, dated at Savona, August 9, 1474, *Dominicus de Columbo de Quinto Januæ lanerius habitator Saonæ*, purchased an estate in Legine, Corrado de Cuneo, the notary employing the legal pseudonym Sejus for the seller and the pseudonym Titius for Sebastiano de Cuneo, the son of the seller,—the John Doe and Richard Roe of English legal pseudonyms. These fictitious titles were recognised as of ancient usage in the time of Aulus Gellius. Domenico died, and failing to pay in full for the estate, his sons, as heirs at law, were sued to recover the money and the documents in the case, at least four in number, were in the possession of Julius Salinerius, who used them in his *Notes on Tacitus*, printed in 1602, and already mentioned by us. These instruments were all executed in the presence of the notary Tommaso de Moneglia, but although other papers of his are still on the official files, there are no traces of these most valuable and precious documents.

inſtantiam dicti Titii dicto nomine hæc præcantis & acceptantis confici inſtrumentum.

"Actum præſentibus teſtibus *Franciſco de Guilielmis, Thoma de Zocho & Vincentio Priano* notarijs civibus Saonæ."

In the years 1457, 1458, 1460, the books belonging to the Order of Saint Benedictus of Saint Stephen show that Domenico Colombo paid a sort of church assessment upon two houses in Genoa, and doubtless in the same diocese: one in the street of the Gate St. Andrea, between the Gate St. Andrea and the Court of Mulcento; the other in a street near the Gate Olivella. The Gate Olivella is no longer in existence. It was situated on the slope southeast of the hill where are now the gardens of Acqua-Sola. It is believed that the house and garden near the Gate Olivella, and which Domenico Colombo sold on August 7, 1473, were situated on a street or little court running parallel to the Vico Bosco of to-day.

An act of July 14, 1474, relates to the sale of a house to one Tommaso Carbone, a shoemaker, and the property is thus described:

". . . terram dicti Monaſterij . . . in burgo S. Stephani in contracta uſque in Mulcentum in carrubeo recto, cui coherent ante dictus carrubeus, ab uno latere domus *Dominici Columbi*, ſita ſuper ſolo dicit Monaſterij ab alio latere, domus *Pelegri de Plazia* callegarii, retro quintana & eſt illa domus quæ fuit quondam Antonij de Bondi."

In a document executed at Savona, January 23, 1477, we read:

"*Suzana filia quondam Jacobi de fontanarubea & uxor Dominici de Columbo lanerij civis & habitatoris Saonæ*, constituta in preſencia mei notarji & teſtium infraſcriptorum, ſciens & attendens quod dictus Dominicus de Columbo ejus vir interdit vendere ſeu aliter obligare *domum unam cum uno jardino retropoſito ipſius dominij, ſitam in burgo Sancti Stephani inclitæ Civitatis Januæ in contracta Sancti Andreæ, quibus domui & viridario coherent ab una parte Nicolaus de paravania, ab alia hæredes quondam Antonij Bondi ante via publica & retro mura Civitatis, predicto petro Antoñio de gareſio habitatori dictæ civitatis.* . . ."

In a document executed at Genoa, July 21, 1489, Domenico Colombo gives up his house near the Gate St. Andrea to his son-in-law, Jacobus Bavarelus, cheesemonger:

"Cum verum ſit ut partes aſſerunt, & fatentur infraſcripte quod *Jacobus Bavarelus formajarius* alias conſecutus fuerit quoddam eſtimum in quadam Domo cum appotheca ſub ea, viridario, puteo, & vacuo eidem Domui contiguis, *poſitis Janue in contrata porte sancti Andree* ſub confinibus contentis, & deſcriptis in dicto eſtimo, tamquam in bonis *Dominici de Columbo* quantum pro libris ducentum quinquaginta Januinorum monete currentis de ſoldis quinquaginta quinque pro ſingulo Ducato, & ultra pro expenſis contentis in dicto eſtimo de quo conſtat publicâ ſcripturâ inde confectâ, ſcriptâ ut dicitur manu *Dominici de Villa Notarij* ad quod habeatur relatio: & quod contra dictum eſtimum per dictum Dominicum tamquam Patrem, & legitimum Adminiſtratorem *Criſtophori, Bartholomei & Jacobi, filiorum ipsius Dominici, ac filiorum & heredum q. Suzane eorum matris olim uxoris dicti quondam Dominici.* . . ."

Of course the reader will understand that the notary here makes a *lapsus pennæ*, since Domenico, that particular Domenico, the husband of the quondam Susanna, was still alive.

In the first document above quoted, the house owned by Domenico Colombo adjoins that of the late Antonio Bondi, and in the second it adjoins that owned by the heirs of the said Antonio Bondi. In the second document this house in the Gate St. Andrea was sold. Yet in the third document it was in the possession of Domenico Colombo until July 21, 1489, when he abandoned it to his son-in-law, the seller of cheese. The document indicates that it was transmitted through the law to the possession of this Jacobus Bavarelus, to pay for a debt, and that Domenico Colombo could redeem it in two years, which he does not appear to have done.

Either Domenico had two houses in the street of the Gate St. Andrea, or else the house sold in 1477 came back into his hands. It is a subject of regret that the house referred to in the third document dated, July 21, 1489, was not more particularly described, but it would seem that the document in the handwriting of the other notary, Domenico de Villa, is lost. The coincidence of the general descriptions, and the particular description in each case of the house having an apotheca or store, would suggest the two references as intended for the same house. In any event, we may be sure that the house which Domenico made over to his son-in-law was the old family residence in Genoa, where Christopher and his brother spent their youth.

The reader will observe that, in the document dated January 17, 1466, the house of Domenico Colombo, at least his shop,

was *Extra Portam Sancti Andreæ*, without the Gate St. Andrea. Several of the notarial documents declare that the house was situated between the Gate St. Andrea and Mulcento, a distance of over 268 feet.

Giambattista Pavesi, the Savonese scholar of the seventeenth century, who studied the entire question of the birthplace and early days of Columbus, states, but without giving his authority, that the house of Domenico Colombo was the first on the street of Ponticello, next the street of Mulcento, indicating that it was on the corner. The notarial acts seem to place houses on both sides of the Columbus houses, which descriptions certainly do not admit of the house occupying a corner site.

If the house of Columbus was beyond the Gate St. Andrea, it is not the house designated by the municipality of Genoa in the inscription it has caused to be placed upon the house in the Vico Dritto del Ponticello, for the Gate St. Andrea, one side of it at least, stands where it did in the fifteenth century.

From a study of these documents, we learn that, in the year 1439, there was living in the city of Genoa one Domenico Colombo, who had come from the neighbouring village of Quinto, of which place he probably was a native; that this Domenico was the son of Giovanni Colombo of Quinto, and that the said Domenico was a weaver of woollen cloths and keeper of a shop; that, in the year 1451, Giovanni Colombo was no longer living, and that his son Domenico, still a resident of Genoa, had bought a house at Quarto, about five miles from the capital, but which he did not use as a residence; that at the beginning of the year 1466 he was living in a house situated in the street outside or beyond the Gate St. Andrea, and that it was there he had his place of business; that in the year 1472, or perhaps 1471, Domenico Colombo was a resident of Savona, and that his son Christophoro Colombo then—in 1472—in his majority of twenty-five years of age or more, was living with him there [1]; that Su-

[1] It is true that in the document in which Christopher Columbus joins surety with his father the latter is declared to give his formal consent,—*patre consentire*,—which would seem to indicate that the son had not yet arrived at the age of legal majority, that is, at the age of twenty-five. Roman law prevailed in Italy, and under the Roman law the son was perpetually subservient to the father. Aulus Gellius declares that this custom prevailed in the finer amenities of life, and relates how a certain governor and his father were visiting a famous philosopher, in whose room was but a

sanna Fontanarossa, daughter of the late Giacomo or Jacob Fontanarubea, was the wife of Domenico Colombo, and that she was the mother of Christopher, Giovanni Pelegrinus, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, and of a daughter, who had married Jacobus Bavarelus, a cheesemonger in Genoa, but which daughter was probably dead by the year 1489; that in the month of September, in the year 1494, Domenico Colombo was living in Genoa and was spoken of as "formerly a weaver of woollen cloths"; that, at Savona on March 20, 1472, Christopher Columbus of Genoa acted in the capacity of a witness, and was, presumably, at that time at least twenty-five years of age [1]; that Susanna Fontanarossa was dead before July 21, 1489, as was her second son, Johannes Pelegrinus; that her only daughter,[2] the wife of Jacobus Bavarelus, seems to have survived her and left an heir; that the heirs of Susanna were her three surviving children and sons,

single armchair, and when the son, because of his official position, and at the will of his father, was about to seat himself therein, the philosopher forbade him, and said it was not seemly he should be preferred before his father.

[1] A man could be called as a subscribing witness before his majority, although in the ordinary course of business affairs, then as now, a mature understanding would be more acceptable in the witnessing of business agreements.

We find Giacomo Còlombo, Diego, as he was called after going into Spain, stating in an act of apprenticeship, dated Savona, September 10, 1484, that he was then of a majority of sixteen years, and three years afterwards, August 25, 1487, we find him witnessing an agreement, and in this act he is called "a weaver of woollen cloth," but he had not yet reached his twentieth year.

[2] The Marquis Marcello Stagliano is said by Harrisse to have discovered a document in which she is called Blanchineta—Blanchineta filia quondam Dominici Columbi textoris pannorum lane—Blanche, or the diminutive Blanchineta, daughter of the late Domenico Colombo, a weaver of woollen cloth. She married Giacomo Bavarello, a cheese merchant, who came evidently from Bavari, a village in the neighbourhood of Stagliano, about two miles east of Genoa.

This notarial act which Harrisse published (vol. ii., page 451, of his *Christophe Colomb*) discloses that on October 26, 1517, there was one Pantalinus, or Pantaleone, Bavarello, son of Giacomo Bavarello, quondam Johannis, born in 1490, that is to say, at the time of the said act being *major etiam annis viginti Septem*, and heir to his mother, Blanchineta, then deceased. This Pantaleone, then, was the nephew of Christopher Columbus, and when he made his Majorat was a lad of eight. Harrisse conjectures that this branch of the family may have been in the mind of Columbus when he directed that some one of his lineage should be maintained with his wife in Genoa. But the language indicates that he refers to some one who then had a house and wife in Genoa. It is strange that this Blanchineta should not have been joined with her brothers as heirs, when Domenico abandoned his house to her husband, unless it was that having received her *dot* on her marriage she was no longer considered a claimant on the estate. It is also singular that the son, Pantaleone, should not have been mentioned by either Columbus, his uncle, or by Diego, his cousin.

It is likely that the name of Nicoletta, given the sister of Columbus by Antonio Colombo in his *Albero Genealogico* in 1654, and repeated by Isnardi in his *Risposta*, is imaginary.

Gate St. Andrea, Genoa.
[*Reproduced from Harrisse's "Christophe Colomb."*]

Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo; that in the legal papers in a suit brought by the heirs of Corrado de Cuneo, to recover the purchase price of an estate at Legine from the heirs of Domenico Colombo, these heirs are said to be Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo, the latter declared to be also known as Diego, a purely Spanish Christian name, and that all three were then in Spain. Thus we have identified the three members of the Columbus family in Spain, Christopher the Discoverer, Bartolomeo the Adelantado, and Diego the youngest, as the sons of Domenico Colombo, originally of Quinto, but who was living and in business in the city of Genoa before the year 1439, and that the youth of all three sons must have been spent in the city, if, indeed, they were not all three born there.[1]

We may now turn to an examination of certain witnesses who may be supposed to have knowledge of this matter. And first we call Christopher Columbus himself. The Spanish Sovereigns, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, when the Court was at Burgos, April 23, 1497, authorised Christopher Columbus to institute a Majorat, a sort of trust formed and established for the management of his estates, including his "property, vassalages, revenues, and perpetual offices," to the end that there might remain a perpetual memorial of himself, his house, and his race. The instrument itself never could be as wonderful a piece of transmitted authority as the document of the King and Queen, granting the transmission of that authority. They order that:

> There may be made a Majorat in the said Don Diego Columbus your son, and in your said children and descendants, in whom you may wish to make or shall make the said Majorat or Majorats, with the conditions and limitations, obligations, bonds and confirmations, institutions and sub-

[1] There was a commission appointed by the Academy of Sciences of Genoa in the year 1812 for the particular purpose of investigating the vexed question as to the birthplace of Columbus, and this commission presented a formal report under the title:

Ragionamento nel quale si conferma l'opinion generale intorno alla patria di Cristoforo Colombo, presentato all' Accademia delle Scienze, lettere e arti di Genova. Nell' Adunaza del di 16 Dicembre 1812 dagli accademici Serra, Carrega, e Piaggio.

Quarto without place or year, 105 pages.

The reader may also consult the collection published by the municipality of Genoa, known as:

Codice diplomatico Colombo-Americano, offia Raccolta di Documenti originale e inediti, spettanti a Cristoforo Colombo alla scoperta ed al Governo dell' America.

This work was translated into English, and published in London in 1823.

stitutions, which you shall judge proper, and with whatsoever statute and devises, conditions and covenants, and according to, and in the form and manner in which you shall bind, devise, dispose, and stipulate, by one or more instruments, as has been said. All of which, and each thing, and part thereof, considering it, as here expressed and declared, as if it were here expressed and specified word for word, We now and henceforward of our said certain knowledge, proper motion, and absolute royal power, of which in this respect we will make use, praise, approve, confirm, and interpose in it, and in everything and part of it, our royal decree and authority. And we command that it be of avail to you, and be observed in all, and in everything and part of it, inviolably, both now and for ever; *although it and each thing and part thereof, were against express law and against all form and order of law.* . . .

Under authority of this document, the Admiral proceeded to institute his Majorat, which he executed on February 22, 1498. In the early part of the document is the following appeal:

. . . . y asimismo lo suplico al Rey y á la Reina nuestros Señores, y al Principe D. Juan su primogénito nuestro Señor, y á los que le sucedieren por los servicios que yo les he fecho: é por ser justo que les plega y no consientan ni consienta que se disforme este mi compromiso de Mayorazgo é de Testamento, salvo que quede y este así, y por la guisa y forma que yo le ordené para siempre jamas, porque sea servicio de Dios Todopodero y raiz y pie de mi linage y memoria de los servicios que á sus Altezas he hecho, *que siendo yo nacido en Génova* les vine á servir aquí en Castilla y les descubrí al Poniente de tierra firme las Indias y las dichas islas sobredichas.

. . . . and likewise I entreat the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and the Prince Don Juan, our Lord, their firstborn, and those who may succeed him, by the services I have rendered them and because it is just, that it may please them, and that they may not consent that this my constitution of Mayorazgo and testament shall be disfigured but that it may remain and be in the manner and form which I have ordained for ever; that it may be the service of the All Powerful God and the root and base of my lineage and a memory of the services I have rendered their Highnesses; *for I being born in Genoa* came to serve them here in Castile, and discovered the Indies and the aforesaid islands for them to the west of the mainland."

One of the separate items and provisions reads as follows:

"*Item:* mando al dicho D. Diego, mi hijo, ó á la persona que heredare el dicho Mayorazgo, que tenga y sostenga siempre en la *ciudad de Génova* una persona de nuestro linage que tenga allí casa é muger, é le ordene renta con que pueda vivir honestamente, como persona tan llegada á nuestro linage, y haga pie y raiz en la dicha ciudad como natural della, porque podra haber de la dicha ciudad ayuda é favor en las cosas del menester suyo, pues que della salí y en ella nací."

"*Item*: I direct the said Don Diego, my son, or the person who inherits the said Mayorazgo, to keep and always maintain in the city of Genoa a person of our lineage who has a house and wife there; and I direct that he shall have an income so that he may be able to live honestly, as a person so near to our lineage: and that he may be the root and base of it in the said city, as *a citizen thereof*, so that he may have aid and protection from the said city in matters of his own necessity, *since from it I came and in it I was born.*"

In his last will and testament, made and signed August 25, 1505, executing it anew and approving it again at the same place on May 19, 1506, he confirms the Majorat which he had left in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville.[1] It was from this same monastery of Las Cuevas that this document was produced on the occasion of the great suit in 1578.

Ferdinand Columbus, the natural son of the Admiral, in his *Historie*, when speaking of the various cities and villages claiming to be the birthplace of the Discoverer, leaves the subject without stating in so many words just which city has the rightful claim, and for this careless act of omission he has been criticised, some saying he did not know, and others arguing that this omission indicated the *Historie* not to have been the work of Ferdinand, but of some other hand. We have shown that in speaking of Giustiniano he calls him *Conterraneo*, which is interpreted to mean *From the same place*,—and therefore his fellow citizen,—and it is well known that Agostino Giustiniano was a native of the city of Genoa. Later, in the fifth chapter of his *Historie*, when relating the adventures of his father with the corsair Columbus when he came to shore near the city of Lisbon, he says that there his father *ritrouano molti della sua natione genouese*, which is only satisfactory in that it eliminates Piedmont and Lombardy. But in his last will and testament, executed at Seville, July 3, 1539, nine days before his death, Ferdinand Columbus comes before us as a solemn witness, and declares himself:

[1] A close reading of the text might indicate that the Admiral made his Majorat when he was leaving Spain for his fourth and last voyage in the year 1502, but we think there could have been only one Majorat, since the several points enumerated in his will as in the Majorat appear as formal items in this instrument, as we find it in Navarrete, and as it is reproduced in this present Work. Doubtless it was sent in the year 1502 to the monastery of Las Cuevas, together with other documents and papers. However this may be, if we admit that the instrument made in 1498 was the work of the Admiral, we have in it the clear statement that he was born in the city of Genoa.

Hijo de D. Christobal Colón Ginoves Primero Almirante que Descubrió las Indias.[1]

In the *Libretto*, as we have seen, Angelo Trivigiano, supplying a deficiency in the text of Peter Martyr and from out of his personal knowledge of the Admiral, declares him to have been a Genoese. This account was put into print two years before the Admiral died.

Oviedo says, more plainly, that he was a native of the city of Genoa, and he not only knew the Admiral personally, but declares that it was common report that Genoa was his birthplace.

In 1555, when Richard Eden translated into English and published in London the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, he described the Admiral as:

Christophorus Colonus (otherwise called Columbus) a gentilman of Italy, borne in the citie of Genua.

We think, then, we are justified in concluding that the burden of proof, from the documentary evidence and the testimony of worthy witnesses, favours the claim of the Genoese that Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, was born in the city of Genoa.

When we undertake to fix the exact spot in the city of Genoa where Columbus was born or where he spent his youth, we meet with difficulty. It would seem that Domenico Colombo, the father of Christopher Columbus, in the year 1457, was paying annual dues to the Abbey St. Stephen on the lease of two houses, one near the Gate St. Andrea, and the other near the Gate Olivella. These two places are far apart. We fancy, somehow, that a newcomer to Genoa would first settle near the harbour, and later move farther away. It is a natural movement. One finds a house in each of these quarters pointed out to him as the birthplace of Columbus. In the small but busy street called Vico Dritto del Ponticello is a house, No. 37, which the municipality of Genoa pronounces the veritable residence of Domenico when Christopher Columbus was a youth. But the reader will recall that there is more than one reference to the house of Columbus as situated *extra portam Sancti Andreæ, beyond the gate St. Andrea.* On the other hand, we have seen reference in a

[1] This self-designation occurs in item 56 of the Last Will and Testament, a most voluminous document. Four times he calls himself D. Fernando Colon, *hijo de D. Xpval Colón, Primero Almirante que Descubrió las Indias*, and only once does he insert, between the surname *Colón* and the title of his office *Primero Almirante*, the qualifying word *Ginoves*.

House of Columbus,
Vico Dritto del Ponticello 37, Genoa.

notarial deed to a house of Columbus situated between the Gate St. Andrea and the Vico di Mulcento. Therefore these deeds must describe two separate houses. However, it is enough to know that somewhere in Genoa, and probably near the Gate St. Andrea, was born and developed the instrument of Providence in the great work of finding for man a New World.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DATE OF HIS BIRTH

It is as difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning the date of the birth of the Discoverer as it is to determine the exact place where the event occurred. The various dates given for the date of the birth of Columbus, some of which can be eliminated easily from the discussion, are as follows:

The year 1430 by the author of the *Summario*, printed in 1534.

The year 1435 by the Baron Bonnefoux and by A. F., an unknown author.

The year 1436 by Andrés Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios.

The year 1437 by Galeani Napione.

The year 1441 by Father P. F. X. de Charlevoix.

The year 1445 by Christobal Cladera, followed by Luigi Bossi.

The year 1446 by Juan Baptista Muñoz.

The year 1447 by William Robertson.

The year 1449 by Emma Willard.

The year 1456 by Oscar Peschel.

There was printed at Venice in 1534 a little book of seventy-nine leaves, entitled:

LIBRO PRIMO
DELLA HISTO
RIA DEL' IN
DIE OC
CIDEN
TALI

In all copies of this work,[1] so far as we know them, there are found in the same binding two other little works, the one *Libro Secondo delle Indie Occidentali*, and the other *Libro Ultimo del Summario delle Indie Occidentali*. The *Libro Secondo* is dated 1534, and consists of sixty-four numbered leaves (having a map of *Isola Spagnvola* between leaves one and two), followed by a leaf containing the table of contents, and another with the colophon and the privilege to print the book for twenty years. The colophon reads:

"Stampato in Venegia, nel Meſe di Decembre, Del 1534."

The other tract consists of sixteen leaves unnumbered, but with signatures, the last leaf having no printing. As these three books are unmistakably from the same press, and as the second is dated in December, 1534, we are justified in assuming that the first, although it is without date, was printed some time during the year 1534. On the recto of Aii we read:

"In Genoua anticha & nobil citta d'Italia nacque Chriſtophoro Colombo di famiglia populare, & ſi come è il coſtume de Genoueſi, ſi dette à nauicare, nelquale eſſercitio, eſſendo di grande ingegno, & hauendo bene imparato conoſcere li moti di cieli, & il modo d' adoperare il quadrante & l'aſtrolabio, in pochi anni diuenne il piu praticho & ſicuro capitano di naui, che fuſſe al ſuo tempo. Nauigando adunq̃ come era ſuo coſtume, in molti viaggi fatti fuor dello ſtretto di Gibilterra in verſo Portogallo & quelle marine, haueua molte volte offeruato con diligentia, che in certi tempi dellanno ſoffiauano da ponente alcuni venti, liquali durauano equalmente molti giorni, & conoſcendo che non poteuan venire d'altro luogho che da la terra che gli gener-

[1] On the verso of the title we read:

"SVMMARIO DE LA GENERALE
HISTORIA DE L'INDIE OCCI-
DENTALI CAVATO DA LI-
BRI SCRITTI DAL SI-
GNOR DON PIETRO
MARTYRE DEL CONSI-
GLIO DELLE INDIE
DELLA MÆSTA
DE L'IMPERADORE
ET DA MOLTE
ALTEE PAR-
TICVLA-
RI RELA-
TIONI."

"Summary of the General History of the West Indies taken from the writings of Don Peter Martyr of his Majesty, the Emperor's Council of the Indies, and from many other particular accounts."

aua oltre al mare, fermo tanto il penſiero ſopra queſta coſa, che delibero volerla trouare, & eſſendo d'eta d'anni XL. huomo di alta ſtatura, di color roſſo, di buona compleſſione & gagliardo, propoſe prima alla Signoria di Genoua, che volendo quella armargli nauili ſi obligheria andar fuor dello ſtretto di Gibilterra, & nauicar tanto per ponente, che circundando il mondo arriueria alla terra doue naſcono le Spetierie. Queſto viaggio parue, achiunche l'udi molto ſtrano come à quelli che mai haueuano atal coſa penſato, o con lo intelletto fattone alcun diſcorso, & riputauanſi ſaper tutto quel che fuſſe poſſibil dellarte del nauicare, & per queſto tennero queſto ſuo ragionamento per vna fauola & vn ſogno: anchor che haueſſer ſentito dir che da qualche vno delli ſcrittori antichi è ſtata fatta mentione d'una grande Iſola molte miglia fuora di queſto ſtretto alla volta di ponente."

"In Genoa, an ancient and noble city of Italy, was born Christopher Columbus of a common family: and according to the custom of the Genoese, he devoted himself to navigation, and being of great intelligence and having very well learned to know the signs of the heavens and the manner of operating the quadrant and astrolabe, in a few years he became the most skilful and clever sea-captain of his time. In sailing, therefore, as was his custom on many voyages outside the Strait of Gibraltar, towards Portugal and those coasts, he had many times carefully observed that at certain times of the year, winds blew from the west which were equable during many days' duration: and knowing that they could not come from any other place than from land beyond the sea which gave rise to them, he fixed his mind so firmly upon this thing, that he became desirous of finding it: and being 40 *years of age*, a man of tall stature, ruddy in colour with a good complexion and strong, he proposed first to the Seigniory of Genoa that if they would equip some vessels for him, he would agree to go outside the Strait of Gibraltar and sail so far to the west, that circumnavigating the world, he would arrive at the land from whence spices come. This voyage appeared very strange to whomever heard of it, they being persons who had never thought of such a thing, or who had talked of it without any understanding: and believing themselves to know all that was possible of the art of navigation, for this reason they considered his proposition a fable and a dream: although they had heard it said that by some one of the ancient writers, mention had been made of a great island many miles outside this strait towards the west."

The *Libro Primo*, as the title tells us, is made up of extracts from Peter Martyr's writings, but the particular paragraph here quoted, and which bears upon this quotation, was gratuitously inserted by some other hand. It cannot be charged to Oviedo, for he had nothing to do with this Italian translation, and the same statements are not found in his own work. When, however, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, or Rhamusio, as he called

himself, published the third volume of his *Navigationi et Viaggi* [1] at Venice in 1556, he incorporated the *Summario* bodily. Navarrete refers [2] to the passage quoted above from Ramusio, and gives its purport, although not accepting its conclusions. But if Ramusio is not responsible for the statement [3] originally, he certainly is for repeating it in his work. Assuredly Peter Martyr is not responsible for it, since no such statement is found in his acknowledged works. Nor is Trivigiano responsible for it, since it is not in the *Libretto*. The age assigned Columbus by the author of the *Summario* when he went into Portugal was forty years, but the author of the *Summario* does not tell us when he went into Portugal. Navarrete, reading this passage not in the original, apparently, but in Ramusio, and assuming that the latter date was 1470, rightly declares that if we must deduct forty years from that figure, we arrive at the year 1430 for the birth of Columbus. Accepting 1470 as the time when Columbus went into Portugal, and accepting the story found in Ramusio as to his having been forty years of age when he offered his projects to Genoa, the distinguished author tries to show that it was

[1] The work was issued from the celebrated printing establishment of the Giunta at Venice, the first volume having the date of 1554, and the third, in which we have our present interest, being dated 1556. This press was established by Lucas Antonius Junta, or Giunta, at Venice in 1482. In the third generation after the great Aldus, another Aldus, the younger son of Paulus Manutius, married Francesca Lucrezia, granddaughter of Mariotta Junta, belonging to the fourth generation of the great Junta, and thus united the blood, if not the business, of two famous printers.

Ramusio modestly did not put his name to his work, either in the titles or in the colophons, but in a letter written him by the illustrious Hieronymo Fracastro we learn that it is Giovanni Battista Rhamusio who has prepared the great but badly arranged collection of voyages. This desire, real or affected, of hiding his personality, gives colour to the view that he may also have arranged the Peter Martyr relation, in which case he is to be charged with the introduction of the "forty years" and several other unauthenticated stories.

[2] Navarrete, vol. i., page lxxix.

[3] M. d'Avezac thinks that Ramusio was the anonymous compiler of the extracts from Peter Martyr's *Decades*, and cites a letter written from Padua, January 21, 1535 (*Opere del Cardinale Pietro Bempo*, Venezia, 1729, vol. iii., page 498), in which Cardinal Bempo thanks Giovanni Battista Ramusio for a copy of a book lately printed. . . . "del dono che fatto in' hauete de' due libretti volgari ora impressi delle cose dell' India, et Mondo nuovo. . . . Penso abbiate voi fatto tradurre in volgare questi due libri dello Spagnuolo."

Foscarini also says (*Della letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad essa*, Venice, 1854, vol. i., page 467): "Questi fuorono tradotti o fatti tradurre dal Ramusio."

The collector of Americana should secure this third volume of Ramusio at all hazard. It contains, among other interesting matter, the first printed account of the alleged voyage of Giovanni Verrazzano.

later than 1470 when this offer was made and rejected, and thus secures a later date from which to deduct his forty years. We have seen in the documentary history of Savona that Christopher Columbus, the son of Domenico and afterwards identified as having gone into Spain, was at Savona March 20, 1472, again on August 26, 1472, and once more on August 7, 1473. It must have been toward the close of 1473, or the beginning of 1474, that Columbus went into Portugal, and furnished Navarrete a proper date from which to deduct the forty years as given in the *Summario*. But, as we shall see directly, every argument applying against the date of 1436 is still stronger as against the date of 1430. It would require a difference of thirty-eight years between the birth of Columbus and that of Diego, his youngest brother. The *senectus bona* of the Admiral, when he died, would have been nearer eighty than three-score years and ten The anonymous character of the author of the *Summario*, and the extreme improbability of his statement, have caused its rejection at once.

Nor is the date 1435 worth discussing.[1] While it is the one adopted by Washington Irving, it is evidently a fractional calculation leading a little back of the year 1436. In a note to subsequent editions the illustrious author makes it plain that he was following blindly a manuscript account of Columbus written by the Curate of Los Palacios, unsupported by any other testimony, not printed in his own day, and therefore requiring the greatest care in its interpretation.[2] Andrés Bernaldez, the

[1] The date 1435 is given by Baron le Capitaine Bonnefoux, Paris, 1853, and this is accepted by Count Roselly de Lorgues in his *Christophe Colomb, Histoire de Sa Vie et de ses Voyages, d'Apres des Documents Authentiques Tirés d'Espagne et d'Italie*, Paris, 1856. Count Roselly accepts the story of Bernaldez as to the seventy years crowning the life of Columbus when he died at Valladolid in 1506, but as that event occurred on May 20, he puts the birth back into the year 1435, in order to have seventy years fully accomplished. The Abbé Eugene Cadoret, Canon of the Church of St. Denis, adopts this date in his *La Vie de Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1869.

An anonymous author, signing himself A. F., wrote a tract to prove the claims of Placentia, in which he advocates this date of 1435. His manuscript seems to have been consulted by Harrisse, d'Avezac, and others, but it remains still unprinted.

[2] Washington Irving published his *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* in New York and in London in the year 1828. Navarrete's great work is dated 1825, although, as the letter to the King is dated January 12, 1826, it was not until then that it can be said to have been published. Irving himself states that while at Bordeaux in the winter of 1825–26 he was informed by Alexander Everett, the United States Minister at Madrid, that Navarrete's work was in press, and it was suggested that he visit Spain and translate it into his delightful English. Shortly

Curate of Los Palacios,[1] had a personal acquaintance with the Admiral. In his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, printed for the first time at Granada in 1856, in two volumes, and again published at Seville in 1870, he says:

"Ansi se lo dije e hice entonder yo el año de 1496 cuando vino en Castilla la primera vez despues de haber ido á descubrir, que fué mi huésped é me dejo algunas de sus escripturas, en presencia del Sr. D. Juan de Fonseca, de donde yo saqué y cortejelas con las otras que escribieron el honrado señor el Dr. Anca ó Chanca y otros nobles caballeros que con el fueron en los viages ya dichos, que escribieron lo que vieron, de donde yo fui informado, y escribí esto de las Indies, por cosa maravillosa e hazañosa." [Vol. ii., p. 43.]

"Thus he told me these things and made me understand in the year 1496, when he came into Castile the first time, after having gone to make discoveries, as he was my guest and left me some of his writings, in the presence of Don Juan de Fonseca; from which I copied and abridged them with the others which the honourable Dr. Anca or Chanca and other noble gentlemen wrote, who were with him on the voyages already related, who wrote what they saw: from whence I was informed and wrote this about the Indies as being a marvellous and heroic thing."

With this testimony of his accuracy, in which he makes an

afterwards he set out for Madrid, and then, says Irving, "Soon after my arrival the publication of M. Navarrete made its appearance." It furnished nearly every thread woven by Irving into his history, although even then we may express surprise at the rapidity with which the task was performed,—something under two years. It was not Irving's task, however, to test the threads or to examine whence they came into Navarrete's hands. Navarrete did a greater work for the student than many Irvings, and yet it required the fascination of the American's pen to fix the attention of the student on the vast field of information furnished by the Spanish scholar. The worms which furnished the silk for Navarrete's threads were in the old volumes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the blurred and frayed manuscripts of that same distant time. Months of searching would produce perhaps a single document of value. Patience, toil, unthanked labour, is the portion of Navarretes in all times.

[1] Andrés Bernaldez was born at Fuentes-de-Léon about 1450, and in the year 1488 was appointed pastor of the little village of Los Palacios, some twelve miles south of Seville, where, in 1513, he died, still a curate, but with the added dignity of honorary chaplain to the Archbishop Diego de Deza, one of the protectors and friends the most faithful of Christopher Columbus. When the Admiral returned from his second voyage,—not the first voyage, as the good curate says,—as he was on his way to the Court, then at Burgos, he passed by Los Palacios, and was the guest of Bernaldez. In the company of the Admiral was the converted Indian, brother of Caonoboa, and baptised "Diego" after the youngest brother of Columbus. About the neck of the Indian hung a rich collar of gold, a tangible evidence of the wealth of the New World, and this greatly impressed the host. Then, too, the Admiral obligingly related to him his adventures, and gave him copies of some of his notes, so that the curate believed himself qualified to speak when he told his story of Columbus. But, after all, it seems to have been a passing acquaintance, and ought not of itself to vouch for the good curate's accuracy.

error of three years in the time of his return from the voyage of discovery, we may note his further testimony. He says:

"El cual dicho Almirante D. Christobal Colon, de maravillosa y honrada memoria natural de la prouincia de Milan estando en Valladolid el año de 1506, en el mes de Mayo, murio in senectute bona, inventor de las Indias, *de edad de 70 años poco más ó menos.*"

"The said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus of marvellous and honoured memory, discoverer of the Indies, native of the province of Milan,[1] being at Valladolid in the year 1506, died in a beautiful old age, at the age of seventy years, a little more or less."

If we deduct seventy years from May, 1506, it will give 1436 as the year in which Columbus was born. This date has been adopted by many writers, on the authority of this statement made by the Curate of Los Palacios, and without reckoning on other information from sources just as reliable and which has been always as accessible as the *Historia de los Reyes Católicos.*[2] If Domenico Colombo, the father of the Admiral, was, say, twenty-five years of age when Christopher was born, he would have been three and eighty when he performed the office of witness for Carlotina Pisurni on September 30, 1494. Of course, it is perfectly possible that an aged man might serve in this capacity, but it is not very probable that one so old would be called upon to act as a witness, especially in the heart of a crowded city, where subscribing witnesses were plenty, in a case where the testimony of a witness might be needed in years to come. We know that Domenico Colombo was alive shortly before the act of April 8, 1500, which would give him a most honourable, but, of course, not impossible, longevity, if he were born in 1411. We know from documents above quoted that Giacomo, or Diego,

[1] The Curate of Los Palacios here means that the Duchy of Milan included Genoa as a dependency, which was the case for a good portion of the fifteenth century.

[2] In dealing with manuscripts which purport to have been written several centuries ago, and which have passed through many hands, the utmost caution should be exercised. Here the purely literary man is worthless. The antiquarian and autograph expert should make an examination of each ancient document, placing upon it the stamp of his approval before the historical writer should venture to use it.

The original manuscript of Bernaldez was said to be preserved in the *Biblioteca Real* in Madrid. When the *Historia de los Reyes Católicos* was first printed in book form at Granada, in the year 1856, it was made not from the original, but from an early transcript in the possession of one Francisco Flores, and which was declared to be a faithful *copy* by the prebend of *La Sancta Iglesia de Sevilla.* It is said that the above *Historia* was actually first printed and published after the manner of the modern *feuilleton*, at the bottom of a local newspaper.

the fifth child and youngest son of Domenico, was born in 1468, inasmuch as he was sixteen years old in 1484. If Susanna Fontanarossa, wife of Domenico and mother of three children, was eighteen years old when Christopher was born, she would have been fifty when she gave birth to Giacomo, an age not impossible, but still rather more than fulfilling the promise of fecundity in the women of Italy. We know that Ferdinand Columbus was born of Beatrix Enriquez de Arana on August 15, 1488, which would make his father to have been past the mark of one and fifty years when he entered upon his affair of gallantry with this lady of Cordova, a thing not at all impossible, but in the drama of life the unities seem to call for blood somewhat cooling at the age of fifty and more. If Christopher Columbus was born in 1436, he would have been six and fifty when he embarked upon his eventful voyage, an age not impossible, but still far beyond that of most discoverers, and of most explorers in undertaking their first navigations.[1] Certainly the expression *In senectute bona*, used by the good curate, is more applicable to one reaching to seventy years than to one counting but three full score, and we must assume that he believed the Admiral to be seventy years of age when he departed this life at Valladolid. Moreover, when the Admiral was in Spain after his last voyage, he wrote to his son, Diego, asking him to secure for him a special concession to use a mule in travelling. This letter is dated December 21 (1504):

Se sin importunar se oviese licencia de andar en mula, yo trabajaria de partir para allá pasado henero, y ansi lo haré sin ella.

"If without importunity, a licence can be procured for me to go on mule-back I will try to leave for the Court after January and I will even go without this licence."

In another letter to Diego dated at Seville, December 29, (1504), he writes:

La licencia de la mula, si sin trabajo se puede hauer, folgaria della y de vna buena mula.

[1] In the authority for the establishment of the Majorat dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, the Sovereigns permit him to entail his estate and honours on "Don Diego Columbus, your oldest lawful son or on any of your sons able to entail (?), whom you now have or may have from henceforth"—a provision which would not likely have occurred to them if they had regarded him as then sixty-one years of age.

"I would be glad of the licence to travel on mule-back and of a good mule, if they can be obtained without difficulty."

"1505. 23 de Febr. El rey: Por cuanto yo soy informado que vos el Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon estais indispuesto de vuestra persona á causa de ciertas enfermadades que habeis tenido é teneis, é que no podeis andar á caballo sin mucho dagno de vuestra salud: por ende, acatando lo susodicho é vuestra ancianidad, por la presente vos doy licencia para que podais andar en mula ensillada é enfrenada por cualesquier partes destos Reinos é Señorios que vos quisiéredes é por bien toviéredes, sin embargo de la prematica que sobre ello dispone: é mando á las Justicias de cualesquier partes destos dichos Reynos é Señorios que en ello no vos pongan nin consientan poner impedimento alguno, se pena dc diez mil maravedis para la Cámara á cada uno que lo contrario ficiere. Fecha en la ciudad de Toro á viente y tres de Hebrero de mil quinientos y cinco años."

February 23, 1505. The King: Inasmuch as I am informed that you, the Admiral Christopher Columbus, are in poor bodily health on account of certain infirmities which you have had and have, and that you cannot ride on horseback without great injury to your health: therefore, acknowledging the aforesaid and *your old age*, by these presents, I grant you licence to ride on a mule saddled and bridled, through whatever parts of these Kingdoms and Realms you wish and desire, notwithstanding the law in regard to it: and I order the Justices of all parts whatsoever of these Kingdoms and Realms not to offer you any impediment in this thing or allow any to be offered you, under penalty of ten thousand maravedis for the Treasury to each one who shall do to the contrary.

"Done in the City of Toro, February 23, 1505."

Columbus does not appear to have urged the request because of his old age or because of infirmities incident to old age. In granting it, the King, himself three and fifty years of age, says he is informed that the Admiral is in poor bodily health owing to certain diseases he had. It is true that the document adds, "conceding this to your old age." The edict[1] against

[1] The rough roads of Spain made travelling difficult under any circumstances, and particularly so in winter. The gentle, ambling gait of the mule made it the favourite means of travel. This naturally affected the raising of the more useful and productive animal, the horse. King Alfonso XI. had been compelled to issue an edict absolutely forbidding the travelling on mule-back, but as time went on, the severity of the order was modified. In 1494 it was reported to King Ferdinand that it was almost impossible to find five or six thousand horses fit for the use of the cavalry in the Spanish army, and thereupon the King issued an order forbidding the usc of the mule to all except the clergy, women, and children.

The Admiral was proposing at first to travel in a litter, and it was said that the actual stretcher on which the body of the deceased Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had been carried to its last resting-place, had been offered his use by the Cabildo of Seville. Notwithstanding the prompt granting of the licence, it was not until May, 1505, that the Admiral found himself able to attempt an attendance upon the Court.

using mules was strictly enforced, and when exceptions were made the reasons should be stated. Probably the King never saw, dictated, or read the document, but put his name in the ordinary affairs of business to a regular form rather than an unusual grant, for licences were not uncommon. Therefore we do not attach over-much importance to the allusion to his age. Columbus himself declared that he would go to Court in any event, with a mule or without a mule. The will can overcome a certain incapacity proceeding from disease, but this is not accomplished so easily when it arises from old age.

The date of 1436 is adopted by Navarrete, Humboldt (more in acquiescence than affirmation), Hoefer, Deschenal, Lamartine, Fiske, and many other distinguished historians.

The date of 1437, a variation of the rounded date of 1436, is preferred by Count Gianfrancesco Galeani Napione, whose dissertation entitled *Della Patria di Cristoforo Colombo* was read before the Imperial Academy of Science of Turin, and afterwards printed at Florence in 1808. Francesco Cancellieri prefers this date in his *Notizie Storiche e Bibliografiche di Cristoforo Colombo, di Cuccaro nel Monferrato, Discopritore dell' America*, printed at Rome in 1809. To this number must be added Cæsar Cantu.[1]

The date of 1441 is adopted by the Abbé Charlevoix in his *Histoire de l'ile Espagnole*, printed at Paris in the year 1730. He seems to have reckoned something like the following calculation:

The youth of Columbus before he went to sea	14 years
Time spent in unsuccessful solicitation in Spain	9 "
Time passed after the return from last voyage to his death	1 yr. 6 mos.
Years passed on sea	40 years
Total	64½ years.

to be deducted from May 30, 1506, and thus bringing the period of his birth into the year 1441.

This date is accepted by the Abbé Provost d'Exiles in his

[1] *Storia Universale Scritta da Cæsar Cantu*, Torino, 1838–1844. In this he first gives the dates, *Colombo Cristoforo, Genovese, 1441–1506*. In the thirteenth volume of the *Racconto*, Torino, 1843, he records the death of Columbus at Valladolid, *il 12 Maggio, 1506*. Afterwards the author added the words, "*di sessanta nove anni*," "at sixty-nine years of age." In the third French edition, printed at Paris in 1867, this is repeated, together with the mistaken date, May 12, 1506, instead of May 20, the eve of the Ascension, or May 21, the day of the Ascension, in the year 1506.

continuation of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*,[1] and by Girolamo Tiraboschi, in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*.[2]

The dates 1445 and 1447 are accounted for in this discussion of the birth of Columbus by certain writers using in this calculation fractional parts of the year as they approach or recede from the standard date of 1446. The date of 1445, for instance, was adopted by the Chevalier Luigi Bossi in his *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo Scritta e Corredata di Nuove Osservazioni di Note Storico-critiche e di un' Appendice di Documenti Rari o Inediti, Milan*, 1818. Harrisse remarks that, while it is written with taste and observation, there is not much new matter in the work. The date 1447 is accepted, and may be said to have been originated by Dr. William Robertson in his *History of America*.[3] In the last sentence but one of the second book of the first edition of his *History of America* (see page 175), we read: "*Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth day of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.*"

The date 1449 owes what importance it may have in this discussion not so much to the fact that it was mentioned by Emma Hart Willard in her *History of the United States or Republic of*

[1] *Histoire Générale des Voyages ou Nouvelle Collection de Toutes les Relations de Voyages par Mer et par Terre, etc.* 20 vols. in 4to. Paris, 1746 to 1789. 80 vols. in 12mo. Paris, 1754. Volume xlv. of this edition in 12mo corresponds to volume xii. of the quarto edition, and is largely devoted to Christopher Columbus. The subject of the birth of Columbus is discussed on page 400 of the xlvth volume, and on page 141 of the xiith volume of the respective editions.

[2] *Storia della Letteratura Italiana del Cav. Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi, Nuova Edizione*, Firenze, 1805–1813; 9 volumes in 20 parts in 8vo; see vol. vi., p. 245, footnote.

[3] In a note to the first edition of his *History of America*, printed at London in the year 1777, in two large quarto volumes, in note xi. of the Appendix to volume i., we read:

"The time of Columbus' death [*sic*] may be nearly ascertained by the following circumstances: It appears from the fragment of a letter addressed to him by Ferdinand and Isabella, A.D. 1501, that he had at that time been engaged forty years in a seafaring life. In another letter he informs them that he went to sea at the age of fourteen: from those facts it follows that he was born A.D. 1447."

And then the author or editor refers the reader to *Life of Christo. Columbus*, by his son, Don Ferdinand, and to Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., pp. 484, 485.

Dr. Robertson refers to Antonio de Herrera in a footnote, as if for authority, but that Spanish historian says absolutely nothing as to the age of the Admiral in speaking of his death. He simply says: "Murio mui Catolicamente el Año de 1506, en Valladolid, dia del Ascension a 20 de Maio": "He died in the Catholic faith, in the year 1506, in Valladolid, on the day of the Ascension, May 20." (*Decad.* i., libro vi., cap. xv.)

America,[1] published in 1828, but because her interpretation of the true date is introduced by Alexander von Humboldt in his *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Geographie du Nouveau Continent*, published at Paris in the year 1837, and seriously referred to in M. d'Avezac's *Année Véritable de la Naissance de Christophe Colomb*, published at Paris in 1873.

The date of 1456 is given by Oscar Peschel of Stuttgart, and, when first promulgated, found quite a little acceptance, until a new study of the matter clearly showed its improbability, contradicting, as it did, almost every statement we have of the Admiral's life. The learned German has pinned his faith to a single passage in the *Lettera*, the original of which we reproduce in this Work. This strange letter, written by the Admiral in a time of great mental and physical strain, was sent to their Catholic Majesties from Jamaica: *Data Nele Indie in la Insula Ꝺanahica A. 7 di Ꝺulio del* 1503.[2] On the recto of b3 (unmarked), in the twenty-second line from the top, we read:

"*Jo veñe a servire U. M. de tempo de anni 28 & adesso non ho cauello che non sia canuto: el corpo debile & infermo.*"

"I came to serve your Majesties at the age of 28 years and I have not at

[1] Emma Hart Willard, an instructor, compiled a *History of the United States or Republic of America*, printed first in New York by White, Gallagher & White, 1828. She gives a page of authors consulted by her, but among the names none carried the slightest weight, except Dr. William Robertson, and him she did not follow. On page 28 of her work she says: ". . . . Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, formed the design of crossing the Atlantic in search of new countries towards the west." On page 29 she writes: "On his return from a fourth voyage which he made, finding Isabella, his patroness, dead and himself neglected, he sunk beneath his misfortunes and infirmities and died, May 20, 1506, in the 57th year of his age."

In her *Abridgement of the History of the United States or Republic of America*, printed in New York by White, Gallagher & White, 1831, she repeats the incorrect statement as to Columbus on his return finding his patroness dead, and again says: "He sunk beneath the misfortunes and died in 1506 in the fifty-seventh year of his age."

In her *Abridged History*, printed at Philadelphia, by A. S. Barnes & Co., 1844, she says: ". . . . this was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, born in 1447," which would have made him fifty-nine.

In another edition of her *History of the United States or Republic of America*, published by A. S. Barnes & Co., at Philadelphia, 1845, Mrs. Willard remarks: . . . "this was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, born in 1437,"—which would have made him sixty-nine.

In an edition of her *Universal History in Perspective*, published by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1854, she says, in a bracketed note on the margin of the page: "The date of his birth uncertain."

[2] This subscription and following passages are quoted from the Italian

this instant a hair which is not grey: my body debilitated and physically ruined."

In the third line of the same folio we read:

"*Sette anni* steti io in corte di U. M. che a quanti di questa impresa si parlaua tutti ad vna noce diceano che eran cianze: & pataraggie."

"Seven years did I remain in the Court of Your Majesties, when those to whom I spoke of this enterprise declared with one voice that it was chimerical and foolish."

Now, it is not unreasonable to ask that, so far as possible, critics shall be consistent. The year 1492 was well advanced before this period of seven years ended. We must deduct seven from 1492, and we obtain the year 1485, when, according to this relation in the *Lettera*, Columbus began to serve their Majesties. We then deduct twenty-eight more years, the age the *Lettera* gives him when he came to the Court, and we have, according to the manner of Peschel's reckoning, 1457 and not 1456 as the year of his birth. Peschel counts the seven years as completed before the year 1492 begins. He accepts the Arabic numeral figures 28 without inquiring if an error might not have been made in reading the manuscript of Columbus.[1]

[1] The letter dated from Jamaica, July 7, 1503, as published in Spanish by Navarrete (vol. i., p. 313), is said by him to have been printed from a manuscript made in the middle of the sixteenth century, or many years after the publication of this *Lettera*, which, as we have seen, was put into the light more than a year before Columbus died. Navarrete does not say if the manuscript, which, when he collated it on October 12, 1807, was then in the Royal Library at Madrid, and which had been formerly in the College of Cuenca in Salamanca, was made from another manuscript, or translated from the Italian imprint of 1505. Ferdinand Columbus declares that his father had sent this letter to their Catholic Majesties by the hand of Diego Mendez, and that it was printed.

In any event, this manuscript, or at least Navarrete's reproduction of it, perpetuates this, the "28 years" in writing them *viente y ocho años*.

CHAPTER XXXV

1446 THE PROBABLE DATE

We retrace our steps to discuss the date of 1446, which we believe to be approximately the year in which Christopher Columbus first saw light in the seaport city of Genoa. The reader will recall the notarial document already given, dated at Genoa May 25, 1471, in which Susanna Fontanarossa consented to a sale of the little estate of Ginestrato, which her husband had sold to Julianus and Stampinus de Caprili. Susanna had a supposed legal interest in this estate, and her near relatives to the number of twelve were, according to Genoese law,[1] summoned by the notary Francesco Camogli to consent or object to the alienation of Susanna's interest. Surely no relatives could have been nearer or more interested than the children of Susanna, and yet not one was cited to appear. We may infer a reason: while her sons, four in number, were at this date agnates, they were not yet of the legal age of five and twenty. So long as they were minors, says Harrisse, they came after those who had guardianship or care over the mother. Of course, as Domenico and Susanna were already living in Savona, and as the act was made at Genoa,

[1] The Genoese statute required that there should be summoned relatives and neighbours, *propinqui et vicini*. It is probable that this provision was meant to be interpreted, relatives, if any, or if in sufficient strength; if not, then neighbours. Thus, when in the act of January 26, 1501, the notary found that Christopher, Bartolomeo, and Giacomo were "all absent in Spain," he summoned a shoemaker and a weaver of the neighbourhood to act in the case.

The Genoese law followed quite strictly the ancient Roman law, while the laws of the neighbouring Lombardy appear to have been influenced and somewhat softened by the German interpretations. The reader may consult the Berlin edition of the *Institutes* of Titius Caius, published in 1824. These were first printed in Paris in 1525, although a portion or summary had appeared in the *Codex Theodosianus*, published by P. Ægidius at Antwerp in 1517. There was also a French translation in 1828.

it may have been that they did not summon their two elder sons even if they were at their majority, as the Genoese statute permitted relatives who were farther away than twelve miles to disobey the summons, in which case others were appointed to assist or act for them. Savona is more than twice that distance from Genoa. Or it may have been that Columbus and his brother next in age were away on voyages. However, we have seen in the act made at Savona, August 7, 1473, when Susanna ratified the sale of the house in the Gate Olivella, when it was sold by Domenico, Christopher and Giovanni Pelegrinus, sons of Domenico and Susanna, are brought in as consenting parties, although it is true that they come *cum auctoritate et consensu dictorum parentum suorum presentium, consententium & auctoritatem eorum præstantium.* The force of this parental consent is still controlling them, notwithstanding they have apparently arrived at their majority. The consent of the parents could not bring them in as interested parties *before* they were at their majority, but *after* their majority, it was still a matter of form, if not of necessity, to record the consent of the parents. The inference, then, is that two of the sons of Domenico and Susanna, Christopher and Giovanni, were arrived at their majority between May 25, 1471, and August 7, 1473. This legal majority was then twenty-five years. As Christopher is named first in the act, it is natural to assume that he was the elder of the two. Again, it is natural to assume that there were ten or twelve months of difference in their ages. If, then, both had reached the age of twenty-five years, both were born between May 25, 1446, and August 7, 1447. If Giovanni, the younger of the two, was born on or before August 7, 1447, it is natural to suppose that Christopher, the elder of the two, was born on or before October 7, 1446.

Las Casas quotes from the *Journal* of the Admiral, under date of August 9, 1492, but not using the Admiral's own words:

"Dice el Almirante que juraban muchos hombres honrados Españoles, que en la Gomera estaban con Doña Ines Peraza, madre de Guillen Peraza, que despues fue el primer Conde de la Gomera, que eran vecinos de la isla de Hierro, que cada año vian tierra al Oueste de las Canarias, que es el Poniente; y otros de la Gomera afirmaban otro tanto con juramento. Dice aquí el Almirante que se acuerda que *estando in Portugal el año de 1484* vino uno de la isla de la Madera al Rey á le pedir una carabela para ir á esta tierra que via, el cual juraba que cada año la via, y siempre de una manera: y

tambien dice que se acuerda que lo mismo decian en las islas de los Azores, y todos estos en una derrota, y en una manera de señal, y en una grandeza."

"The Admiral says that many honourable Spaniards, inhabitants of the Island of Hierro, swore that they were on Gomera with Dona Inez Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza, who was afterward the first Count of Gomera, and that each year they saw land to the west of the Canaries, which is to the West: and others from Gomera affirmed the same thing under oath.[1] The Admiral says here that he remembers that *being in Portugal in the year 1484*, a man came from the Island of Madeira to the King to beg him for a caravel in order to go to this land which he saw, which he swore he saw each year and always in the same manner: and he also says he remembers that the same was said in the Azores Islands, and that all were agreed as to the route, the appearance, and size."

If the man from Madeira was Fernando Dominiguez de Arco, his letters patent to the possession of the imaginary isle were granted him by Juan II., the son of Alfonso V., under date of June 30, 1484. The books of the Royal Treasurer of Spain, Francisco Gonzales, under date of May 5, 1487, mention Columbus for the first time:

"En dicho dia [May 5, 1487] dí á Cristobal Colomo, extrangero, tres mil maravedis, que está aquí faciendo algunas cosas complideras al servicio de sus Altezas, por cédula de Alonso de Quintanilla, con mandamiento del Obispo [of Palencia]." [2]

[1] Navarrete, vol. i., p. 5.

Fernan Peraza was Lord of the Canaries, and on his death in 1452, the islands passed to his daughter, Lady Inez, who was married to Diego de Herrara, her rights being confirmed September 28, 1454. It was common report for many years before Columbus ever saw the Canaries that the people of Gomera and Ferro reported seeing to the distant west a strange land, and that frequent excursions were made in that direction in ever fruitless search. Some said this land was the Isle of Antilia. Others said it was the Isle of St. Brandon that they saw. On the globe constructed in 1492 by Martin Behaim, at Nuremberg, both Antilia and the island of St. Brandon are shown, the latter being the farther west of the two. While these wild reports were rightly judged by Columbus to be based on fancies and to be like pictures in the clouds, they nevertheless produced some effect on his mind, and we have often thought that not Toscanelli's advice alone determined him to take his course westerly from the Canaries, but also the possibility of his finding the islands so long dreamed of by the people of Gomero and Ferro.

The reference to the man from Madeira who went to the King for a ship that he might find this strange land was doubtless intended to refer to Fernando Dominiguez de Arco, who obtained from King John II. the governorship of the island of St. Brandon, to rule over a land he was never to see, because it was not.

[2] Navarrete says this is the Bishop of Palencia, but if he means the friend and protector of Columbus, Diego de Deza, we think he must be mistaken. The good man was a theological professor at Salamanca, and was chosen Bishop of Zamora a little subsequent to the year 1486, and in 1493 was made Bishop of Salamanca; from there he was transferred to the Bishop's chair at Jaen, and in 1499 he was made Bishop of Palencia.

"On this day, gave to Christopher Columbus, foreigner, three thousand maravedis, who is here doing certain things connected with the service of their Highnesses, by warrant of Alonso de Quintanilla, on the order of the Bishop."

It is, then, between these two dates that Columbus went into Spain from Portugal. When was it? Ferdinand Columbus begins chapter xii. of his *Historie* thus:

" Lascierò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornerò all' Ammiraglio, il qual nel *fine del' anno MCCCC-LXXXIIII* col suo figluolino Don Diego si partì segretamente di portogallo. . . ."

"I will cease now to relate what Bartolomeo Colon had done in England and will return to the Admiral, who at the end of the year 1484 with his little son, Don Diego, secretly departed from Portugal."

We have already seen in the letter written from Jamaica, July 7, 1503, that Columbus declares he tarried seven years in the Court of Spain awaiting the realisation of his project. Las Casas gives the following passage from the Admiral's *Journal*, under the date of January 4, 1493, quoting the very words of the Admiral:

"y han seido causa que la corona Real de Vuestras Altezas no tenga cien cuentos de renta mas de la que tiene despues que yo viné á les servir, que son siete años agora á 20 dias de Enero este mismo mes, y mas lo que acrecentado seria de aquí en adelante. Mas aquel poderoso Dios remediarà todo."

"And they[1] have been the cause that the Royal crown of your Highnesses does not possess one hundred millions more revenue than it has since I came to serve them, which is now seven years ago the 20th day of January, this very month, and furthermore the accumulation which would have been the natural increase. But that powerful God will remedy everything."

We think we may safely take this date, January 20, 1486, as fixing the time when Columbus entered the service of the Spanish Sovereigns, but it is not likely that, immediately upon reaching Spain, he, an unknown man, a foreigner, coming with a project which any one might call wild and chimerical, could have at once entered the service of the King and Queen. He began his

[1] Either the persons who were opposed to him—and Columbus says all were opposed to him save God and their Highnesses, the King and Queen—or the adverse circumstances against which he struggled up to the time he left Castile,—we cannot tell which from the subject of the coming verb.

service January 20, 1486, a glorious date, marking the exact point in his career when the encouragement was given him that he might at least hope. It was the first fuel added by other hands to the fires of his own soul, and he never, after that, quite lost the assurance of final triumph, unless it was in the dark hours just before the dawn, when, turning his face away from that Court he set out for another, and when he found at La Rabida the helpful priest who was to lead him back again to Court.

In the year 1485 the Spanish Sovereigns were engaged in earnestly fighting the Moors. In January of that year King Ferdinand took the field in person, thinking to surprise the city of Loja, south-west of Granada, a design he soon abandoned. In the spring of 1485, Ferdinand was besieging the castle guarding Ronda, a fortified town west of Malaga, and forty-two miles north of Gibraltar, and which surrendered on May 23, 1485. During all these days Queen Isabella was with the King. In the summer of 1485, King Ferdinand, Queen Isabella, and the Court were at Cordova. On the 1st of September, 1485, they moved to Alcala la Real, on the north side of the Granada Mountains, and thirty miles south of the city of Jaen. The 23d of September, 1485, beheld the Spaniards under the King and Queen, entering the surrendered castles of Cambil and Albahar on the frontier near Jaen. With this success the army was sent into winter quarters, and the King and Queen set out for Alcala de Henares, a walled city seventeen miles north-east of Madrid, and where, on December 16, 1485, Queen Isabella gave birth to Catherine, afterwards the unhappy wife of England's King Henry VIII. When Columbus left Lisbon toward the end of the year 1485, he departed secretly, and with his little son Diego in his charge, he could not have made rapid progress. It seems to us not necessary to allow a long period of time for this man to have travelled from the capital of Portugal to the Spanish Court.

On May 19, 1506, the Admiral executed at Valladolid a last will and testament. He had prepared in his own hand a certain memorandum which became a sort of codicil, and was incorporated in the final document. The last item of this reads:

"Á Baptista Espindola, ó á sus herederos, si es muerto, veinte ducados. Este Baptista Espindola es yerno del sobredicho Luis Centurion, era hijo de

Micer Nicolao Espindola de Locoli de Ronco, y por señas él fue estante en Lisboa el año de mil cuatrocientos ochenta y dos."

"To Baptista Espindola, or to his heirs if he is dead, twenty ducats. This Baptista Espindola is the son-in-law of the aforesaid Luis Centurion and was the son of Mr. Nicolai Espindola of Locoli de Ronco, and apparently was living in Lisbon in the year 1482."

The inference is that Columbus saw this Genoese gentleman in Lisbon at some time during the year 1482, although he does not say so. In the *Historie* we read:

"Jo stetti nella fortezza di San Giorgio della Mina del Re di Portogallo, che giace sotto l'equinottiale."

"I was at the fortress of St. George of the Mine belonging to the King of Portugal, which lies below the equinoctial line."

When King Juan II. succeeded his father, Alfonso V., he resolved to build a new fortress in the centre of the gold traffic, and selected San Jorge de Mina for that purpose. The stones for the fort were cut and squared in the stone-yards of Portugal, the brick and wood and all needed material were gathered there, and loaded in ten large caravels, and with two smaller ships and provisions for six hundred men, the fleet, under command of Diogo de Azambuja, set sail on December 11, 1481, and reached La Mina on January 19, 1482. This fortress was soon in a condition for defence, but its final completion was in the year 1484, according to a date set in the stone over the portal, and seen by Olivier Daffer in the middle of the seventeenth century, where it still stood, recalling the enterprise and undertaking of the Portuguese nation. Columbus speaks of visiting the fortress, and nowhere indicates that he went in the expedition having in charge its building. He was in Portugal in 1482 and in 1484, and while there was nothing to have prevented his having made a short expedition to this fortress during the course of either of these years, it is more than likely his voyage was an extensive one made for discovery and exploration, and therefore requiring a lengthened period for its performance. The year 1483 affords us a date when we have no other tidings of him, and in which he may have made this voyage. Columbus was much occupied in the years 1484 and 1485, and it was at the end of this last year that he departed from Portugal for Spain, where he resided for some seven years, passed in soliciting aid for his projects. We

may then take the year 1483 as ending the period of voyaging upon the sea. How much time had been spent in these maritime excursions?

Las Casas,[1] in the *Journal* of Columbus, under date of December 21, 1492, quotes the very words of the Admiral:

"y he andado *veinte y tres años en la Mar*, sin salir della tiempo que se haya de contar, y ví todo el Levante y Poniente, que dice por ir al camino de Septentrion, que es Inglaterra, y ha andado la Guinea. . . ."

"And I have been twenty-three years upon the sea without quitting it for any time long enough to be counted, and I saw all the East and West, as it is called in going to the North, which is England, and I have travelled to Guinea. . . ."

Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*[2] writes:

"Et in vn' altro luogo dice: 'Jo sono andato per mar *ventitre anni* senza uscirne per alcun tempo, che debba scontarsi: & vidi tutto il Leuante & tutto il Poniente, che si dice per andare verso il Settentrione, cioè l'Inghilterra; & ho caminato per la Guinea.'"

"And in another place he says: 'I have been on the sea twenty-three years without leaving it at any time which can be counted: and I saw all the East and all the West, as it is called in going towards the North, that is to say England: and I have travelled to Guinea.'"

We have now a further and substantial period of twenty-three years, in which he was more or less upon the sea, to deduct from the year 1483, the point of time at which, as we reckon, his maritime excursions ceased, at least for several years. This subtraction of twenty-three from 1483 leaves us at the year 1460 as the date when he first took to the sea.

In this same *Historie*[3] Ferdinand Columbus writes:

"Et più oltre dice, '*Che cominciò a nauigar di quatordici anni*, & che sempre segui il mare.'"

And a little further along he says:

"I commenced to navigate at fourteen years and I have always followed the sea.'"

Again in the *Historie*[4] Ferdinand writes:

"Ma in vna lettera, che egli scrisse l'anno MDI à serenissimi Re' Catolici, à quali non haurebbe hauuto ardire di scriuer piu di quel, che la verità

[1] Navarrete, vol. i., p. 101.
[2] *Historie*, cap. iv., verso folio 9.
[3] *Historie*, verso folio 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, recto folio 8.

ricercaua, dice le seguenti parole: 'Serenissimi Principi, *di età molto tenera io entrai in mare nauigando*, & vi ho continouato fin' hoggi: & l'istessa arte inclina a chi la segue a desiderar di sapere i secreti di questo mondo: & hoggimai passano quaranta anni, che io uso per tutte quelle parti, che fin' hoggi si nauigano.'"

"But in a letter which he wrote in the year 1501 to the Most Serene Catholic Sovereigns, to whom he would not have dared to write more than the truth required, he says the following words: 'Most Serene Princes, at a very tender age I began sailing on the sea and I have continued there until to-day: and the self same calling inclines those who follow it to desire to learn the secrets of this world: and now, having passed forty years, which I spent in all those places to which navigations are made at the present time."

With this age stated by his son as the point in his life when Christopher Columbus went to sea, we have a starting-place to approximately calculate the years of his life:

Age when he went to sea	14	years
Years spent in navigating before departing from Portugal	23	"
Years spent in Portugal before his departure	2	"
Years spent in service of the Sovereigns until 1492	7	"
Years further consumed in his four voyages	12	"
Years from his final return in 1504 until his death in 1506	2	"
Total	60	years

If, then, he was sixty years of age on May 20, 1506, he was born during the year 1446. Moreover, in this same letter to their Highnesses, quoted by Ferdinand Columbus, is the passage *E hoggimai passano quaranta anni—and now having passed forty years.* This letter is said by Ferdinand to have been written in the year 1501, and, since he had passed his fortieth year and was then in his forty-first year of active life, we may deduct forty-one from 1501, and we will find him entering that active life in the year 1460. He was then at the tender age of fourteen, and deducting fourteen from 1460, we again find the year of his birth to be the year 1446.

The question of age may be determined somewhat by the manner of life. There seems to be a general law governing living organisms, teaching us that the sooner maturity is reached, the shorter the duration of life. This law applies to the individual. Embarking on a sea-going life at fourteen, truly a tender age, as Columbus himself says, the boy developed early. The tendency

of early development is toward early deterioration. The ascent soon made, the mountain soon climbed, the descent begins. The master tissues of the body are poorly fed when the nerves are exhausted. The mental temperature, while it creates, also consumes. We know that Columbus was of a ruddy complexion, with hair in youth that was red. These physical traits are associated with a nervous vitality that eats itself. At thirty this red hair had whitened like the frost. A farm labourer may live to be a hundred, but a little bread and a little warmth bound his world. We know of no other instance where a great purpose was carried about by a man for so many years, loading his life with deferred hopes and only yielding him fruition when he was a little the sunny side of fifty. It is wonderful to see this wool-carder's son, this Genoese sailor, holding steadfastly to his design, until six and forty years had passed. If we are asked to watch him still arguing for his projects at the age of six and fifty, still eager to take an unknown journey out into the Sea of Darkness, the mystery of his powers becomes more unfathomable. His family may have been long of life. They were workers of wool. The wool of sheep was spun into thread, and the thread was woven into cloth, honestly woven, skilfully woven. But employment at this labour for half a hundred years would not have exhausted the body as three and twenty years of navigation on stormy seas, or as seven long years of waiting near a cold and unkind Court.

We cannot tell with absolute certainty when our Columbus was born. We do not know positively the hour, the day, the year when there was sent into the world a man intrusted with the second greatest mission. All we can say is, that a study of documentary evidence, a comparison of dates and events, a consideration of the credible and the probable, unite in the selection of one date. Awaiting the discovery of authoritative testimony to the contrary, we believe the birth of Christopher Columbus was in the city of Genoa and in the year of our Lord 1446.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE YOUTH OF COLUMBUS

It does not seem that any opportunity to acquire an academic education offered Columbus after the year 1460, when he had arrived at the age of fourteen. An attempt has been made to carry the youthful hero through the halls of the University of Pavia. Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*,[1] declares that his father had studied at Pavia. Ferdinand quotes a letter written by Columbus to the Catholic Sovereigns in 1501, in which he speaks of the knowledge he had acquired:

"& i miei trafichi, & conuerfatione ſono ſtati con gente ſauia, coſi eccleſiaſtici, come ſecolari, & Latini, & Greci, Indiani, & Mori, & con molti altri di altre ſette. Et a queſto mio deſiderio trouai il noſtro Signore molto propitio; & perciò hebbi da lui ſpirito d'intelligenza. Della Nauiga toria mi fece molto intendentè: d'Aſtrologia mi diede quel, che baſtaua; & coſi di Geometria, e d'Aritmetica, l'animo mi donò ingegnoſo, & le mani atte a diſegnar queſta ſfera, & in eſſa le città, i monti, & i fiumi, l'iſole, e i porti tutti nel loro conueneuol ſito. In queſto tempo io ho veduto, & meſſo ſtudio in vedere tutti i libri di Coſmografia, d'Hiſtoria, & di Filoſofia, & d'altre ſcientie."

"And my intercourse and conversation have been with learned persons, ecclesiastical as well as secular, & Latins, & Greeks, Indians, & Moors, &

[1] "Dico adunque, che nella ſua picciola età imparò lettere, & ſtudiò in Pauia tanto, che gli baſtaua per intendere i coſmografi, alla cui lettione fu molto affettionato, per lo qual riſpetto ancora si diede all' Aſtrologia, & alla Geometria: percioche queſte ſcientie ſono in tal maniera concatenate, che l'una non può ſtar ſenza l'altra: & ancora perche Tolomeo nel principio della ſua Coſmografia dice, che niuno può eſſer buon Coſmografo, ſe ancora non ſara pittore." (*Historie*, verso folio 7.)

"I say therefore, that in his youth he learned letters and studied in Pavia enough to understand Cosmography, the teachings of which science greatly delighted him: and on account of which he also studied Astrology and Geometry, since these sciences are so related to each other, that one cannot be understood without the other: and also because Ptolemy in the beginning of his Cosmography says that no one can be a good cosmographer if he is not also a good painter [maker of charts]."

with many others of other sects. And to this, my desire, our Lord was very propitious; and therefore I had from Him a spirit of intelligence. In regard to Navigation He made me very intelligent: of Astrology He gave me what was sufficient: and also of Geometry and Arithmetic. He gave me an ingenious mind and hands apt in designing this sphere, and upon it the cities, mountains, and the rivers, the islands and harbours, all in their proper place. In this time I saw and studied diligently all the books of Cosmography, of History, & of Philosophy, & of other sciences."

The lad could not have served two masters. He could not have sat long at the feet of philosophy in Pavia, and acquired the art of weaving and carding in Genoa. That he had knowledge no one can deny. That it was academically taught does not seem so clear. Harrisse notices that of all the writings we have of Columbus, there are none in Italian, his mother-tongue. When he wrote to the Pope in Rome, he used neither Latin nor Italian, but Spanish. Pope Alexander VI. was a Spaniard, a native of Valencia, but he had lived in Italy, in Rome, and Venice since long before the time when Columbus went to either Portugal or Spain. Certainly Columbus did not know him, and in addressing the Head of the Church he should have written in the language of the Church or in the language of Rome. When he sent his letter to the Bank of St. George at Genoa, he wrote in Spanish.[1] He evidently made use of the tongue he knew best, and that was the language of his adopted country, Spain. There is one feature of the character of Columbus which may give us a clue to the source from whence came what learning he had, and that was his piety. This virtue ran through all his life, attended him on every occasion, cheered him in his trials, comforted him in his bodily afflictions, illumined the vision he caught of the world's redemption, and closed his eyes in final faith. He never learned piety at the loom or amid foreign shipping at the Geneose wharfs; nor yet again in his sailings in different seas. We conjecture he acquired it from some good and learned priest who had passed from the university to the cloister, and who, if he told the young boy of the sacrifice on the Cross, also told him of the Moslem's control of the Holy Sepulchre and recited the tales of the nine

[1] When Columbus wrote to Paolo Toscanelli, he is said by Ferdinand (*Historie*, verso folio 15) to have prepared his letter by the aid of Lorenzo Girardus, a Florentine, then in Lisbon. And when the reply came, Ferdinand says it was in Latin, which indicates that the letter written by Columbus and his Florentine friend was not in Latin, and was probably in Italian.

Crusades. The Crusaders' spirit had been sleeping for two hundred years, but it was somehow breathed into the soul of Columbus, and was in his mind throughout all the days of his life. He dreamed of his revenues from the New World providing for a new Crusade and for the control of the Holy Land by the Church and Christian sovereigns. His *Book of the Prophecies* discloses a knowledge of the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers of the Church and the more modern religious writers like Gerson. From such a teacher he might have received his knowledge of the classics, of mathematics, of astrology, of history, of philosophy, and cosmography. And by such a teacher he might have had his mind directed and developed at odd hours borrowed from the days of his apprenticeship.

In his journals, letters, and writings, the Admiral shows he was familiar with the works of Aristotle, Julius Cæsar, the poet Seneca, Pliny, Ptolemy, Solinus, Capitolinus, the Roman historian; Ahmed-Ben-Kothair, the Arabic astronomer, and Ibn-Rochid, the Arabian philosopher; Rabi Samuel de Israel, the Jew who is spoken of in the *Book of the Prophecies;* Isidorus, the Spanish chronicler; Beda, Sacrobosco, and Duns Scotus of the Northern Isles; Wolfridus Strabo, the German Benedictine poet, as well as his older namesake, the geographer; Joachim of Calabria, the Abbot of Fiore; Petrus Aliacus (whose *Imago Mundi* was largely made up of the thoughts of others); Gerson, the Chancellor of the Paris University; Nicolaus de Lira and Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.); Johannes Mülïer, *alias* Regiomontanus, whose *Almanac* was probably with the Admiral on his fourth voyage, as we shall afterward show. The wise reader already knows of the correspondence between Columbus and Toscanelli, the Florentine, and a copy of the map the latter made was certainly in the hands of the Admiral on his first eventful voyage.

The weavers of Genoa were united in an association perhaps like the guilds of London, and from a document quoted by Harrisse it appears that they established schools in the quarter of St. Stephen in which was the home of Domenico Columbus. There the young weaver may have learned the rudiments, but we still think his growing mind received the attention of some special, dominating spirit, guiding it in circles wider than those of a common school. Columbus was by nature a student. He owed much of his knowledge to his powers of observation. The

foundation stones of his scientific knowledge were laid by some careful teacher and by the study of some valuable books, but there was still lacking that training of a mind which can consistently classify and arrange what it analyses and discovers. Humboldt was struck with the views of physical geography disclosed by the Admiral in his *Journal*, and declares that, to his mind, the projects of Columbus owe their success not more to the energy of character which executed them than to the intelligence which first conceived them and then deliberately planned them. The new road to the West and the New World at its end were full of interest to him, and he studied the phenomena as a naturalist would study a new species. He coolly speculated as to its cause when he beheld the variation of the declination of the needle, so terrifying to others. He could determine his position west of the Canaries by observing the differences of the right ascension of the stars. If he could not actually calculate eclipses himself, he knew where to find his knowledge, and how to use it for the safety of himself and his followers.[1] Humboldt also points out that Columbus could, within certain limits, find the longitude of his vessel by availing himself of the declination of the magnetic needle.

[1] The account of this eclipse of the moon and the manner in which Columbus foretold it is interesting. It is found in the relation preceding his will, made by Diego Mendez, and as that relation supplements and completes the last voyage of Columbus, it will be inserted in full in the portion of our Work treating of that voyage. It will suffice to state here that there were several books printed in the fifteenth century, giving the dates for the lunar eclipses and the exact time of their duration, for a quarter of a century or more beyond the time of their issuing from the press, and therefore the performance of the Admiral was memorable rather than his feat wonderful.

PART IV

THE PURPOSE

CHAPTER XXXVII

DISCOVERIES BY THE PORTUGUESE

LAS CASAS, in his *Historia*, gives a letter [1] from Columbus to their Catholic Majesties, written in May (1505), in which we read:

"Dios Nuestro Señor milagrosamente me envió acá porque yo sirviese á V. A. Dije milagrosamente porque fuí á aportar á Portugal, adonde el Rey de allí entendia en el descubrir mas que otro: él le atajo la vista, oido y todos los sentidos, que en catorce años no le pude hacer entender lo que yo dije."

"God, our Lord, miraculously sent me here that I might serve your Highness: I said miraculously because I went to take refuge in Portugal, where the King of that country understood the discovery better than any other: he put to shame his sight, hearing, and all his faculties, for in fourteen years I could not make him understand what I said."

If we can fix the year 1485, toward its close, as the time when Columbus went to Spain, this passage would justify us in placing his arrival in Portugal at the close of the year 1471. But a difficulty immediately arises as to this King to whom the long appeal of fourteen years was made. Alfonso V., the greatest of Portuguese monarchs, under whom the discoverers and explorers became bolder and bolder, pushing their way well down on the African coast, was born in 1432 and succeeded his father, Edward, in the year 1438, formally abandoning his throne to his son, John II., April 26, 1475, and dying in 1481. If the Admiral is speaking of an individual King, of Alfonso V., then the fourteen years would need to be deducted from 1475, when the date of his coming into Portugal would be made to read 1461. If he refers to John II. as the King to whom he appealed all this

[1] Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, lib. ii., cap. xxxvii., fol. 112; also Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 527.

time, then it would be in the year 1489—adding fourteen years to 1475, when he may be said to have mounted the throne—that he abandoned hope and went into Spain. Neither of these dates seems satisfactory or consistent with facts. Prince John, the son and successor to Alfonso V., was born May 3, 1455. He was precocious and ambitious. When he was but a little passed of fifteen he accompanied his father to the wars, and it would be about this same time that Columbus, if he meant this Prince, might have commenced his solicitations and have continued them four or five years to a Prince and the remaining nine or ten years to the same Prince, become first Regent and then King.

Whoever has read the life of Prince Henry the Navigator has had a picture of that student youth building his mighty castle on the promontory of Sagres, whence he looked out on a wild, unbroken Atlantic, dreaming at night of an eastern world and by day planning expeditions to reach that other world by a southern route around the African coast. His eyes were fixed on the western sun. His outstretched arm directed his ships to the south. This great Prince [1] adopted for his motto, *Talent le bien faire*, and we believe his aspiration was to *do well* another thing,—a greater thing than wresting from the Mohammedan a walled Ceuta,—and that no other thing than demonstrating the sphericity of the earth.

Dom Pedro, brother to Prince Henry the Navigator, in 1428 brought back from Venice a manuscript of Marco Polo's *Book of Travels*, which the Venetian Republic had presented to him. The descriptions of Cathay and the riches of India must have fired the imagination and inspired the hope of Prince Henry. A map accompanied the manuscript, which, according to Antonio Galvam, whose *Treatise on the Discoveries of the World* was written about the year 1555, "had all the parts of the World and Earth described. The Straight of Magellan was called in it the Dragon's taile: the Cape of Bona Sperança, the forefront of Afrike [and so foorth of other places]: by which map Don Henry the King's third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoveries." Galvam says, in addition, that he was told by Franciso de Sousa Tavares that in the year 1528, Dom Fernando, the son and heir of King Manoel, showed him a map

[1] There was some good English blood in Prince Henry's veins. His mother, Queen Philippa, was daughter to stout "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster."

which was found in the Cartorio, or study of the Royal Monastery of Alcobaça, which had been made more than a hundred and twenty years before, on which was laid down all the navigation of India, with the Cape of Good Hope as it was now known.

The Venetian traveller, Nicolo de' Conti, somewhere about the year 1444 returned from his wanderings in the East, and every word he uttered confirmed the tales of his countryman, Marco Polo. Pope Eugenius IV. ordered him to put in writings his adventures, and these were copied in many manuscripts. Prince Henry, beyond doubt, had one of these before him. When Ramusio sought a copy he had to go to Portugal to find it, although that particular manuscript was made for King Manoel.

King Alfonso employed the Venetian priest, Fra Mauro, of the Camaldolese monastery of San Miguel de Murano, from 1457 to 1459, in constructing his famous map. Not only on this map is the Cape of Good Hope delineated under the name of *Cavo di Diab*, but at this point on the map is inscribed a legend to the effect that in 1420 an Indian junk was successful in rounding the Cape, coming from India in search of certain islands inhabited separately by men and women.[1]

No one pretends that the delineations on such maps were the result of actual maritime experiences of Venetian and Portuguese mariners. They were merely propounding geographical theories, and, as we have elsewhere said, makers of maps were always in advance of explorers. Herodotus, repeating what the Carthagenians said, tells us that in the time of Xerxes, Sataspes, son of Teaspes of the Achæmenidian family, went on an expedition to circumnavigate Africa. The Cilician philosopher, Crates, considered that Menelaus in his wanderings started from Cadiz and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, passing through the Indian Ocean, thus making the entire circuit of Africa. When, in the time of Sesostris, it was proposed to connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, the possibility of circumnavigating Africa was admitted, but its difficulty justified the creation of an artificial water-way. Aside from speculation,

[1] The story of the Amazons is not confined to one region or one age. Columbus on his first voyage was told by the natives of an island in the neighbourhood called Matinino, inhabited solely by women.

there were traditions that some had navigated along the entire coast of Lybia.

It is not strange if Prince Henry had upon his table a map on which was sketched the southern coast until an opening appeared leading around its extremity to a continuous sea up and across which a vessel could make its way to India. The first engraved map of Ptolemy's Geography shows plainly in practically their true relation the two great lakes which Stanley in our time rediscovered. Some geographers listened to tales of travellers describing such lakes. Other geographers reasoned that the melting snows of the mountains would require great reservoirs to store the waters until a stream should bear them northward to a sea. In any event they were pictured on a map. Hieronymus Monetarius (Munzer or Munzmeister), a doctor of Nuremberg, wrote a letter to King John of Portugal, a grand-nephew of Prince Henry, which letter was dated Nuremberg, July 14, 1493, in which he said: "As you have laudably imitated the Most Serene Infant Dom Henry, your uncle, in sparing neither efforts nor expense to *demonstrate the sphericity of the earth*," etc.

The object of the Nuremberg Munzer was to excite the Portuguese King to navigate westward beyond his Azore Islands, but we quote from it this paragraph to show that the geographers and scientists believed that Prince Henry was trying to circumnavigate Africa to reach a point at the extreme east, on the meridian of Lisbon, and thus to demonstrate in a practical lesson the sphericity of the earth. If Prince Henry could be called before a tribunal of geographers to-day and asked if his object had been simply to go southward along the African coast and open up a communication with some mysterious Prester John, or to turn sharply the corner of the continent when first he found it and sail into seas which, however distant, would be somewhere near the latitude of Portugal, we doubt not he would explain that his object was first of all scientific, knowing that the thing which is scientific is the next day a thing beneficial for man, and that he had hoped to prove the earth to be round, with human beings living and moving on its opposite side. The Portuguese certainly were to find and help any Christians living on the coast of Africa, or even in the interior, but this was only in passing. The East was their goal.

From the middle of the twelfth century there had been a rumour that somewhere in the far East there was a people ruled by a Christian, called Prester, or Presbyter John. In the year 1165, there was said to have been a letter from him circulated among the sovereigns of the western world. In 1177, Pope Alexander III. is said to have written a letter to *Magnificus Rex Indiorum, sacerdotum sanctissimus*. Some located this potentate in Asia and some in Abyssinia.[1] But whoever the true Prester John may have been, whenever he may have lived, or wherever his kingdom may have been located, the Prester John of Marco Polo was a ruler in the East to whom the Tartars were once tributary, and against whom they finally rose in successful revolt. The defeat of this Prester John was on a vast plain called Tanduc, and while the site of this great battle is disputed, the Tanduc of Marco Polo is the Mongolian town of Koukou-Khoton, situated in north latitude 40° 40′ and 111° 15′ east of Greenwich. We think, when Prince Henry commissioned his captains to see this eastern monarch, he must have had in mind the relation made by Marco Polo and by the Venetians, seeing that he had before him the manuscript of Polo's book.

When we turn to documentary evidence, we find that Pope Nicolas V., under date of January 8, 1454, recognises the purpose of Prince Henry to discover a route to the south *and the east, even to the Indies.*

Credens [Princeps Henricus] se maximum in hoc deo præstare obsequium, si ejus opera et industria mare ipsum usque ad Indas qui Christi nomen colere dicuntur navigabile fieret.

While there is perhaps some confusion relative to the Papal Bulls in which territorial concessions were made to Portugal, most of the Portuguese writers refer to instruments issued by Martinus V., who gave to that nation not only such possessions as it might discover from Cape Bojador to the Antarctic Pole, but also from Cape Bojador to the Indies.

It is true that much of the language in the Papal Bulls issued by Nicolas V., and in those said to have been before issued by Martinus V., justified possession of lands by the Portuguese only in the south, but this was simply in line with progressive steps. When that nation turned the southern point and began to sail

[1] Vasco da Gama, in his *Journal*, speaks of the river Nile as coming from the region in which Prester John had his kingdom.

to the eastward, it would be time enough for the Popes to denominate eastern lands in the bond. It suffices that the purpose of Prince Henry of finding a way to the East, to the Indies, was recognised.

In the year 1460, the Portuguese, Diogo Gomez, made a voyage on the caravel *Picanso* (the *Wren*), with two other caravels, to the islands westward of Cape Verde and along the African coast. He had with him an Indian, as we see in the following passage:

> Being desirous of proving this thing,—the good intentions of a certain great African chief,—I sent a certain Indian named Jacob, whom the Prince [Henry] had sent with us, in order that *in the event of our reaching India*, he might be able to hold speech with the natives. . . .

That Gomez did not consider as *Indians* the people he was then visiting, or the people he had anywhere seen upon his voyage along the African coast, may be known from the fact that he constantly refers to them as *negroes*. Nor has there ever been a time when the Portuguese and the world have doubted the ultimate purpose of Prince Henry in making his expeditions. The fact that the Portuguese took possession of the coast of Africa, the fact that Prince Henry commissioned the Venetian, Alvise Cadamosto, and other foreigners to trade along the coast, these things do not prove that his thoughts and purposes went no further than the coast line of Africa. This coast line was of importance to his project. It was a barrier, the end of which he must find to go upon his way, but his way was to the East—to India.

On July 24, 1840, in the reign of Doña Maria II., a monument was erected and dedicated at Sagres to the memory of this great Prince, and its opening lines reveal the belief of the Portuguese as to his purposes when in the flesh:

> Sacred for ever! In this place the Great Prince Henry, son of John I., King of Portugal, having undertaken to discover the previously unknown regions of West Africa, and also *to open a way to the circumnavigation of Africa to the remotest parts of the East*,[1] *established* at his own cost the famous

[1] We have dwelt upon this purpose of Prince Henry and of the Portuguese to reach India by the circumnavigation of Africa, because of the attempt of Mr. Henry Vignaud, in his very able and interesting book, entitled *La Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli*, to prove that the Portuguese were not seeking India, the Land of Spices, and that therefore Toscanelli could not have been the author of a letter which made that

School of Cosmography, the Astronomical Observatory, and the Naval Arsenal.

It would seem that Columbus considered his whole time spent in Portugal as one long endeavour to realise his purpose, and that this period covered some fourteen years. We may say then that Columbus went into Portugal about the year 1471, and that even then he entertained projects for the discovery of the Indies by the western seas. We have no account of Columbus after his leaving Italy and before his going into Portugal. In the *Historie*, Ferdinand quotes from a letter:

" Et in vn'altra lettera, che egli ſcriſſe dalla Spagnuola del meſe di Genaio l'anno M CCCC XCV a' Re Catolici, raccontando loro le varietà, & gli errori, che ſogliono trovarſi nelle dirotte, & pilotaggi, dice. A me auuenne, che'l Rè Reine, il quale DIO ha apreſſo di ſe, mi mandò a Tunigi, perch'io prendeſſi la galeazza Fernandina; &, giunto preſſo all'iſola di San Pietro in Sardigna, mi fu detto, che erano con detta galeazza due naui, & vna Carraca. per la qual coſa ſi turbò la gente, che era meco, & deliberarono di non paſſar più innanzi; ma di tornare indietro a Marſiglia per vn'altra naue, & più gente. & io, vedendo, che non poteua senza alcuna arte sforzar la lor volontà, conceſſi loro quel, che voleuano: &, mutando la punta del buſſolo, feci ſpiegar le vele al vento, eſſendo già ſera; & il di ſeguente all' apparir del Sole ci ritrouammo dentro al capo di Cartagena, credendo tutti per coſa certa, che a Marſiglia n'andaſſimo. Et medeſimamente in vna memoria, o annotazione, ch'ei fece, dimostrando, che tutte le cinque Zone ſono habitabili, & prouandolo con l'iſperientia delle navigationi, dice; Io navigai l'anno M CCCC LXXVII nel meſe di Febraio oltra Tile iſola cento leghe la cui parte Australe è lontana dall' Equinottiale ſettantatre gradi, & non ſeſſantatre, come alcuni vogliono: nè giace dentro della linea, che include l'Occidente di Tolomeo, ma è molto più Occidentale. Et a quest' iſola, che è tanto grande, come l'Inghilterra, vanno gl'Ingleſi con le loro mercatantie ſpecialmente quelli di Bristol. Et al tempo, che io vi andai, non era congelato il mare, quantunque vi foſſero si groſſe maree, che in alcuni luoghi aſcendeua ventiſei braccia, & diſcendeua altretanti in Altezza. E bene il vero, che Tile, quella, di cui Tolomeo fa mentione, giace doue egli dice; & queſta da' moderni è chiamata Friſlanda."

assertion. The Florentine philosopher says: "I have formerly spoken with you concerning a shorter route to the places of spices by ocean navigation than that which you [you Portuguese] are pursuing by Guinea." Mr. Vignaud argues that at the time of this letter, June 25, 1474, the Portuguese had not considered the question of reaching India. If this is true, his inference that the letter of Toscanelli is no more than a fabrication has force. We entertain the belief that the Portuguese, seeing the wealth pouring into Genoa and Venice from the East, from India, knowing the dangers the traders met in penetrating by land to those regions, fearful to attempt a way thither over the Sea of Darkness, sought a passage by slowly but surely creeping along the coast of Africa.

"And in another letter which he wrote from Española in the month of January, 1495, to the Catholic Sovereigns, relating to them the variations and errors which are customarily found in the direction and pilotage [of ships], he says: 'It happened to me, that the King René, whom God has taken to himself, sent me to Tunis to take the Galias Fernandina; and having arrived near the island of St. Peter in Sardinia, I was told that two ships and a carack were with the said galias. The people who were with me were disturbed because of this, and they resolved not to go any farther forward; but to turn backward to Marseilles for another ship and more people. And I, seeing that I could not constrain them without some artifice, conceded to them what they desired: and, changing the needle of the compass, I caused the sails to be unfolded to the wind, it being already evening: and the following day at sunrise, we found ourselves inside the cape of Carthagena, every one believing it certain that we were going to Marseilles.' And likewise in a memorandum or annotation which he made, demonstrating that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by the experience of navigation, he says: 'I navigated in the year 1477, in the month of February, 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is 73 degrees distant from the Equinoctial Line, and not 63° as some make it; it does not lie within the line which includes the Occident of Ptolemy, but is much farther westward. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time that I went there, the sea was not frozen, although there was such a tide there that in some places it rose 26 fathoms and fell as much.' [And it is very true that the Thule of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he says; and this by moderns is called Frislanda]."

This King can be no other than the good King René d'Anjou, Comte de Provence. The expression, *il quale dio ha apresso di se* proves him to have been then sometime dead, and King René died in 1480. But from the year 1461, this King had abandoned territorial contention and had devoted himself to study and to the encouragement of the arts. If the occurrence happened between 1460 and July 17, 1461, the date when the Genoese abandoned the King of Anjou, the youthful Columbus would have been too young to command a vessel and to control a crew in the manner described by him. In the next narration Columbus is more explicit. In the month of February, in the year 1477, the account declares he navigated a hundred leagues beyond Thule to a large island, which voyage we will soon discuss.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE LETTER OF TOSCANELLI IN THE SPANISH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN VERSIONS

It is probable Columbus had been some time in Portugal when his correspondence with the Florentine philosopher, Paolo Toscanelli, took place. A Florentine by the name of Lorenzo Girardi,[1] who had been engaged in mercantile pursuits in Lisbon, was returning to his native city on the Arno, and to him Columbus intrusted a letter addressed to Paolo Toscanelli. Unfortunately we have not this letter nor any letter written to the Florentine savant by Columbus.

Many writers seem to think we are dependent for at least a part of the Toscanelli letters on Ferdinand Columbus, who, in his *Historie*, gives the important preliminary letter written to his father. Toscanelli undoubtedly wrote his letter in Latin, which Ferdinand put into Spanish, and Ulloa in turn translated into Italian. But we have a safer source of information, and one which has not been stirred or contaminated by the uncertainties of another tongue. Bartolomé de las Casas, in speaking of Paolo Toscanelli, writes:

> The said Master Paul having received the letter from Christopher Columbus, replied in a letter written in Latin, incorporating therein the letter he had written to Hernando Martinez, Canon, which letter I saw and had in my hands, it being translated from Latin into Romance [Spanish.]

Las Casas, then, had in his hand, available for incorporation into his *Historia*, not only the Spanish translation of Toscanelli's letters, but the Latin original and the original map made by Toscanelli.[2]

[1] Las Casas calls him Lorenzo Birardo. The *Historie* gives the name Lorenzo Girardi, and this is a well-known Tuscan name.

[2] While the words of Las Casas taken literally may not justify the interpretation that he had held in his hands the original letter, it seems very unlikely that a writer

Farther on Las Casas says:

The marine chart, which he [Toscanelli] sent him, I, who write this history, have in my possession.

This marine chart is a part, an essential part, of the Toscanelli letter. It establishes the authenticity of the correspondence. This is the language of a true historian—careful, exact, given to explanation, fully alive to the importance of original matter and the authority of primitive sources. We reproduce in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," in exact fac-simile, the Latin manuscript of the Toscanelli letter, copied in the hand of Columbus himself on the rear guard-leaf of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum* of Æneas Sylvius, and printed at Venice in the year 1477. The authenticity of this manuscript is attacked. Indeed, it is charged that it is a forged document made by Christopher Columbus, or by his brother Bartholomew, and its consideration might with some propriety be undertaken at once. But we prefer to consider its genuineness in that portion of this Work where it more properly belongs—"The Handwriting of Columbus." We have therefore quoted from Toscanelli's correspondence as we find it in the *Historia* of Las Casas.

The letters written by Columbus to the Florentine savant are not known. That they disclosed a knowledge on the part of Columbus of the situation in which the great geographical question then found itself, and that the solution of the problem proposed by the Genoese adventurer—whom, by the way, Toscanelli seems to regard as a Portuguese—was in harmony with the answer worked out by the philosopher himself, must seem to the reader clear and certain.

The following is the letter as found in the *Historia* of Las Casas:

"A Cristóbal Columbo, Paulo, físico, salud:

" Yo veo el magnifíco y grande tu deseo para haber de pasar adonde nace la especería, y por respuesta de tu carta te invio el traslado de otra carta que ha dias yo escribí á un

" To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

" I see your great and magnificent desire to go where the spices grow, and in reply to your letter I send you the copy of another letter which I wrote a long time ago to a familiar

would have such a declaratory style in speaking of a mere copy or translation. It was an authoritative document he held in his hand, something which enabled him to relate its contents with knowledge and certainty.

amigo y familiar del Serenísimo Rey de Portugal, ántes de las guerras de Castilla, á respuesta de otra que por comision de S. A. me escribió sobre el dicho caso, y te invio otra tal carta de marear, como es la que yo le invié, por la cual serás satisfecho de tus demandas: cuyo treslado es el que se sigue. Mucho placer hobe de saber la privanza y familaridad que tienes con vuestro generosísimo y magnificentísimo Rey, y bien que otras muchas veces tenga dicho del muy breve camino que hay de aquí á las Indias, adonde nace la especiería, por el camino de la mar más corto que aquel que vosotros haceis para Guinea, dícesme que quiere agora S. A. de mí alguna declaracion y á ojo demonstracion, porque se entienda y se pueda tomar el dicho camino; y aunque conozco de mí que se lo puedo monstrar en forma de esfera como está el mundo, determiné por más facil obra y mayor inteligencia monstrar el dicho camino por una carta semejante á aquellas que se hacen para navegar, y ansí la invio á S. M. hecha y debujada de mi mano; en la cual está pintado todo el fin del Poniente, tomando desde Irlanda al Austro hasta el fin de Guinea, con todas las islas que en este camino son, en frente de las cuales derecho por Poniente está pintado el comienzo de las Indias con las islas y los lugares adonde podeis desviar para

friend and servant of the Most Serene King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in reply to another which he wrote me about the said matter by command of his Highness: and I send you another seaman's chart like that which I sent to him, by which your requests will be satisfied; the copy of my letter is as follows:

"'It pleased me greatly to learn of your [1] familiar intercourse with your most generous and most magnificent King, and although many other times I have spoken of the very short route from here to the Indies where spices grow,—shorter by way of the sea than that which you follow to Guinea,—you tell me that his Highness would now like from me some declaration and demonstration by sight, in order that he may understand and be able to take the said route. And although I know from my own knowledge that the world can be shown as it is in the form of a sphere, I have determined for greater facility and greater intelligence to show the said route by a chart similar to those which are made for navigation, and thus I send it to his Highness made and drawn by my hand: in which all the end of the West is shown, from Ireland to the south as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on this route [2]; in front of which

[1] The reader will remember that this letter was written by Toscanelli to Fernam Martins, Canon at Lisbon.

In the Latin manuscript of Columbus the address is given at the beginning of the letter.

[2] Here is a marked departure from the Latin manuscript, which reads:

Cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra & insulæ ex quibus incipiatis iterfacere versus occasum semper: "A map made by my own hands, in which are drawn your shores and islands from which you are always to begin journeying toward the West."

If the reader will turn to the letter as given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*, he will see another proof that the son and the Bishop of Chiapas took their copies from

la línea equinoccial, y por cuanto espacio, es á saber, en cuántas leguas podeis llegar á aquellos lugares fertilísimos y de toda manera de especiería y de joyas y piedras preciosas: y no tengais á maravilla si yo llamo Poniente adonde nace la especieria, porque en comun se dice que nace en Levante, mas quien navegare al Poniente siempre hallará las dichas partidas en Poniente, é quien fuere por tierra en Levante siempre hallará las mismas partidas en Levante. Las rayas derechas que están en luengo en la dicha carta amuestran la distancia que es de Poniente á Levante; las otras que son de través amuestran la distancia que es de Septentrion en Austro. Tambien yo pinté en la dicha carta muchos lugares en las partes de India, adonde se podria ir aconteciendo caso de tormenta ó de vientos contrarios ó cualquier otro caso que no se esperase acaecer, y tambien porque se sepa bien de todas aquellas partidas, de que debeis holgar mucho. Y sabed que en todas aquellas islas no viven ni tractan sino mercaderes, avisándoos que allí hay tan gran cantidad de naos, marineros, mercaderes con mercaderías, como en todo lo otro del mundo, y en especial en un puerto nobilísimo llamado Zaiton, do cargan y descargan cada año 100 naos, grandes de pimienta, allende las otras muchas naos que cargan las otras especierías. Esta patria es populatísima, y en ella hay

straight to the west the commencement of the Indies is shown, and the islands and places where you can deviate towards the equinoctial line, and by how much space, that is to say, in how many leagues you can reach those most fertile places, filled with all kinds of spices and jewels and precious stones: and you must not wonder if I call the place where spices grow, *West*, because it is commonly said that they grow in the *East;* but whoever will navigate to the West will always find the said places in the West, and whoever will go by land to the East will always find the same places in the East. The straight lines which are shown lengthwise on the said chart show the distance from West to East: the others which are across show the distance from North to South. Also I showed in the said chart many places in the regions of India which could be reached, in the event of some tempest or of contrary winds, or any other event which might not be expected to occur, and also in order that all those regions may be easily recognised,—and because of this you should be greatly pleased. And *know* that in all those islands only merchants live and traffic,—informing you that there is as great a quantity of ships, mariners, and merchants with merchandise there as in all the rest of the world, and especially in a most noble port called Zaiton, where every year 100 great

the same Latin original, and that it differed somewhat from the Columbus manuscript.

Litora vestra et insulæ here means *the shores of Portugal and the islands thereof*—Azores and Cape Verde Islands. It cannot mean the shores of Africa discovered by the Portuguese, or the entire territory from Ireland to Guinea, with the multitudinous islands. A westerly course from such a description would be altogether too indefinite. Therefore the Latin text is much more sensible. Besides, that route was not to follow the road to Guinea, even for a little way, but was to begin at once in a westerly direction.

muchas provincias y muchos reinos y ciudades sin cuento debajo del señorio de un Principe que se llama Gran Khan, el cual nombre quiere decir en nuestro romance, Rey de los Reyes, el asiento del cual es lo más del tiempo en la provincia de Catayo. Sus antecesores desearon mucho de haber plática é conversacion con cristianos, y habrá doscientos años que enviaron al Sancto Padre para que enviase muchos sabios é doctores que les enseñasen nuestra fe, mas aquellos que él invió, por impedimento, se volvieron del camino; y tambien al Papa Eugenio vino un embajador que le contaba la grande amistad que ellos tienen con cristianos, é yo hablé mucho con él é de muchas cosas é de las grandezas de los edificios reales, y de la grandeza de los rios en ancho y en largo, cosa maravillosa, é de la muchedumbre de las ciudades que son allá é la orilla dellos, é como solamente en un rio son doscientos ciudades, y hay puentes de piedra mármol muy anchas y muy largas adornadas de muchas columnas de piedra mármol. Esta patria es digna cuanto nunca se haya hallado, é no solamente se puede haber en ella grandísimas ganancias é muchas cosas, mas áun se puede haber oro é plata é piedras preciosas é de todas maneras de especeria, en gran suma, de la cual nunca se trae á estas nuestras partes; y es verdad que hombres sabios y doctos, filósofos y astrólogos, y otros grandes sabios, en todas artes de grande ingenio, gobiernan la magnífica provincia é ordenan las batallas. Y de la ciudad de Lisboa, en derecho por el Poniente, son en la dicha carta 26 espacios, y en cada uno dellos hay 250 millas hasta la

ships are loaded and unloaded with pepper, besides the many other ships which are loaded with the other spices. This country is very populous, and in it there are many provinces and kingdoms and cities without number under the dominion of a Prince who is called the Great Khan, whose name means in our language, King of Kings, and whose residence during most of the time is in the province of Cathay. His ancestors wished very much to have intercourse and speech with the Christians, and about two hundred years ago they sent to the Holy Father, in order that he might send them many wise and learned men to teach them our faith, but those who were sent turned back from the journey because of impediments; and also an ambassador came to the Pope Eugene, who related to him the great friendship which they feel for the Christians, and I spoke much with him of many things; of the grandeur of the royal edifices, and of the great width and length of the rivers, a wonderful thing, and of the multitude of cities there on the banks of the rivers, and how there are two hundred cities on one river alone, and there are very wide and long bridges of marble ornamented with many marble columns. This country is as rich as any which may be found, and not only can great profit be obtained there and many things, but also gold and silver and precious stones and all kinds of spice can be obtained in great abundance, which are never brought to these, our regions; and it is true that wise and learned men, philosophers and astrologers and other men of great intelligence in all arts, govern the

nobilísima y gran ciudad de Quisay, la cual tiene al cerco 100 millas que son 25 leguas, en la cual son 10 puentes de piedra mármol. El nombre de la cual ciudad, en nuestro romance, quiere decir Ciudad del cielo; de la cual se cuentan cosas maravillosas de la grandeza de los artificios y de las rentas [este espacio es cuasi la tercera parte de la esfera], la cual ciudad es, en la provincia de Mango, vecina de la ciudad del Catayo, en la cual está lo más del tiempo el Rey, é de la isla de Antil, la que vosotros llamais de Siete Ciudades, de la cual tenemos noticia. Hasta la nobilísima isla de Cipango hay 10 espacios que son 2500 millas, es á saber, 225 leguas, la cual isla es fertilísima de oro y de perlas y piedras preciosas. Sabed que de oro puro cobijan los templos y las casas reales; así que por no ser conocido el camino están todas estas cosas encubiertas, y á ella se puede ir muy seguramente. Muchas otras cosas se podrian decir, mas como os tenga ya dicho por palabra y sois de buena consideracion, sé que no vos queda por entender, y por tanto no me alargo más, y esto sea por satisfacion de tus demandas cuanto la brevedad

magnificent province and command the battles.[1] And from the city of Lisbon straight toward the West, there are on the said map 26 spaces and in each one of them there are 250 miles, to the most noble and great city of Quisay: this city is 100 miles in circumference, which are 25 leagues, and in it there are ten marble bridges. The name of this city in our language means City of Heaven: wonderful things are told of this city in regard to the magnificence of the workmanship and of the revenues [this space is almost the third part of the sphere].[2] It is in the province of Mango near the city of Cathay, in which the King resides most of the time,—and near the island of Antilia, which you call the *Seven Cities*, and of which we have knowledge. There are ten spaces to the most noble island of Cipango, which are 2500 miles, that is to say 225 leagues,[3] which island is most fertile in gold and pearls and precious stones. Know that the temples and royal houses are covered with pure gold; therefore, because of the route being unknown, all these things are concealed; and they can very surely be reached. Many

[1] In the Latin manuscript in the hand of Columbus the date occurs at this point, and the remainder of the passage is treated as a post-scriptum.

It is worthy of note that both Ferdinand and Las Casas place the date at the end of the entire letter, as if they had made their copies from the same original, and that original *not* the Columbus manuscript.

[2] It is important to notice that Las Casas reports this phrase in the form of parenthesis. It certainly seems like an after-thought suddenly interjected into a story, or as something inserted by another person. Columbus, in inscribing the Latin letter in the *Historia*, writes down his idea of the distance *en passant*, and Las Casas, having all the writings of Columbus before his eyes, includes this as in the original letter, but apparently indicating by his parenthesis that Toscanelli is not to be charged with the phrase.

[3] The reader will notice that the Latin version does not mention the number of miles in these ten spaces, which suggests an interpolation on the part of some copyist. Inasmuch as the Italian of Ferdinand and the Spanish of Las Casas both have these interpolations, it is believed they were taken from a common source. Again there is a manifest error in reducing 2500 miles to 225 leagues. This should be 625 leagues.

del tiempo y mis ocupaciones me han dado lugar; y ansí quedo muy presto á satisfacer y servir á S. A. cuanto mandare muy largamente. Fecha en la ciudad de Florencia á 25 de Junio de 1474 años."

other things could be told, but as I have already told you by word and you are possessed of good intelligence, I know that nothing remains for you to learn, and for that reason I do not write more at length. And this is to satisfy your demands as much as the brevity of the time and my occupations have permitted me; and thus I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness in all that he commands me.'

" Done in the city of Florence June 25, 1474."

Las Casas then says: " Despues desta carta tornó él mismo otra vez á escribir á Cristóbal Colon en la manera siguiente ":

"After this letter he wrote again to Christopher Columbus in the following manner ":

"Á Cristóbal Columbo, Paulo, físico, salud:

" Yo rescibí tus cartas con las cosas que me enviaste, y con ellas rescibí gran merced. Yo veo el tu deseo magnífico y grande á navegar en las partes de Levante por las de Poniente, como por la carta que yo te invio se amuestra, la cual se amostrará mejor en forma de esfera redonda, pláceme mucho sea bien entendida; y que es el dicho viaje no solamente posible, mas que es verdadero y cierto é de honra é ganancia inestimable y de grandisima fama entre todos los cristianos. Mas vos no lo podreis bien conoscer perfectamente, salvo con la experiencia ó con la plática, como yo la he tenido copiosísima, é buena é verdadera informacion de hombres magníficos y de grande saber, que son venidos de las dichas partidas aquí en corte de Roma, y de otros mercaderes que han tractado mucho tiempo en aquellas partes, hombres de mucha

" To Christopher Columbus, Paul, the physician, greeting:

" I received your letters with the things which you sent me, and with them received a great favour. I perceive your magnificent and great desire to navigate in the Eastern regions by those of the West, as shown by the map which I send you, which will be better shown in the form of a round sphere. It pleases me greatly to be well understood: and that the said voyage not only is possible, but that it is true and certain and of inestimable honour and profit, and of very great renown among the Christians. But you cannot well know it perfectly except by experience and conversation, such as I have had in great quantity, and good and true information from distinguished men of great knowledge, who have come from the said regions here to the Court of Rome, and from other merchants who have traded during a long time in those regions, men of

auctoridad. Así que cuando se hará el dicho viaje será á reinos poderosos é ciudades é provincias nobilísimas, riquísimas de todas maneras de cosas en grande abundancia y á nosotros mucho necesarias, ansí como de todas maneras de especiería en gran suma y de joyas en grandísima abundancia. Tambian se irá á los dichos Reyes y Príncipes que están muy ganosos, más que nos, de haber tracto é lengua con cristianos, destas nuestras partes, porque grande parte dellos son cristianos, y tambien por haber lengua y tracto con los hombres sabios y de ingenio de acá, ansí en la religion como en todas las otras ciencias, por la gran fama de los imperios y regimientos que han destas nuestras partes; por las cuales cosas todas y otras muchas que se podrian decir, no me maravillo que tú que eres de grande corazon, y toda la nacion de portugueses, que han seido siempre hombres generosos en todas grandes empresas, te vea con el corazon encendido y gran deseo de poner en obra el dicho viaje."

[Las Casas, vol. i., pp. 92–96.]

great authority. So that when the said voyage is made it will be to powerful kingdoms and most noble cities and provinces, very rich in a great abundance of all kinds of things very necessary to us, as well as in all kinds of spices in great quantity and jewels in great abundance. The voyage will also be made to the said Kings and Princes, who are very desirous — more than we are—to have trade and intercourse with the Christians of these regions, because a great many of them are Christians: and also to have speech and intercourse with the learned and intelligent men here, as much about religion as about all the other sciences, because of the great renown of the empires and governments of these regions, among them. By reason of all which things and many others which could be told, it is not wonderful to me that you,—who have great courage,—and all the Portuguese nation, who have always been generous men in all great undertakings, are inflamed with a desire to undertake the said voyage."

Having given the Spanish copies of the Toscanelli letters, we here reproduce the Latin letter as found in the hand of Columbus, inscribed on the guard-leaf in the *Historia* of Pius II.:

" Copia misa christofaro colonbo per paulum fixicum cum vna carta nauigacionis.[1]

" Copy (of a letter) sent to Christopher Columbus by Paul, the physician, with a map of navigation.

[1] It is not proposed to analyse the Latinity of this letter. The rude orthography and doubtful construction discovered in a few places are only too plain. If it purported to be an exact reproduction of Toscanelli's letter, such an analysis would be pertinent. We cannot believe that the polished Florentine scholar wrote the letter *verbatim et literatim* as we have it here. It may have been that Columbus was inscribing it in his example of the *Historia* of Pius II., from memory, in which case he would have retained the sentiments without the details of the letters in every word, or of the words in every phrase. It may be that the original Toscanelli letter was in the hands of some person who was reading it to Columbus, and that this person was as indifferent in his reading as Columbus was in his orthography. However this may

" Ferdinando martini canonico vlixiponensi Paulus, phisicus, salutem : de tua valitudine de gratia & familiaritate cum rege vestro generosissimo magnificentissimo principe iocundum mihi fuit intelligere.

" Cum tecum allias locutus sum de breuiori via ad loca aromatum per maritimam nauigacionem quam sit ea quam facitis per guineam querit nunc serenissimus rex a me quandam declaricionem ymo potius ad occulum ostensionem vt etiam mediocriter doti illam viam caperent et intelligerent.

" Ego autem quamvis cognoscam posse hoc ostendi per formam spericam vt est mundus tamen determinaui pro faciliori intelligencia ac etiam pro faciliori opere ostendere viam illam per quam carte nauigacionis fiunt illud declarare.

" Paul, the physician, to Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, greeting: It was agreeable to me to learn of your good health and of the favour and intimate friendship with your King, the most generous and illustrious Prince.

" I have at other times spoken with you concerning a shorter way to the lands of Spices, by a maritime voyage, than that which you are making by way of Guinea: now the most gracious King seeks from me some declaration, rather should I say an ocular demonstration, so that those with small learning may understand and take that route.

" But although I know that this may be demonstrated by a spherical form like the World, notwithstanding, I have determined, to facilitate its comprehension and to facilitate the work, to exhibit the route by such a map as the marine charts present.

be, there are one or two conclusions to be deduced from this letter in the form in which we here have it. First, it could not be, as we have already said, a verbatim transcript of the letter as it came from Paolo Toscanelli. While Learning had been sitting in shadow, while the African Latinity of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine differed from that of the Augustan poets, and while this again had been diluted into ecclesiastical usages, there were some writers in the fifteenth century who produced *scripta dulcissima*. From what we read of Toscanelli we imagine he was one of these purists. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he wrote the letter as we have it. Again, Toscanelli himself may have dictated the letter to a careless writer. He says he made the map with his own hands,—*cartam manibus meis factam*,—but he may have employed an amanuensis in writing the letter. After the errors in orthography and grammatical construction are pointed out, there still remains, in our poor judgment, a strong, spirited, intelligible epistle, and we say with some degree of confidence that it is too good a letter to have been fabricated by a person who could make such egregious mistakes in spelling or writing.

The reader must compare this transliteration with the fac-simile of the letter as reproduced in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," and thus he may be able to supply a better and improved reading. The utmost care should be exercised in the consideration of inaccuracies. For instance, the reader will be likely to reject the use of *copia* with its modern meaning, yet if he will examine the *Ex quo Vocabularii*, printed at Eltville by Jean Veldener in 1477,—and in the very characters used by Gutenberg himself,—he will find this definition:

Copia est exempla. eyn abschrift. oder copey.

" Mito ergo sue Maiestati cartam manibus meis factam in qua designantur litora vestra et insule ex quibus incipiatis iterfacere versus occasum senper & loca ad que debeatis peruenire & quantum a polo vel a linea equinotiali debeatis declinare & per quantum spacium scilicet per quot miliaria debeatis peruenire ad loca fertilissima omnium aromatum & gemarum. & non miremini si voco occidentales partes vbi sunt aromata cum communiter dicantur orientales quia nauigantibus ad occidentem senper ille partes inueniuntur per subterraneas nauigaciones. Si enim per terram et per superiora itinera add orientem senper reperirentur.

" Therefore I send to his Majesty a map made by my own hands on which are drawn your coasts and islands from which you should begin to make the journey ever toward the West and the places which you should reach, and how far from the Pole or from the equinoctial line you ought to diverge, and, of course, through how great a distance and through how many miles you ought to arrive at places most rich in every kind of spices and precious stones. And do not wonder if I call those regions the West where are the spices, which are commonly called the East, because to those sailing on expeditions to the lower hemisphere always following the West these regions will be found, and so to those going by land on expeditions through the upper hemisphere always toward the East, there they also will be discovered.

"linee ergo recte in longitudine carte signate ostendunt distanciam ab orientem versus occidens que autem transuerse sunt ostendunt spacia a meridie versus septentrionem.

" And so the straight lines in the longitude of the drawn map exhibit the distance from the East toward the West, while the transverse lines exhibit the space from the south toward the north.

"notaui autem in carta diuersa loca ad que peruenire potestis pro maiori noticia nauigancium scilicet ventis vel casu aliquo alibi quam existimarent venirent partin autem vt ostendant incolis ipsos habere noticiam aliquam patrie illius quod debebit esse iocundum satis non considant autem in insulis nisi mercatores.

" I have also noticed on the map, for the better information of the expedition, the various places at which you may possibly arrive, if by reason of the winds or some other cause they should come elsewhere than where they calculated, and partly that they may show the inhabitants that they know something of their country, a thing which ought to be very pleasant. Merchants alone settle in those islands.

"aserit ibi enim tanta copia nauigancium est cum mercimoniis vt in toto reliquo orbe non sint sicuti in vno portu nobilisimo vocato zaiton.

" It is said that so great is the number of navigators with their merchandise, that in all the rest of the world there are not so many as

aserunt enim centum naues piperis magne in eo portu singulis annis deferri, sine aliis nauibus portantibus allia aromata.

"patria illa est populatisima ditisima multitudine prouinciarum & regnorum & ciuitatum sine numero. sub vno principe qui dicitur magnus kan quod nomen significat in latino rex regum. cuius sedes & residencia est vt plurimum in prouincia katay.

"antiqui svi desiderabant consorcium christianorum iam sunt. 200. anni miscerunt ad papam & postulabant plurimos dotos in fide vt illuminarentur. sed qui missi sunt inpediti in itinere redierunt.

"etiam tempore Eugenii venit vnus ad eugenium qui de beniuolentia magna erga christianos afirmabat & ego secum longo sermone locutus sum de multis, de magnitudine edificiorum regalium & de magnitudine fluuium in latitudine & longitudine mirabili et de multitudine ciuitatum in ripis fluuium vt in vno flumine. 200. e. ciuitates sint constitute et pontes marmorei magne latitudinis & longitudinis vndique colonpnis ornati.

"hec patria digna est vt per latinos queratur non solum quia lucra ingencia ex ea capi posunt auri et argenti gemarum omnis generis & aromatum que nunquam ad nos deferuntur. Verum propter doctos viros philosofos & astrologos peritos & quibus ingeniis & artibus ita potens & magnifica prouincia gubernentur ac etiam bella conducant.

in the most magnificent harbour called Zaiton. For they declare that a hundred ships, heavy with pepper, unload in this harbour each year, besides other ships loaded with different spices.

"That country is most populous, most rich in the multitude of provinces, of kingdoms and cities without number: under a Prince who is called the Great Khan, which name signifies in Latin, King of Kings: whose Court or Palace is for the most part in the province of Cathay.

"His predecessors desired intercourse with the Christians: it is 200 years since they sent to the Pope and sought many learned in the faith that they might be instructed; but those who were sent, hindered in the journey, returned.

"Also in the time of Eugene one came to Eugene who announced great good-will toward the Christians: and I spoke in long converse with him concerning many things, concerning the magnitude of the royal palaces and the great size of the rivers in wonderful breadth and in length, and concerning the number of cities on the banks of the rivers, so that on one river there are situated 200 cities and marble bridges of great width and length, and on all sides ornamented with columns.

"This country is worth seeking by the Latins, not only because great profits may be had from it, of gold and silver and precious stones of all kinds, and of spices which are not found among us: but as well on account of the learned men, philosophers, and skilled astrologers, and from whom we may learn with what manners and arts

"Hec pro aliquantula satisfa-[cione] ad tuam peticionem quantum breuitas temporis dedit & occupaciones mee concepscerunt paratus in futurum regie maiestati quantum volet latius satisfacere. Data florentie. 25. iunii. 1474.

"A ciuitate vlixiponis per occidentem indirecto sunt .26. spacia in carta signita quorum quolibet habet miliaria .250. vsque ad nobilisim[am] & maximam ciuitatem quinsay circuit enim centum miliaria & habet pontes decem & nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi & multa miranda de ea narrantur de multitudine artificium & de reditibus. hoc spacium est fere tercia pars tocius spere. que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi scilicet vicina prouincia katay in qua residencia terre regia est.

"Sed ab insula antilia vobis nota ad insulam nobilisimam çippangu sunt decem spacia est enim illa insula fertilissima aur[o] margaritis & gemmis, & auro solido cooperiunt tenpla domos regias ita quod per ygnota itinera non magn[a] maris spacia transeundum. multa fortasse essent aperitus declaranda sed diligens considerator per hec poteri[t] ex se ipso reliqua prospicere. vale dilectisime."

so great and magnificent provinces are governed, as well as how wars are conducted.

"This much as some response to your request, as much as the brevity of the time admits and occupations permit me, ready for the future to satisfy more fully as much as his Majesty may wish.

"Done at Florence, June 25, 1474.

"From the city of Lisbon by the West in a direct line are drawn on the map 26 spaces, each of which has 250 miles as far as the most magnificent and mighty city of Quinsay. For the circuit is one hundred miles, and it has ten bridges, and the name of this city means *Cita del Cielo*—City of Heaven,—and many wonderful things are told of it concerning the multitude of its artifices and concerning its resources. This space is almost the third part of the whole sphere, which city is in the province of Mangi, or in the neighbourhood of the province of Cathay, in which land is the royal residence.

"But from the Island of Antilla known to you, to the most noble Island of Cipango are ten spaces: for this island is most rich in gold, pearls, and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold: so that the spaces to be traversed on the sea by unknown journeys are not great. Perhaps many things might have been disclosed more clearly, but the diligent student of this will be enabled to discover the rest from his own resources. Fare thee well, most cherished friend."

The following is the Italian text of the Toscanelli letter as found in Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie*, printed at Venice in 1571, chapter viii., folio 16:

"A Fernando Martinez Canonico de Lisbona Paolo Fisico salute:

"Molto mi piacque intendere la domestichezza, che tu hai col tuo Sereniſſimo, & Magnificentiſs. Ré. &, quantunque molte altre volte io habbia ragionato del breuiſſimo camino, che è di quà all' Indie, dove naſcono le ſpecierie, per la via del mare, il quale io tengo piu breue di quel, che voi fate per Guinea, tu mi dici, che ſua Altezza vorebbe hora da me alcuna dichiaratione, o dimostratione, accioche s'intenda, & ſi poſſa prendere detto camino. La onde, come ch' io ſappia di poter ciò mostrarle con la ſfera in mano, & farle veder, come ſta il mondo; nondimeno ho deliberato per piu facilità, & per maggiore intelligenza dimostrar detto camino per vna carta, ſimile a quelle, che ſi fanno per nauigare. & coſi la mando a ſua Maestà, fa ta, & diſegnata di mia mano: nella quale è dipinto tutto il fine del Ponente, pigliando da Irlanda all' Austro inſino al fin di Guinea con tutte le Iſole, che in tutto questo camino giacciono; per fronte alle quali dritto per Ponente giace dipinto il principio dell' Indie con le Iſole, & luoghi, dove potete andare: & per quanto dal Polo Artico vi potete diſcoſtare per la linea Equinottiale, & per quanto ſpatio; cioè in quante leghe potete giungere a quei luoghi fertiliſſimi d'ogni sorte di ſpecieria, & di gemme, & pietre pretioſe. Et non habbiate a marauiglia, ſe io chiamo Ponente il paeſe, ove naſce la ſpecieria, la qual communemente diceſi che naſce in Levante: percioche coloro, che nauigheranno al Ponente, ſempre troveranno detti luoghi in Ponente; et quelli, che

"To Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, Paul, the physician, greeting:

"It pleases me greatly to learn of your familiarity with your Most Serene and Most Magnificent King. And although many other times I have discoursed of the very short route from here to the Indies, where spices grow, by way of the sea, which I hold to be shorter than that which you follow to Guinea, you tell me that his Highness would now like from me some explanation or demonstration in order that he may understand and that he may be able to take the said route. Therefore, although I know that the world, as it is, could be shown to him with the sphere in hand, and he could be made to see it; nevertheless for greater facility and for greater intelligibility, I have decided to show the said route by a map similar to those which are made for navigation, and thus I send it to his Majesty, made and designed by my hand: on which all the end of the West is shown, from Ireland to the South as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on all this route: in front of which, straight to the West, the commencement of the Indies is shown with the islands and places where you can go: and how much you can turn away from the Arctic Pole for the Equinoctial Line, and by how much space: that is to say in how many leagues you can gain those most fertile places, filled with all kinds of spices and gems and precious stones. And you must not wonder if I call the place where spices grow, *West*, which are commonly said to grow in the *East:* Since those who navigate

anderanno per terra al Leuante, ſempre troueranno detti luoghi in Leuante. Le linee dritte, che giacciono al lungo in detta carta, dimostrano la diſtanza, che è dal Ponente al Leuante: le altre, che sono per obliquo, dimostrano la distanza, che è dalla Tramontana al Mezogiorno. Ancora io dipinſi in detta carta molti luoghi nelle parti dell' India, doue ſi potrebbe andare, auuenendo alcun caſo di fortuna, o di venti contrarii, o qualunque altro caſo, che non si aspettaſſe, che doueſſe auuenire. Et appreſſo, per darui piena informatione di tutti quei luoghi, i quali deſiderate molto conoſcere, ſappiate, che in tutte quelle iſole non habitano, ne pratticano altri, che mercatanti; auuertendoui, quiui eſſere coſi gran quantità di naui, e di marinari con mercatantie, come in ogni altra parte del mondo, ſpecialmente in vn porto nobiliſſimo, chiamato Zaiton, doue caricano, & diſcaricano ogni anno cento naui groſſe di pepe, oltre alle molte altre naui, che caricano altre ſpecierie. Questo paeſe è populatiſſimo, & ſono molte prouincie, & molti regni, & città ſenza numero ſotto il dominio di vn Principe chiamato il Gran Cane, il qual nome vuol dire Re de' Re, la reſidenza del quale la maggior parte del tempo è nella prouincia del Cataio. I suoi anteceſſori deſiderarono molto hauer prattica, & amicitia con Christiani, & già dugento anni mandarono Ambaſciatori al ſommo Pontefice, supplicandolo, che gli mandaſſe molti ſauii, & dottori, che gl' inſegnaſſero la nostra fede. Ma per gl' impedimenti, c' hebbero detti Ambaſciatori, tornarono a dietro ſenza arriuare a Roma. Et ancora a Papa Eugenio

to the West always find the said places in the West; and those who go by land to the East will always find the said places in the East. The straight lines which are shown lengthwise of the said chart, show the distance from West to East. The other lines, which are oblique, show the distance from North to South. I also showed on the said route many places in the regions of India, which could be reached in the event of a tempest, or of contrary winds, or any other event which might not be expected to occur. And then, in order to give you full information of all these places, which you greatly desire to obtain, *know* that in all those islands only merchants live and traffic, informing you that there is as large a quantity of ships there and of mariners with merchandise as in all other parts of the world, especially in a most noble port called Zaiton, where every year 100 great ships are loaded and unloaded with pepper, besides the many other ships which are loaded with other spices. This country is most populous and there are many provinces and many kingdoms and cities without number under the dominion of a Prince called the Great Khan, whose name means King of Kings, and whose residence during the greater part of the time is in the province of Cathay. His predecessors greatly desired to have intercourse and friendship with Christians and about two hundred years ago they sent ambassadors to the Supreme Pontiff, begging him to send them many wise and learned men to teach them our faith. But because of the impediments which the said ambassadors met with, they turned back

IIII. venne vno Ambaſciatore, il quale gli raccontò la grande amicitia, che quei Principi, & i loro popoli hanno co' Christiani: & io parlai lungamente con lui di molte coſe, & delle grandezze delle fabriche regali, & della groſſezza de' fiumi in larghezza, & in lunghezza. & ei mi diſſe molte coſe marauigliose della moltitudine delle città, & luoghi, che son fondati nelle riue loro: & che ſolamente in vn fiume ſi trouano dugento città edificate con ponti di pietre di marmo, molto larghi, & lunghi adornati di molte colonne. Questo paeſe è degno tanto, quanto ogni altro, che ſi habbia trouato; & non solamente vi ſi può trouar grandiſſimo guadagno, & molte coſe ricche; ma ancora oro, & argento, & pietre pretioſe, & di ogni ſorte di ſpecieria in grande quantità, delle quale mai non si porta in queste nostre parti. Et è il vero, che molti huomini dotti, Filosofi, & Astrologi, & altri grandi ſauii in tutte le arti, & di grande ingegno gouernano quella gran prouincia, & ordinano le battaglie. Dalla città di Lisbona per dritto verſo Ponente ſono in detta carta ventiſei ſpatii, ciaſcun de' quali contien dugento, & cinquanta miglia, fino alla nobiliſſima, & gran città di Quiſai, la quale gira cento miglia, che ſono trentacinque leghe; oue ſono dieci ponti di pietra di marmoro. Il nome di queſta città ſignifica Città del cielo, della qual ſi narrano coſe marauigliose intorno alla grandezza de gl' ingegni, & fabriche, & rendite. Questo ſpatio è quaſi la terza parte della sfera. Giace questa città nella prouincia di Mango, vicina alla prouincia del Cataio, nella quale ſta la maggior parte del tempo il Re. Et

without arriving at Rome. And also an ambassador came to Pope Eugene IIII. who told him of the great friendship which those Princes and their people felt for the Christians: and I spoke with him at length of many things, and of the grandeur of the royal edifices and of the great length and breadth of the rivers. And he told me many marvellous things of the multitude of the cities and places which are situated on the banks of the rivers: and that upon one river alone, 200 cities are situated with marble bridges very wide and long and adorned with many columns. This country is as rich as any other that can be found: and not only can very great profit be obtained there and many rich things: but also gold and silver and precious stones, and all sorts of spices in great quantity which are never brought to these, our regions. And it is true that many learned men, philosophers and astrologers and other great men, wise in all the arts and very intelligent, govern that great province and command the battles. From the city of Lisbon straight toward the West there are on the said chart 26 spaces, each one of which contains 250 miles, as far as the most noble and great city of Quinsay, which is 100 miles around, which are 35 leagues: where there are ten marble bridges. The name of this city signifies City of Heaven, of which many marvellous things are told in regard to the great genius of the inhabitants and the size of the buildings and the great revenues. This space is almost the third part of the sphere. This city lies in the province of Mango, near the province of

dall' Iſola di Antilia, che voi chiamate di Sette città, della quale hauete notitia, fino alla nobiliſſima iſola di Cipango sono dieci ſpatii, che fanno due mila & cinquecento miglia, cioè dugento, & venticinque leghe: la quale Iſola è fertiliſſima d'oro, di perle, & di pietre pretiose. Et ſappiate, che con piastre d'oro fino coprono i tempii, & le caſe regali. Di modo che, per non eſſer conoſciuto il camino, tutte queste coſe si ritrouano naſcoste, & coperte: & ad eſſa si può andar ſicuramente. Molte altre coſe ſi potrebbono dire; ma, come io vi ho già detto à bocca, & voi ſete prudente, & di buon giudicio, mi rendo certo, che non vi reſta coſa alcuna da intendere: & però non ſarò piu lungo. Et questo ſia per ſodisfattione delle vostre richieste, quanto la breuità del tempo, & le mie occupationi mi hanno conceſſo. Et così io resto prontiſſimo à ſodisfare, & ſeruir ſua altezza compiutamente in tutto quello, che mi commanderà. Da Fiorenza, a' XXV Giugno, dell' anno MCCCCLXXIIII."

Cathay in which the King resides the greater part of the time. And from the Island of Antilia which you call *Seven Cities*, of which you have information, as far as the most noble Island of Cipango there are ten spaces which make 2500 miles, that is to say 225 leagues; which island is most fertile in gold, in pearls and in precious stones. And learn that they cover the temples and royal houses with plates of gold. Thus, because the way is not known, all these things are hidden and covered. And one can certainly go to these places. Many other things could be told you; but as I have already told you by mouth, and you are prudent and possessed of good judgment, it renders me certain that nothing remains for you to learn: and therefore, I do not write more at length. And this is to satisfy your requests as much as the brevity of the time and my occupations have permitted. And thus I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness fully, in all that he commands me.

" From Florence, June 25, 1474."

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE IMPORT OF THE LETTER

THE reader will observe that while the letter of Toscanelli to Martins is dated at Florence, June 25, 1474, there is no date to the two letters written Columbus. But Toscanelli says that one of these letters is a copy of another letter:

Que ha dias yo escribí á un amigo y familiar del Serenisimo Rey de Portugal, antes de las guerras de Castilla: "Which a long time ago I wrote to a friend and familiar servant of the Most Serene King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile."

The idiomatic phrase, *ha dias*, has been made to read exactly the opposite from its true sense and interpreted to mean *a few days ago*. This phrase, in the Italian of Ulloa, which he translated from the Spanish of Ferdinand Columbus, reads as follows:

"Che alquanti giorni fa io scrissi ad un mio amico, domestico del serenissimo re di Portogallo, avanti le guerre di Castiglia,"

the sense being the same, including the idiomatic expression, *alquanti giorni fa*, "many days gone, a long time ago." In the wretched French translation of 1681—the second edition of this work to appear in any language—we read this passage:

"—*Que je fis* ces jours passez à un de mes amis qui est un Roy de Portugal"—

again preserving the idiomatic sense of a long period back and not "the last few days." There is no allusion to a war, or wars, with Castile in the French version. Some writers have been constrained to remove the comma in the Spanish version after *Rey de Portugal*, so that the sense would be that this friend of

Toscanelli held an official and household post *before* the wars of Castile.[1] We read this passage as saying that Toscanelli had already written to his friend Martins *before* the wars of Castile, which would carry with it the further meaning that his present letter to Christopher Columbus was composed and sent *since* the wars of Castile. We never characterise an international struggle between two people as the *war* or *the wars* until the conflict is ended. A disastrous conclusion to one side or the other might happen while a letter was *in transitu* between two correspondents. In that case the descriptive term might read *before the victorious conflict* or *before the sad defeat.* There were many internecine contests in Castile connected with the deposition of King Henry IV. in 1465[2] and the death of that Prince on December 11, 1474. But why should Toscanelli, writing to a correspondent in Portugal and believing that correspondent, as his letter plainly indicates, to be a Portuguese, refer to wars in which Portugal and the Portuguese had no part or interest? It seems to us that he is referring to a war in which Portugal and Castile were opposing forces, and such a war there was, following soon upon the death of Henry IV. of Castile, and continuing with more or less activity until a peace was signed at Alcantara, September 24, 1479. We may then assume that Columbus wrote by the hand of Lorenzo Girardi a letter to Paolo Toscanelli, and that the latter wrote a letter in reply a short time subsequent to September, 1479. This interpretation of the date would fall in with the entry in the *Historia* of Pius II., which we know was made previous to "*this era of 1481*," to quote a later entry in the same book, and occurring some six pages farther on in the book.

To reiterate the sources from which we draw our information

[1] The learned Jesuit, Abbé Ximénès, found the passage illuminated by this editing of his fellow Florentine's writing, and a distinguished American historian many years afterward suggested the same reading. Humboldt seems to have considered it necessary to adopt the reading of Abbé Ximénès.

[2] It was an act played by the King and his barons.

The nobility met in Old Castile, at Avila on the Adaja, some three and fifty miles north-west from the present capital of Madrid. Outside of the walls they erected a throne on which sat a mock figure of a king, clothed in royal robes, a sceptre in his hand and a sword by his side. If one makes one's own king, it is not so difficult to tear him from his throne and to set up another, and this is what the nobles proceeded to do. Don Alfonso, the brother of Henry IV., was proclaimed King in his stead, and, until the death of his brother in 1474, he was obliged to contest his throne.

of the Toscanelli letter or letters, we say there were six examples of this important letter:

First. The original holograph letter sent by Toscanelli to the Canon Martins, in reality for the benefit of King Alfonso, his master, and dated at Florence, June 25, 1474.

Second. The duplicate of the letter retained by Toscanelli, from which he was enabled to make a copy.

Third. The holograph copy in Latin which Toscanelli transmitted directly to Columbus with a short preamble, the date of such transmission being unknown.

Fourth. The Spanish translation of this copy which Las Casas had in his own hands. This translation is found in the *Historia*, which, as the reader knows, remained in manuscript from the time of Las Casas until the year 1875.

Fifth. The Italian translation made by Ulloa from a Spanish version incorporated by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie.*

Sixth. The Latin copy inscribed by Columbus on a guard-folio of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum* of Pius II., printed at Venice in the year 1477.

Of these six copies the first three are lost. The sixth copy, while in the proper hand of Columbus, contains no word of the direct correspondence between him and Toscanelli. The fifth copy is a version in Italian, translated not by Ferdinand Columbus, but by another hand from the Spanish version prepared by Ferdinand for his book, and which appears to have been the same, or practically the same. But the preference must be given the Spanish version of Las Casas when we proceed to consider the entire correspondence, or such portions as have come down to us.

It is evident that Las Casas and Ferdinand did not make their copies from the Latin transcript in the book of Pius II. The final portion of the last is in the form of a post-scriptum, with the date and place of writing inserted before the post-scriptum. In both the Spanish and Italian versions the date and place of writing occur at the end. In the Latin transcript, Toscanelli says: "I therefore send to his Majesty a chart made by my own hands in which are drawn your shores and islands from which you are always to begin journeying toward the west." In the Spanish and Italian versions the passage reads: "I send it [chart] to his Highness made and drawn by my hand in which

all the end of the west is shown, from Ireland to the south as far as the end of Guinea, with all the islands which lie on that route." Manifestly these two versions, the Spanish and the Italian on the one hand and the Latin on the other, do not propose the same point of departure. The shores and islands of the Portuguese King are not the Canaries. Columbus is advised in the Latin version to direct his westward steps from where Toscanelli had already advised the King of Portugal to direct any expedition he might send out, due west from Portugal or from its islands. In the Spanish version Columbus is given the entire western boundary from the Irish Channel to the equator, from which he may depart on his westward journey. The last part of the Latin version may have been addressed to Columbus with as much propriety as to Martins. It seems to us that the map which Toscanelli said he sent the King, and a copy of which he also sent Columbus, would be much more apt to have had delineated on it a goodly reach of Europe's coast. On the other hand, it seems likely the directions for sailing to the westward would be given with Lisbon or the Portuguese island of Madeira for a point of departure. It was a definite point. It is true that the phrase, *litora vestra et insulæ*, might be read to include Portuguese acquisitions along Guinea, but this direction would not be as creditable to the intelligence of Toscanelli, nor in accordance with his geographical knowledge, by reason of the fact that the territories of the Great Khan lay considerably to the northward and not on the equator. Then, too, the great island possessions of Portugal in the fifteenth century far to the south had not yet been discovered. Behaim, on his great globe, inscribes the *Ilhas do Principe* and *S. Thomé* as discovered by the ships of the King of Portugal in 1484. The date of their discovery is probably earlier than 1484, but perhaps not previous to the date of Toscanelli's letter. Whoever translated the Latin letter into Spanish evidently paused to regard the map drawn by Toscanelli, and observing the great extent of coast line from Ireland on the north to somewhere near the equator on the south, concluded he would clear the matter by changing the phraseology of the Florentine philosopher.

We believe the source of the Spanish and Italian versions was the same. It is a matter of positive assurance that Las Casas had all the writings of Ferdinand Columbus relating to

his father before him when he composed and compiled the *Historia*. As the reader knows from our many quotations, Las Casas wrote notes or prepared portions of his work while still upon the island of Española. We must bear in mind that under date of January 13, 1493, in his copy of Columbus's *Journal*, Las Casas says fifty years had passed since those occurrences to the moment when he was then engaged in writing his work, the *Historia*, in which he was incorporating the *Journal*. This would fix the date of his writing as about 1542. It was probably after the death of Ferdinand Columbus that Las Casas came into possession of the former's manuscripts, as well as of the *Journal* and papers of the Admiral. A careful review of the Italian *Historie* and the correspondence of chapters in the *Historia* of Las Casas will disclose that certainly in the order of arrangement the latter followed Ferdinand. The very manner in which he refers to the writers and philosophers who influenced the Discoverer, his starting with Aristotle, and leading methodically and almost chronologically to Toscanelli, suggests the succession adopted by Ferdinand.

The fact that Toscanelli corresponded with Columbus depends not entirely on the evidence we have so far produced. Uzielli published a letter written by the Duke of Ferrara, under date of June 26, 1494, to Manfredo [1] Manfredi, Ambassador at the Court of Florence, in which the Duke says that Toscanelli "made known when he was living, some islands found in Spain, which appear to be the same ones now rediscovered."

[1] G. Uzielli, *Bollettino Della Societa Geografica Italiana*, 1889, page 866.

"*Ad dominicum Manfredum.*

"MESSER MANFREDO,—Intendendo nuy che il quondam mastro Paulo del Pozo à Thoscanella, medico, fece nota, quando viveva, de alcune insule trovate in Spagna, che pare siano quelle medesime che al presente sono state ritrovate per advisi, che se hanno de quelle bande, siamo venuti in desiderio de vedere dicte note, se lo è possibile. et però volemo che troviati incontinente uno mastro Ludovico, nepote de epso quondam mastro Paulo, al quale pare che rimanesseno li libri suoi in bona parte et maxime questi, et che lo pregiati strectamente per nostra parte che l'voglia essere contento de darvi nota a punctino de tuto quello che'l se trova havere apresso lui de queste insule, perchè ne receveremo piacere assai et ge ne restaremo obligati; et havuta che la haverite ce la mandereti incontinente. ma usàti diligentia per havere bene ogni cosa a compimento de quello se ha, sicome desideramo.

"FERRARIE. 26. iunii. 1494."

"*To Master Manfredo.*

"MESSER MANFREDO,—Understanding that the late Master Paolo dal Pozo à Thoscanella, physician, made a note, while living, about some islands in Spain, which appear to be the same as those now re-discovered, according to intelligences which we have received about those regions, we have become desirous of seeing the said notes if it is possible, and we also wish you to find immediately a certain Ludovico, nephew of the late Master Paolo, to whom it appears he left his books in great part, and we desire that you pray him particularly in our behalf to be so kind as to give you the exact

What, then, is the true importance of the Toscanelli correspondence? It is evident from his first letter that sometime previous to the year 1474, long enough for the matter to be formulated and for descriptive charts to be carefully designed, Paolo Toscanelli had disclosed a means of reaching the land of spices by sailing out into the Atlantic Ocean in a direct westward course from Lisbon. But so had announced Pierre d'Ailly and Roger Bacon and Aristotle. The latter did not say from Lisbon the westward flight should be taken, but he said there was a very little ocean space between the coast of Spain and the beginning of India.

Paolo Toscanelli used Lisbon and Quinsay as the termini of his road. Aristotle said generally the road might be started on the Spanish shore, but the vessel would land on the eastern coast of India. Since the time of Aristotle there had been many travellers, and their tales were known to the Florentine philosopher. In reading his letters one is mindful of the ingenuity with which he dwells on two inviting prospects, the presence in Cathay and the acquisition by Europeans of gold, silver, jewels, and spices on the one hand, and the prospect of doing God a service by enlightening the Great Khan and his subjects. If Toscanelli had composed his letter to Martins with the ultimate purpose of having it fall into the hands of Columbus, he could not have constructed it more skilfully. It was just an expres-

note of all he may have in his possession regarding these islands, as we will be greatly pleased with such information and will be obliged to him for it. And having received this information, we desire you to send it to us at once: but use diligence to the end that all may be done exactly as we desire.

"FERRARA, June 26, 1494.

Raccolta, Part III., vol. i., p. 145.

Manfredo Manfredi was destined in 1489 to succeed Aldobrandino Guidoni as Ambassador to the Republic of Florence. The new Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I. d'Este, recalled him in 1505 to send him to the Court of France. In 1509, he was charged with the mission of going to meet the King, Louis XII., who went down into Italy.

The archives have been searched in vain for the reply of Manfredi; nor was any information found in regard to the researches made among the charts left by Toscanelli.

The *Sfera* of Giovanni Sacrabosco, translated by Piervincentio Dante dei Rinaldi, was published at Florence by the Giunti press in 1571. It did not issue from the press until November 1, 1571, and therefore the information could easily have been obtained from the *Historie*, which was published at Venice in the April previous, which enabled Piervicentio to say in a note to chapter vii. of Book II. (completed in the year 1498) that he had "seen a copy of letters of the said Columbus written from Seville to the very learned and skilful mathematician, Paolo Toscanelli, which he has sent to me here by means of Messer Cornelia Randoli."

As Toscanelli died in 1482, we may consider the above passage as interpolated and therefore valueless.

sion of thoughts which had been in the brain of the Genoese, both in relation to its geographical and scientific details and to the hope opened him by a fellow thinker of accomplishing what many Popes and many wise men had failed to accomplish, the conversion to Christianity of the East.

It is not necessary to withhold from Toscanelli a share in the discovery of the New World. It is not necessary to say that it was only on reading his letters and beholding his charts that Columbus was fired with a desire to navigate westward. The truth, we believe, is that there already existed in the mind of Columbus as much knowledge concerning the ocean-seas and the possibility of reaching the Indies by them as there was in the mind of Toscanelli, but the latter was an acknowledged scientific authority, and his sure faith in the project increased and solidified that of his more practical correspondent.

There is one feature of the correspondence with Toscanelli we desire to speak of now, that the reader may carry its impression with him as he follows the third and fourth voyages of Columbus. This is the extravagant but exciting description of the lands, cities, castles, and riches of the East. Columbus could make no mistake when once he touched that fascinating and enchanted land. These populous countries were the brilliant objects to catch his eye. Royal palaces, marble bridges, embellished columns, were common objects not only on the mainlands, but on the islands. Let us remember by what signs Columbus was to recognise the country of the Great Khan, and then let us in due time ask ourselves if this great navigator died in the belief that what he had found was really Cathay or even its remotest outskirts.

We may conclude that whatever theories lay in the mind of the Florentine respecting the Indies, Columbus himself had well-defined views on the subject which he had communicated to Toscanelli, and which were in line with those the latter had formulated. Hence Columbus did not owe the suggestion of this proposed navigation entirely to the distinguished Florentine. Two minds, one by the Arno and the other by the Tagus, simultaneously were considering the same ideas and pressing them into practicable shape.

Again, it shows that the route to the Indies afterwards followed by Columbus was *not* marked upon the chart by

Toscanelli. Toscanelli drew a map with a sharp line, annotating with it the remark, "From the city of Lisbon"—where Columbus then was—"straight toward the west, there are on the said map, 26 spaces, and in each of them are 250 miles, to the most noble and great city of Quisay—Quinsay." This is the route marked out by Toscanelli, the philosopher. It was a straight course directly westward after coming out of the Tagus. But what route was taken by Columbus the sailor? He first made his way to the southward, and on each of his voyages his expedition started from the Canaries.[1]

The route suggested by the Florentine lay in a *direct westerly course from Lisbon*,—the route followed by the Genoese lay in ten degrees of latitude farther south.[2]

[1] The reader will remember that on his third voyage, Columbus, with six ships, went straight to the Canaries, whence he directed three of his ships to Española. He himself went from the Canaries to the Cape Verde Islands, and afterward took a southerly parallel.

[2] The island of Antilia, which Toscanelli says was known to Martins,—he does not tell Columbus that the latter knew it,—was an imaginary island without location, and whose shores were never seen of men. When, therefore, the Florentine philosopher undertook to count his spaces westward from that island, he was indulging in a flight of fancy not creditable to his reputation. With something of the same indulgence, some writers have placed the island of Antilia in the same parallel as the Canaries, which is calculated to lead the reader to suppose that it was placed there by Toscanelli, and that Columbus was simply following a track marked out by a master when he turned his ship's head westward from Gomera.

That the Portuguese had long been seeking a road to the Land of Spices and that Toscanelli had relationship with the King of Portugal may be demonstrated.

Signor Uzielli quotes the following passage from the historian Piero Vaglienti, who died in 1514, and whose relations with bankers and merchants make his words peculiarly important:

". . . and the principal cause and reason of such a work is a man learned in medicine, our Florentine, who, having spent much time in matters of astrology and the signs of the heavens, first saw that there was not a man upon the earth who would ever be able to work in this matter with greater convenience to carry out and put to successful issue such a voyage than his Majesty, the King of Portugal: and this was Master Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, a very singular man, who advised one of our Florentines who was at the Court, named Bartolommeo Marchiono, of this affair and caused him to advise his Majesty of it: so that to-day he has done a work of such a nature as to be praised in all the world: and the spices which were accustomed to go to Cairo by way of the Red Sea, to-day are transported from there [the East] direct to Lisbon: so that the Sultan has taken in the year an income of 500,000 or 600,000 ducats, and the Venetians as much and everything has been brought to the port of Lisbon, a port and place belonging to his Majesty."

CHAPTER XXXX

THE STORY OF THE PILOT

It was while living on the island of Porto Santo, or after his removal to Lisbon from that island, that tradition says Columbus met with and entertained in his own house a Pilot whose ship had been blown by a storm westwardly on the Atlantic to a land some ten days distant from whatever European ocean course he may have been following. There are two ways in which this legend has been treated, according as Columbus is idealised,—perhaps we should say idolised,—or as he is regarded with an unfriendly eye and his work disparaged. In the one view it is denied that any such occurrence ever took place. In the other it is accepted with such details as gave Columbus a marked route and a time-table. History does not hesitate to place an event in its true relation regardless of extreme views. It is possible that a mariner sailing on the Atlantic Ocean may have been driven by violent winds westwardly to some land. On the ninth day of March, in the year 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral set out from Lisbon for the Maluccas. When he approached that portion of the African coast where it trends eastwardly, he bore out to the west. Then a storm swept him farther out to sea, farther and farther west, until about April 24, he found himself on the coast of what to-day we call Brazil, and to which he gave the name *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*. What had unexpectedly, unintentionally happened to Cabral might easily have happened fifteen or twenty years before to some other mariner. Cabral, perhaps, was swept westwardly from, say, longitude 13° to 35° or 38° west. From the Canaries in longitude 13° to the island of Hayti are six and fifty degrees. Still, even this distance might have been traversed by a yielding boat

before a relentless wind. But if it was accomplished, the condition did not admit of mapping a course or establishing a western terminus for other vessels in subsequent times.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo published at Seville, in 1535, his *Historia General de las Indias*. In this work he narrates for the first time a story of a Pilot driven by a storm to an island in the Atlantic, far to the westward. This Pilot succeeded in returning to Europe, and was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house in the Portuguese island of Porto Santo of the Madeiras, where he died after having given Columbus his charts and journals. Oviedo finishes his tale with this remark:

" Pero aquesta novela assi anda por el mundo entre la vulgar gente de la manera que es dicho. Para mí yo lo tengo por falso " : "But this story goes throughout the world among the common people in the manner which is told. *As for myself I think it false.*"

The next writer, in the point of time of publication, who makes mention of this story is Francisco Lopez Gomara, who gave to the world his *Historia General de las Indias* at Saragossa in the year 1553. In this work the historian repeats the legend, but adds thereto some further information.

" EL DESCUBRIMIENTO PRIMERO DE LAS YNDIAS.

" Navegando una caravela por nuestro mar Oceano, tuvo tan fosçoso viento de levante: y tan continuo qué fue á parar en tierra no sabido ni puesta en el mapa, ó carta de marear. Volvio de alla en muchos mas dias, que fué. Y quando aca llegó no traya mas de al piloto, y á otros tres, ó quatro marineros, que como venian enfermos de hambre, y de trabajo: se murieron dentro de poco tiempo, en el puerto. E aqui como se descubrieron les Yndias por desdicha de quien primero las vió, pues acabado la vida sin gozar dellos, y sin dezar, á lo menos sin aver memoria de como se llamaban, ni de donde era, ni que año las halló. Bien que no fué culpa suya, sino malicia de otros, ó invidia de la que llaman fortuna. Y no me maravillo de las historias antiguas, que cuenten hechos grandissimos por chicos, ó escuros principios, pues no sabemos quien de poco aca halló las Yndias, que tan señalada: y nueva cosa es. Quedaranos, si quiera, el nombre de aquel piloto, pues todo lo al con la muerte fenesce. Unos hazen Andaluz á este piloto, que tratava en Canaria, y en la madera, quando le acontesció aquella larga, y mortal navegacion. Otros bizcayno: que contratava en Inglaterra, y francia. Y otros, Portugues, que, yva, ó venia dela Mina ó India. Lo cual quadra mucho con el nombre, que tomaron, y tienen

aquellas nuevas tierras. Tambien ay quien diga que aporto la caravela a Portogal. Y quien diga que á la Madera, ó á otra delas islas delos Açores. Empero ninguna afirma nada. Solamente concuerdan todos en que fallesció aquel piloto en casa de Christoval Colon. En cuyo poder quedaron las escripturas dela caravela. Y la relacion de todo aquel luengo viaje con la marca, y altura delas tierras, nuevamente vistas, y halladas."[1]

"THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF THE INDIES

"A caravel sailing on our Ocean-sea encountered such a powerful and continuous east wind that it was driven to take refuge in a land not known or placed on the map or navigators' chart. In returning from that land, it took a much longer time than was consumed in going. And when it arrived here it brought no more than the pilot and three or four other mariners, who, as they had become sick from hunger and from toil, died within a short time in the Port. And this is how the Indies were discovered through the misfortune of those who first saw them, since their lives were ended without enjoying the benefits of the discovery and without leaving, at least without possessing, a memorial as to what they were called, or where they were, or in what year they were found. However, it was not through their fault but through the malice of others, or the envy of what is called Fortune. And I do not marvel at the ancient writers, who recount very great deeds from little ones, or from obscure beginnings, since we do not know who, so short a time ago, found the Indies, which is such a new and remarkable thing. The name of this pilot does not even remain to us since all who were with him died. Some consider this pilot to have been an Andalusian, who was trafficking in the Canaries and in the Madeiras when that long and fatal voyage befell him. Others think he was a Biscayan who traded in England and France: and others a Portuguese, who was going to or coming from the Mine or India; which agrees very well with the name which those new lands took and now bear. There are also some who say that the caravel took shelter in Portugal and others say that it was in the Madeiras or some other island of the Azores. Nevertheless no one affirms anything. All agree only in the fact that that pilot died in the house of Christopher Columbus, in whose possession remained the papers belonging to the caravel and the relation of all that long voyage, with the description and the altitude of the lands newly seen and discovered."

Here is a long parallel on which to fix the point of departure of this Pilot, running from the English Channel to the Gulf of Guinea. Gomara treats the story as true. As a mere event, subject to the doctrine of chances, it is much more likely that

[1] Gomara, *La Historia de las Indias*, Part I., folio x.

some mariner going from San Jorg de Mina was driven to the coast of Brazil than that such a one should be carried from the Canary Islands to one of the Antilles.

Girolamo Benzoni published his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* at Venice in 1565 and repeats the story as told by Gomara, but remarks, giving expression to the exact opinion we hold to-day, that Gomara has mingled much falsehood with some truth.

Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas published his work, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castillanos*, at Madrid in 1601–15. Almost all subsequent historians have accorded him the highest praise for care, accuracy, and judgment.[1] But Herrera does not repeat the story nor make any reference to the legend.

About the time Herrera was publishing his work there appeared from the Lisbon press, in the year 1609,[2] a history com-

[1] It is strange that Washington Irving, in his *Notes and Corrections*, should openly declare that he frequently preferred to consult the manuscript history—the *Historia* was then in manuscript—of Las Casas, the source of Herrera's information, rather than Herrera himself, and then, on one of the most questioned and vexing subjects, not only fail to refer to Las Casas, but to actually report him as omitting all reference to this Pilot story. "The author," says Irving, "of the present work has frequently put aside the history of Herrera and consulted the source of his information, the manuscript history of Las Casas." "The other early historians who mention Columbus and his voyages and were his cotemporaries, viz., Sabellicus, Peter Martyr, Giustiniano, Bernaldez, Las Casas, Ferdinand Columbus, and the anonymous author of the *Voyage of Columbus*, are all silent in regard to this report." The fact is, that Las Casas gives more of the story and comments on it more at length than all the other early writers combined.

[2] The following is taken from *Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales*, by the Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, printed in Lisbon in the year 1609, constituting chapter iii., Part I., of his book:

"CAP. III

"COMO SE DESCUBRIO EL NUEVO MUNDO

"Cerca del año de mil y quatro cientos y ochenta y quatro uno mas ó menos, un piloto natural de la villa de Huelva en la cõdado de Niebla llamado Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, tenia un navio pequeño, con el qual contratava por la mar, y llevava de España a las Canarias algunas mercaderias, que allí se le vendian bien: y de las Canarias cargava de los frutos de aquellas islas, y las llevava a la isla de la Madera, y de alli se bolvia a España cargado de açucar y conservas. Andando en esta su triangular contratacio, atravessando de las Canarias a la isla de la Madera, le dió un temporal tan rezio y tempestuoso, que no pudiendo resisterle, se dexo llevar de la tormenta, y corrio veinte y ocho, ó veinte y neuve dias sin saber por donde, ní adonde: porque en todo este tiempo no pudo tomar al altura por el sol, ní por el norte: padescieron los del navio grandissimo trabajo en la tormenta, porque ní les dexava comer, ní dormir: al cabo deste largo tiempo se aplaco el viento, y se hallaron cerca de una isla: no se sabe de cierto qual fué, mas de que se sospecha que fué la que aora llaman Sancto Domingo: y es de mucha consideracion, que el viento que con tanta violencia y tormenta llevo aquel navio, no pudo ser otro, sino el Solano que llaman leste, porque la isla de Sancto Domingo esta al poniente de las Canarias: el qual viento en aquel viage, antes aplaca las tormentas, que las levanta. Mas el Señor todopoderoso, quando quiere hazer misericordias, saca las mas misteriosas y necessarias de causas contrarias, como saco el agua del pedernal, y la vista del ciego del lodo, que le puso en los ojos, para que notoriamente se muestren ser obras de la misceracion y

posed by an Inca, a native Peruvian, to whom we owe the most highly decorated account of this Pilot and his discovery yet printed. This Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega by name, declares that the Pilot was Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, that he was sailing from the Canaries to the Madeiras in the year 1484 when a storm arose, driving his ship to what was afterward called the island of Española; that he returned with five of his companions to the

bondad divina, que tambien uso desta su piedad para embiar su Evangelio, y luz verdadera á todo el nuevo mundo, que tanta necesidad tenia della, pues vivian, ó por mejor decir perescian en las tinieblas de la Gentilidad, é idolatria, tan barbara y bestial, como en el discurso de la historia veremos. El piloto salto en tierra, tomo el altura, y escrivo por menudo todo lo que vio, y lo que se sucedio por la mar, á ida, y á buelta, y aviendo tomado agua y leña, se bolbio atiento, sin saber el viaje tampoco á la venida, como á la ida: por lo qual gasto mas tiempo del que le convenia: y por la dilacion del camino les falto el agua, y el bastimento, de cuya causa, y por el mucho trabajo que á ida y venida avian padescido, empeçaron á enfermar y morir de tal manera, que de diez y siete hombres que salieron de España, no llegaron á la Tercera mas de cinco, y entre ellos el Piloto Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, fueron á parar á casa del famoso Christoval Colon Ginoves, porque supieron que era gran piloto, y cosmographio, y que hazia cartas de marear. El qual los recibio con mucho amor, y las hizo todo regalo, por saber cosas acaescidas en tan estraño y largo naufragio, como el que dezian aver padescido. Y como llegaron tan descaecidos del trabajo passado, por mucho que Christoval Colon les regalo, no pudieron bolver en si, y muerieron todos en su casa, dexandole en erencia los trabajos que les causaron la muerte: los quales acepto el gran Colon con tanto animo y esfuerço, que aviendo sufrido otros tan grandes, y aun mayores (pues duraron mas tiempo) salio con la empresa de dar el nuevo mundo y sus riquezas a España, como lo puso por blason en sus armas, diziendo: A Castilla y a Leon, nuevo mundo dio Colon. Quien quisiere ver las grandes hazanas deste varon, vea la historia general de las Indias, que Francisco Lopez de Gomara escrivio, que alli las hallara, aunque abreviadas: pero lo que mas loa y engrandesce a este famoso sobre los famosos, es la misma obra desta conquista, y descubrimiento. Yo quise añadir esto poco que falto de la relacion de aquel antiguo historiador, que como escrivio lexos de donde acaecieron estas cosas, y la relacion se la davan yentes y vinientes, le dixeron muchas cosas de las que passaron, pero imperfectas, y yo las oy en mi tierra a mi padre y a sus contemporaneos: que en aquellos tiempos le mayor y mas ordinaria conversacion que tenian, era repetir las cosas mas hazañosas y notables que en sus conquistas avian acaescido: donde contavan la que hemos dicho, y otras que adelante diremos: que como alcançaron a mucho de los primeros descubridores, y conquistadores del nuevo mundo, huvieron dellos la entera relacion de semejantes cosas, y yo como digo las oy a mis mayores, aunque (como muchacho) con poco atencion, que si entonces la tuviera, pudiera aora escrivir otras muchas cosas de grande admiracion, necessarias en esta historia, dire las que huviere guardado la memoria, con dolor de las que ha perdido. El muy reverendo padre Joseph de Acosta toca tambien esta historia del descubrimiento del nuevo mundo, con pena de no poderla dar entera, que tambien falto a su paternidad parte de la relacion en este passo, como en otros mas modernos: porque se avian acabado ya los conquistadores antiguos, quando su paternidad passo a aquellos partes, sobre lo cual dize estas palabras libro decimo capitulo diez y nueve. Aviendo mostrado que no lleve camino pensar que los primeros moradores de Indias ayan venido a ellas con navigacion, hecha para esse fin, bien se sigue, que si vinieron por mar, aya sido a caso y por fuerça de tormentas el aver llegado a Indias, lo qual por imenso que sea el mar Oceano, es cosa increyable. Porque pues assi suscedio en el descubrimiento de nuestros tiempos, quando aquel marinero (cuyo nombre aun no sabemos, para que negocio tan grand no se atribuya a otro autor sino a Dios) aviendo por un terrible & importuno temporal reconoscido el nuevo mundo, dexo por paga del buen hospedaje á Christoval Colon la noticia de cosa tan grande. Assi pudo ser. &c. Hasta aqui es del Padre maestro Acosta sacado a la letra: donde muestra aver hallado su paternidad en el Peru parte de nuestra relacion, y aunque no toda, pero lo mas essencial della. Este fué el primer principio y origen del descubrimiento del nuevo mundo, de la qual grandeza podia loarse la pequeña villa de Huelva, que tal hijo crio, de cuya relaciõ certificado Christoval Colon, insistio tanto en su demanda, prometiendo cosas nunca vistas, ni oydas, guardendo como hombre prudente el secreto dellas, aunque debaxo de confiança dio cuenta dellas a algunas personas de mucha autoridad, acerca de los Reyes Catholicos, que le ayudaron

island of Terceira in the Azores, where he was received by Christopher Columbus in his own house.

This account, given by Garcilasso de la Vega, was written more than three generations after the time of the alleged occurrence. The reader already knows enough of the life of Columbus to readily determine the falsity of some of its details.

a salir con su empresa, que sino fuera por esta noticia, que Alonso Sanchez de Huelva le dio, no pudiera de sola su imaginacion de cosmographia prometer tanto y tan certificado como prometio, ni salir tan presto con la empresa del descubrimiento, pues segun aquel Autor, no tardo Colon mas de sesenta y ocho dias en el viage hasta la isla Guanatianico, con detenerse algunos dias en la Gomera a tomar refresco, que sino supiera por la relacion de Alonso Sanchez que rumbos avia de tomar en un mar tan grande, era casi milagro aver ido alla en tan breve tiempo."

"CHAPTER III

"HOW THE NEW WORLD WAS DISCOVERED

"About the year 1484, one year more or less, a pilot named Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, a native of the village of Huelva, in the county of Niebla, had a small ship, with which he traded upon the sea, and carried merchandise from Spain to the Canaries, which was sold there to good advantage: and at the Canaries he loaded his vessel with the fruits of those islands and carried them to the island of Madeira, and from there he returned to Spain laden with sugar and conserves. While making his triangular trading voyage, in crossing from the Canaries to the island of Madeira, he was assailed by such a powerful and tempestuous storm, that, not being able to resist it, he abandoned himself to the tempest, and ran twenty-eight or twenty-nine days without knowing in what direction or whither: because in all that time he could not take the altitude by the sun nor by the North. The crew of the ship underwent great hardships in the tempest, as they were not able to eat or sleep. At the end of this long time the wind calmed and they found themselves near an island. It is not known positively what island it was, but it is suspected that it was the island now called Santo Domingo. And it is worthy of much consideration that the wind which drove that vessel with so much violence and in such a storm could not have been other than the *Solano*, which the east wind is called, because the island of Santo Domingo is to the west of the Canaries, and this wind quiets the tempests rather than raises them, on that course. But the All-powerful God when He desires to dispense mercies brings the most mysterious and necessary things from contrary causes, as He drew water from the rock, and the sight of the blind from mud which He placed on their eyes, in order that they may notably be shown to be the works of the Divine commiseration and goodness: and as He also manifested His pity by this event, in order to send His Gospel and true light to all the New World, which needed it so greatly. For they were living there, or to speak more plainly, they were perishing in the darkness of heathenism and idolatry, barbarous and bestial to such extent as we shall see in the course of the history. The pilot landed, took the altitude and wrote minutely all that he saw and all that happened to him upon the sea, in going and returning, and having taken water and wood, he turned backward without having more knowledge of the course in coming than he had in going. On this account he spent more time on his return than was necessary. And through the lengthening of the voyage provisions failed them, for which cause and on account of the great hardships they had suffered in going and coming, they commenced to fall sick and to die, to such an extent that out of seventeen men who started from Spain, not more than five arrived at Tercera, and among them was the pilot, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva. They went to stay in the house of the famous Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, because they knew that he was a great pilot and cosmographer and that he made sailing charts. Columbus received them very kindly and entertained them all, in order to learn the things which had happened on such a long and strange shipwreck as the one they said they had suffered. And as they arrived in such a shattered condition, notwithstanding all that Columbus did for their entertainment, they could not be restored to health, and all died in his house, leaving him to inherit the fruit of the labours which caused their deaths. Columbus accepted this inheritance with great strength and courage, and

Columbus never lived at Terceira, and, according to his own words,[1] he was in Portugal in 1484 and 1485. Moreover, in 1484 he already had corresponded with Toscanelli, so that any experience of a Huelvian Pilot could not have affected his purpose of sailing westward.

having suffered other hardships as great and even greater (since they lasted longer), he set out with the undertaking of giving the New World and its riches to Spain, according as it was blazoned on his arms, saying:

"'TO CASTILE AND TO LEON, COLUMBUS GAVE A NEW WORLD.'

"Let whoever wishes to learn of the great deeds of this illustrious man read the *General History of the Indies* which Francisco Lopez de Gomara wrote, as they will be found there, although abbreviated. But what most praises and magnifies this most famous of famous men is the work of this conquest itself and the discovery. I desired to add this small part which is lacking from the relation of that ancient historian, who wrote at a distance from the place where these things happened, and the relation being given to him by those who were going and coming, they told him many things of those which happened but imperfectly, and I heard them in my country from my father and his cotemporaries. For in those times the greatest and most common conversations they held were to repeat the most heroic and notable things which had happened in their conquests, where they related what we have told and other things which I will tell hereafter. For as they knew many of the first discoverers and conquerors of the New World they had from them the entire relation of similar things. And I, as I say, heard them from my elders, although (being a boy) with little attention. And if I had paid attention then, I could now write many other things greatly to be admired and necessary in this history. I will tell what my memory has retained, with regret for what has been lost.

"The very learned father, Joseph de Acosta, also treats of this history of the discovery of the New World, with this defect, that he cannot give it entire, as his work is also lacking in part of the relation contained in this passage, the same as other more modern ones, for the old conquerors had already passed away when Father Joseph went to those regions. In regard to this matter he says these words in Book X., chapter nineteen:

"'Having shown that there are no grounds for thinking that the first inhabitants of the Indies came there by means of a voyage made for that purpose, it necessarily follows that if they came by the sea, it must have been caused by the force of tempests that they arrived at the Indies, which, however immense the Ocean-sea may be, is not an incredible thing. For it happened thus in the discovery of our times, when that sailor (whose name even we do not know, that so great an affair may not be attributed to any other than God), having by means of a terrible and persistent tempest reached the New World, left in payment for the good hospitality of Christopher Columbus, the knowledge of so great a thing. It may be so, etc.'

"Up to this point it is literally quoted from the father Acosta, from which it is shown that the father found part of our relation in Peru, although not all of it, yet the most essential part. This was the first beginning and origin of the discovery of the New World, of which greatness the little town of Huelva can boast, having produced such a son, on account of whose certified relation Christopher Columbus insisted so much in his demand, promising things never seen nor heard, but guarding their secret like a prudent man; although, in confidence he gave an account of them to some persons of great authority and near to the Catholic sovereigns, who aided him in starting upon his undertaking. For if it had not been for the information which Alonso Sanchez de Huelva gave him, he could not from his imagination of cosmography alone have promised so much and so positively as he did promise it, nor could he have so quickly carried out the undertaking of the discovery. For, according to that author, Columbus was not more than 68 days on the voyage to the island of Guanatianico, including a stop of some days on Gomera to take supplies, and if he had not known from the relation of Alonso Sanchez what courses he was to follow on such a great sea, it was almost a miracle to have gone there in so short a time."

[1] Doctor Josephus returned from his scientific visit to the coast of Africa in 1485, and Columbus, in his holograph note on the margin of one of the folios in the example of the *Historia* of Æneas Sylvius, declares he was present in Lisbon when the expedition returned.

The most full treatment given the story will be found in the *Historia* of Las Casas:

" Resta concluir esta materia de los motivos que Cristóbal Colon tuvo para ofrecerse á descubrir estas Indias, con referir una vulgar opinion que hobo en los tiempos pasados, que tenia ó sonaba ser la causa más eficaz de su final determinacion, la que se dirá en el presente capitulo, la cual yo no afirmo, porque en la verdad fueron tantas y tales razones y ejemplos que para ello Dios le ofreció, como ha parecido, que pocas dellas, cuanto más todas juntas, le pudieron bastar y sobrar para con eficacia á ello inducirlo: con todo eso quiero escribir aquí lo que comunmente en aquellos tiempos se decia y creia y lo que yo entonces alcancé, como estuviese presente en estas tierras, de aquellos principios harto propincuo. Era muy comun á todos los que entónces en esta Española isla viviamos, no solamente los que el primer viaje con el Almirante mismo y á D. Cristóbal Colon á poblar en ella vinieron, entre los cuales hobo algunos de los que se la ayudáron á descubrir, pero tambien á los que desde á pocos dias á ella venimos, platicarse y decirse que la causa por la cual el dicho Almirante se movió á querer venir á descubrir estas Indias se le originó por esta via. Díjose, que una carabela ó navio que habia salido de un puerto de España (no me acuerdo haber oido señalar el que fuese, aunque creo que del reino de Portugal se decia) y que iba cargada de mercaderias para Flandes ó Ingalaterra, ó para los tractos que por aquellos tiempos se tenian, la cual, corriendo terrible tormenta y arrebatada de la violencia é impetu della, vino diz que, á para á estas islas y que aquesta fué la primera que las descubrió. Que esto acaesciese ansí, algunos argumentos para mostrarlo hay: el uno es, que á los que de aquellos tiempos somos venidos á los principios, era comun, como dije, tractarlo y platicarlo como por cosa cierta, lo cual creo que se derivaria de alguno ó de algunos que lo supiesen, ó por ventura quien de la boca del mismo Almirante ó en todo ó en parte ó por alguna palabra se lo oyere; el segundo es, que entre otras cosas antiguas, de que tuvimos relacion los que fuimos al primer descubrimiento de la tierra y poblacion de la isla de Cuba (como cuando della si Dios quisiere, hablaremos, se dirá) fué una esta, que los Indios vecinos de aquella tuvieron ó tenian de haber llegado á esta isla Española otros hombres blancos y barbados como nosotros, ántes que nosotros no muchos años: ésto pudieron saber los indios vecinos de Cuba porque como no diste más de diez y ocho leguas la una de la otra de punta á punta, cada dia se comunicaban con sus barquillos ó canoas, mayormente que Cuba sabemos, sin duda, que se pobló y poblaba desta Española. Que el dicho navio pudiese con tormenta deshecha (como la llaman los marineros y las suele hacer por estos mares) llegar á esta isla sin tardar mucho tiempo, y sin faltarlas las viandas y sin otra dificultad, fuera del peligro que llevaban de poderse finalmente perder, nadie se maraville, porque un navio con grande tormenta corre 100 leguas, por pocas y bajas velas que lleve, entre dia y noche, y á arbol seco, como dicen los marineros, que es sin velas, con sólo el viento que cogen las jarcias y masteles y cuerpo de la nao, acaece andar en veinticuatro horas 30 y 40 y 50 leguas,

mayormente habiendo grandes corrientes, como las hay por estas partes; y el mismo Almirante dice, que en el viaje que descubrió á la tierra firme hácia Paria, anduvo con poco viento desde hora de misa hasta completas 65 leguas, por las grandes corrientes que lo llevaban: asi que no fué maravilla que, en diez ó quince dias y quizá en más, aquellos corriesen 1000 leguas, mayormente si el impetu del viento Boreal ó Norte les tomó cerca ó en paraje de Bretaña ó de Inglaterra ó de Flandes . . .

"Así que, habiendo descubierto aquellos por esta via estas tierras, si ansi fué, tornándose para España vinieron á parar destrozados; sacados los que, por los grandes trabajos y hambres y enfermedades, murieron en el camino, los que restaron, que fueron pocos y enfermos, diz que vinieron á la isla de la Madera, donde tambien fenecieron todos. El piloto del dicho navío, ó por amistad que ántes tuviese con Cristóbal Colon, ó porque como andaba solicito y curioso sobre este negocio, quiso inquirir dél la causa y el lugar de donde venia, porque algo se le debia de traslucir por secreto que quisiesen los que venian tenerlo mayormente viniendo todos tan maltrados, ó porque por piedad de verlo tan necesitado el Colon recoger y abrigarlo quisiese, hobo, finalmente de venir á ser curado y abrigado en su casa, donde al cabo diz que murió: el cual, en recognoscimiento de la amistad vieja ó de aquellas buenas y caritativas obras, viendo que se queria morir descubrió á Cristóbal Colon todo lo que les habia acontecido, y dióle los rumbos y caminos que habian llevado y traido, por la carta de marear y por las alturas, y el paraje donde esta isla dejaba ó habia hallado, lo cual todo traia por escripto. Esto es lo que se dijo y tuvo por opinion, y lo que entre nosotros, los de aquel tiempo y en aquellos dias comunmente, como ya dije, se platicaba y tenia por cierto, y lo que, diz que, eficazmente movió como á cosa no dudosa a Cristóbal Colon.[1] . . ."

"There remains, to conclude this matter of the motives which induced Christopher Columbus to attempt the discovery of the Indies, the reference to an opinion common in times past, which *was*, or was reported to be, the most efficacious cause of his final determination, and which will be told in the present chapter. I do not affirm this to be so, because in truth, God offered him such reasons and so many of them, as has appeared, that a few of them, and, moreover, all of them together, would have been sufficiently powerful and more than that, to induce him to do it. Nevertheless I wish to write here what was commonly said and believed in those times, and what I then heard, as I was present in those countries,—in regard to the principal motives. It was very common to all of us who then lived on this island of Española, not only those who came on the first voyage with the Admiral himself, and with Don Christopher Columbus to settle on the island,—among the latter of whom there were some who helped him to make the discovery,—but also to those who a short time after came to the island, to talk over and say that the cause which moved the said Admiral to desire to come and discover these Indies originated in this wise:

"It was said that a caravel or ship which had departed from a port of Spain (I do not remember to have heard it specified from which port it was, although I believe it was said to have been in the kingdom of Portugal),

[1] Las Casas, *Historia*, vol. i., chap. xiv.

and which was loaded with merchandise for Flanders or England, or for the traffic which was carried on in those times, experienced a terrible tempest, and being carried away by its violence and impetus, it is said that it came to stop at these islands, and that this was the first discovery of them. There are some arguments to show that this might have happened in this manner: one is that it was common to those of us who came here in the beginning, as I have said, to discuss it and treat it as a certain thing, which I believe must have been derived from some person or persons who knew it, or perhaps from some one who heard it from the mouth of the Admiral himself, either as a whole or in part: the second is that among other ancient things which were related to those of us who went to the first discovery of the land and settlement of the island of Cuba (as will be told when, God willing, we speak of it) there was this,—that the Indian inhabitants of Cuba maintained that other white and bearded men like ourselves had arrived at this island of Española, not many years before us. The Indians of Cuba could have known this, because as they are not distant one from the other, from point to point, more than eighteen leagues, they communicate each day with their little boats or canoes, and especially as Cuba we know without doubt was settled from this Española. That the said ship might in a violent tempest (as the sailors call it, and which are customary in these seas) have arrived at this island without great delay, without the provisions giving out and without other difficulty outside of the danger they experienced of being lost finally, is in no way wonderful, because a ship in a great tempest runs 100 leagues between day and night, however few and low sails she may carry and 'á arbol seco,' as the sailors say, which is without sails, with only the wind which the shrouds and masts and body of the ship catch, and in twenty-four hours it may happen to go 30 and 40 and 50 leagues, particularly when there are great currents, as there are in these parts. And the Admiral himself says that on the voyage when he discovered the continental land towards Paria he went in a light wind from the hour of 'misa' to the hour of 'completas' 65 leagues, on account of the great currents which prevailed. So that it was not wonderful that in ten or fifteen days and perhaps more, this caravel should have gone 1000 leagues, especially if the impetus of the north wind took them near or in line with Britain or England, or Flanders. . . .

"Therefore, the people on this caravel having in this way discovered these countries, *if it was so*,[1] in returning to Spain stopped in a shattered condition. Counting out those who, on account of the great labours, hunger, and infirmities, died on the way, those who remained, who were very few and sick, it is said came to the island of Madeira, where they all died also. The pilot of the said ship, either because of a friendship which he might have had previously for Christopher Columbus, or because, as Columbus was becoming solicitous and curious about this matter, he wished to inquire of the pilot the cause of his coming and the place from whence he came, as he must have conjectured something on account of the secrecy

[1] The italics are ours and invite attention to the fact that Las Casas himself does not accept the story as true.

which the people who came there wished to maintain in regard to it, especially seeing them so ill-used, or because Columbus, on seeing him in such necessity, might have wished, through pity, to receive and shelter him, at last came to be cared for and protected in his house; where it is said that he finally died. And the pilot in recognition of old friendship, or of those good and charitable works, seeing that he was about to die, made known to Christopher Columbus all that had happened, and gave him the courses and routes which they had followed and maintained, by the chart of navigation and by the latitudes, and the place where he left this island or had found it, which he had all in writing. This is what was told and held as an opinion, and what among ourselves in those days, was, as I have said, commonly talked about and considered certain, and, it is said, is what moved Christopher Columbus as to a thing concerning which he had no doubt. . . ."

The acquiescence of Bartolomé de las Casas in the legend of the Pilot is sufficient to justify us in accepting the abstract fact that there was current a legend or story to the effect that a mariner did report to Columbus, while the latter was still in Portuguese territory and prior to his first going into Spain, that he had been driven to some westward land by chance and a storm. But we may doubt if that land was one of the Antilles or land farther west than some rocks already known. If such a thing really did occur, we doubt if the Pilot preserved and presented to Columbus a chart or map of his unexpected voyage. And further, we may safely take it out from among those direct reasons which led to the formation of his purpose, or of those defined causes which resulted in the great discovery.

The only detailed account of this Pilot and his adventures—that given by Garcilasso de la Vega, written one hundred and twenty-five years after the alleged occurrence—is an account manifestly untrue and easily disproved. The Pilot was going from the Canaries when he was driven helplessly to the island of Española. When he left Española the Pilot sailed to the island of Terceira in the Azores. According to the legend, he made a map of his course. Now, he could not have made a single intelligible mark on his way, amid storm and tempest. When he reached Española, assuming that he had the knowledge and the instruments, he might have taken its bearings, and in like manner he might have plotted a course back by way of the Azores. But this is not the road Columbus followed. He sailed first for the Canaries and from there to the west. If, therefore, he owed his knowledge to the strange Pilot,

Columbus did not avail himself of his directions in reaching his landfall.

If the Pilot had possessed instruments enabling him to find his locations and to plot his homeward course, would he not have discovered the erratic conduct of the magnetic needle and would not such a strange thing, even if not immediately revealed to the scientific world, have been whispered in connection with the story and have thus been incorporated in the legend? Would he not have told of the mysterious sea of grass which so frightened the sailors, when under Columbus the three vessels found themselves impeded by the Sargasso Sea?

Christopher Columbus never lived in the island of Terceira, and therefore the Pilot could not have been received by him there or have died in his house. Las Casas indicates that quite a time elapsed between the return of the Pilot and his death in the house of Columbus. His companions died from the exposure they had experienced, but the Pilot himself, says Las Casas, "at last came to be cured and protected in his [Columbus's] house, where it is said he *finally* died." If the Pilot only was starting on his voyage in 1484, and afterward experienced all his adventures, we must imagine a somewhat extended period covering his return, his illness, his restoration to health, and his subsequent residence in the house of Columbus until his death. In 1484 and 1485, Columbus was in Lisbon. Everything we know of Columbus points to his possession of a fixed purpose regarding a trans-Atlantic voyage prior to 1484, and a fixed purpose suggests a previous period of study and thought. Omitting the Toscanelli correspondence, the date of the Pilot story is too late a period to have the semblance of truth, at least in so far as it affected Columbus or furnished him a reason for his project. But let us inquire how it was possible for six men—the Pilot and five companions—to have undergone such adventures and returned safely to a sympathetic community acquainted with and interested in maritime affairs, and no note be taken of them or of their strange experiences, except as it was sustained upon the light wing of rumour. When, under like unexpected circumstances, Cabral was blown over to the coast of Brazil, the world knew it directly upon his return. The experience of the Pilot was an adventure likely to be told from mouth to mouth in Terceira and carried away by the first vessel bound for Lisbon or Cadiz.

If any such Pilot had landed by design or accident on unknown shores, he would have taken possession of them in the name of his sovereign. If a Pilot of Huelva, he would have reported the discovery to the Spanish sovereigns, and the new lands would have become Spanish territory. If the Pilot was a Portuguese, he would have forwarded the news to Lisbon and King John II. would have laid claim to them. The Pilot and his five companions did not long survive, it is true, but there was no need of secrecy, and the very appearance of the six men must have excited inquiry and elicited their story. Once told, the world would have known it. Once told, the strange tale would have found its way to the Spanish camp and the Portuguese Court. What a counter-claim against Columbus and his heirs a prior Spanish discovery of Española or Cuba or any West Indian island would have put into the hands of King Ferdinand! With such a discovery by one of her citizens, Portugal could have besieged the Papal throne to withdraw its gift to the Spanish sovereigns. But neither in Spain nor in Portugal was a voice raised to suggest prior discovery.

Again, if Columbus knew that some one before him had gone that way and could have proved it, what an argument he would have had to convert the Spanish sovereigns to his project! He need never have left Portugal, his adopted home, the land of his marriage, and then holding his wife and children. King John would have asked no further proof. It is true that Columbus was of a somewhat secretive nature, but we do not find him jealous or egotistical. He always regarded himself simply as an agent selected by Providence to work out a great purpose. Had there been such a Pilot, Columbus would have been likely to quote his experience and to regard him as another element in the chain of circumstances guiding him on his way toward the fulfilment of his design. Such is the dominating characteristic we discover in this man. He showed no jealousy toward Americus Vespucius, yet he must have known when he commended him to his son Diego that the Florentine had touched continental land before him and explored coasts he had never seen. We say this because the account of his voyages was known in many quarters and existed in printed form before the Admiral died, and such a matter, aside from the opportunity of knowing it, found in the personal intercourse they had shortly prior to his

death must have come in some way to the ears of the first Discoverer.

The reader will understand that there is no point to the story of the Pilot except as it can be made to affect Columbus. The charge is made by the accomplished scholar, Mr. Henry Vignaud [1] of Paris, in his work, *La Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli* (Paris, 1901), that the undated letter supposed to have been written by Paolo Toscanelli to Columbus inclosing a copy of another letter written June 25, 1474, to the Canon Fernam Martins, and inclosing a map made by Toscanelli, was not genuine, but was fabricated; that no such person as Fernam Martins, a Canon of Lisbon, ever lived, or at least was cotemporaneous with Toscanelli and known to him; and that such knowledge as Columbus had as to the possibility of making his western voyage was derived from a map, and information given him by the Pilot whose story we have just been considering. So far as the story of the Pilot is concerned there are three witnesses to be called in this case [2] who will of themselves give testimony sufficient to dismiss it out of court.

[1] Mr. Vignaud is now and has been these many years the First Secretary to the Embassy of the United States to the French Republic.

[2] We attach no great importance to the argument that when the Spaniards arrived in the New World the natives said they had seen white men like unto them before. In the first place, the natives did not say this on the first arrival of the Spaniards. The only authority for this previous knowledge of Europeans or white people is Las Casas, whose words we have quoted above:

> Among other ancient things which were related to those of us who went to the first discovery of the land and settlement of the island of Cuba there was this,—that the Indian inhabitants of Cuba maintained that other white and bearded men like ourselves had arrived at this island of Española not many years before us.

Las Casas is referring to the colonisation of Cuba undertaken in 1509. The natives of Cuba told the Spaniards in 1509 that the inhabitants of Española had seen men white and bearded like them not many years before! Seventeen years would carry this period back to the year 1492, and thus the reference might have been to the first arrival of Columbus and his adventurers.

CHAPTER XXXXI

THE THREE WITNESSES

THE first witness is Bartolomé de las Casas. In or about the year 1542, in the island of Española, he was engaged in writing the *History of the Indies*, and as that history in its earliest periods revolved about Columbus, he devoted much of it to his career. He had in his possession many of the original papers of Columbus, including his holograph *Journal* and other documents connected with the discovery. Many other documents, such as were incorporated into his *Book of Privileges*, in their original form were in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville. There is no evidence that either the *Journal* or the Toscanelli correspondence ever was lodged in that place.

The reader must differentiate between the papers of Columbus which had to do with his rights and privileges and those which relate to his navigations and to the notes and minutes connected with his travelling experiences. Writers frequently include in the former list so long preserved in the monastery of Las Cuevas at Seville all his papers. Even the precious *Journal* had nothing directly to do with the rights and privileges accorded him by the Crown. It was not an official report directed to the Sovereigns. Nor were the letters and map of Toscanelli official. Such papers might very well have been kept separately, or, if once included in the Las Cuevas collection, have been removed and loaned to Las Casas or to others, as not in any sense essential to the legal case of the Admiral and his heirs against the Sovereigns.

Las Casas repeats the story of the Pilot told first by Oviedo seven years before. For himself he neither affirms it nor denies it. Its importance is not apparent to him. He does not know

that it will one day be used to detract from the credit of Columbus, and that it will require for its support the destruction of the Columbus-Toscanelli correspondence. Las Casas asserts that the Toscanelli letter was in Latin and that he had a copy of it translated from the Latin into Romance or Castilian. A copy is not an original. Where is the original? It must be produced, or even the testimony of Las Casas cannot save Toscanelli. He may have been imposed upon by some one interested in hiding the Pilot story and in associating Columbus in a mutual discussion of a scientific theory resulting in the discovery of the New World. At this juncture Las Casas produces not the original letter, but a part of it, an essential part,—the original Toscanelli chart, the very map made by the Florentine philosopher with his own hands. Oviedo, Gomara, Las Casas, Garcilasso,—none finds the Pilot's map in the hand of Columbus,—and the essential feature of the Pilot story is that this map showed Columbus the way across the Atlantic. In his letter to the Canon, Fernam Martins, Toscanelli says:

> I have determined, for greater facility and greater intelligence, to show the *said route* by a *chart* similar to those which are *made for navigation*, and thus I send it to his Highness *made and drawn by my hand.*

This, then, is a practical marine chart, just such as a mariner would require and understand. When afterward Toscanelli writes to Christopher Columbus, he says:

> I send you another seaman's chart *like that which I sent to him* [the King of Portugal].

This marine chart was like the one sent in 1474 to the Canon Fernam Martins for the King, showing the same route, bearing the same marks and made by the same hand,—that of Toscanelli himself. What became of that holograph chart? Las Casas,[1] in describing the events which led up to the discovery, says:

> The marine chart which he [Toscanelli] sent him, I, who write this history, have in my possession.

The language could not be more explicit. It is the identical map made by Toscanelli, and was an exact counterpart of the one previously sent to the Portuguese Canon. It is true we can-

[1] Las Casas, *Historia*, vol. i., chap. xii., p. 92.

not find the original Toscanelli letter written to Columbus in Latin by his own hand. But we do find in the possession of Bartolomé de las Casas the original map which Toscanelli made and sent to Columbus with the letter. Which is the more important to a seaman about to try the Western Ocean,—the letter or the map? Here is the map marked with its spaces, showing the coasts of Portugal with their islands, indicating other islands to be met with on the route and outlining the coasts of the eastern world with their rich cities of Cathay and Quinsay. If no such correspondence ever occurred between Toscanelli and Columbus, whatever purports to be a part of that correspondence is a fabrication. If the correspondence is a fabrication, the map is also a fabrication. If the map is a fabrication, Las Casas must have been a party to it. To accuse such a man of such a crime is absurd. It is like charging William Wilberforce with forgery. If ever an honest, albeit a fiery, soul, walked the ground of the New World, it was Bartolomé de las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians.

The charge is not plausible. There must have been an object in the fabrication. What was it? We repeat the substance of this charge: Shortly after the death of Columbus the story of the Pilot was assuming such force that it detracted from the honour of the Admiral and the glory of his achievement: to counteract the influence of the story and to show that Columbus did not receive his knowledge of the western world and a map of the route thither from this Pilot, a correspondence was fabricated between Columbus and a scientist of established fame living in Florence, resulting in an interchange of ideas and expressions of mutual appreciation of the thing to be undertaken and its certainty of accomplishment. Pray, of what use is the engraving of a false bank-note if it be not uttered? The world knew nothing of this matter until the year 1571, when the *Historie* of Ferdinand Columbus was printed in Italian at Venice. Las Casas was publishing tract after tract on the treatment of the Indians. He was not unacquainted with the way to reach the public through printed pamphlets. A conspiracy without a motive and which ends without action is ridiculous. Perhaps it may be said that after the fabricator had loaded his gun, it was not necessary to shoot it, seeing that the Pilot story had died of its own weakness. This story was roaming about tentless and for-

lorn until Oviedo gave it shelter in his *Historia*, which he published in 1535, and even there he concludes with the remark that he himself does not believe it. Las Casas was at work on his *Historia* as early as 1527, but that portion of it containing the account of Columbus's first voyage and his use of the Toscanelli map was composed in 1542 or fifty years, as he himself says,[1] after the events occurred. The story, or a story, of some Pilot being driven by a storm westward was current in Española early in the sixteenth century. Such a story, if believed, would naturally affect the fame of Columbus while living. He was unpopular, he was not of Spanish blood, he was opposed by several hostile cliques whose plans he had attempted to frustrate. He had enemies in the Indian Department in Spain. He was none too welcome at Court. His claims were exceedingly embarrassing to King Ferdinand. In Española he was an object of hatred to those engaged in trafficking. After his death his heirs pressed their claims with a persistency most annoying to the Court and to the holders of concessions in the new lands. There were public hearings in the Indian Council and witnesses innumerable were called and questioned. Yet never once was there a whisper of a previous voyage to Española by any man from Huelva, or Andalusia, or the Bay of Biscay. Such an argument against paying money for discovering territory previously discovered by a Spaniard would have been seized with eagerness by the lawyers of the Crown, and the heirs of the Admiral would have been driven out of Court.

But the second witness in this case of the Pilot *versus* Toscanelli is more important still; he is none other than Christopher Columbus himself. In the prologue to his *Journal*, as he started on his first voyage, Columbus wrote these words:

" . . . vuestras Altezas, como católicos cristianos y Príncipes amadores de la santa fé cristiana y acrecentadores della, y enemigos de la secta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y heregías, pensaron de enviarme á mi Cristóbal Colon á las dichas partidas de India para ver los dichos Príncipes, y los pueblos y tierras y la disposicion dellas y de todo, y la manera que se pudiera tener para la conversion dellas á nuestra santa fé; y ordenaron que yo no fuese por tierra al Oriente, por donde se costumbra de andar salvo por el camino de Occidente, por donde hasta hoy no sabemos por cierta fé que haya pasado nadie."

[1] See the *Journal* in Las Casas under date of September 13, 1492.

" . . . your Highnesses as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the peoples and lands, and learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith: and you ordered that I should not go to the East by land, by which it is customary to go, *but by way of the West, whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone.*"

In his letter to the Escribano de Raçion, Luis de Santangel, written February 15, 1493, describing his first voyage and his discovery, the Admiral says:

"Esto es harto: y (gracias a ?) eterno Dios nuestro Senor el qual da á todos aquellos que andan su camino victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles—y esta señaladamente fue la una; porque aunque destas tierras aian fablado ó escripto, todo va por conjectura sin alegar de vista; salvo comprendiendo á tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchavan e juzgavan mas por fabla que por poca cosa dello."

"That is enough and, thanks to Eternal God our Lord, who gives to all those who walk His way, victory over *things which seem impossible:* and this was signally one such, for although *men have talked or written of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from eyesight,* importing just so much that the Heavens for the most part listened and judged that there was more fable in it than anything actual, however trifling."

In his letter written to Raphael (Gabriel) Sanchez, dated April 29, 1493, the Admiral writes:

"Solet enim deus ſeruos ſuos: quique ſua precepta diligunt: 'etiam in impoſſibilibus exaudire: vt nobis in preſentia contigit: qui ea conſecuti ſumus: que hactenus mortalium vires minime attigerant. nam ſi harum inſularum quipiam aliquid ſcripſerunt aut locuti ſunt: omnes per ambages et coniecturas nemo ſe eas vidiſſe aſſerit: vnde prope videbatur fabula."

"For God is wont to listen to His servants who love His precepts, even in impossibilities, as has happened to us on the present occasion, *who have attained that which hitherto mortal men have never reached.* For if any one has written or said anything about these islands, it was all with obscurities and conjectures: *no one claims that he had seen them:* from which they seemed like fables."

These passages read as if the brave old seaman was actually thundering a denial of the Pilot's story, but he is simply recalling the legends ancient and modern of Atlantis, Antilia, Saint Brandan, the Seven Cities, and the splendid mirages beyond

Gomera. Men talked of these, philosophers wrote of them, poets sung of them,—but they were fables.[1]

Here, then, is Christopher Columbus himself solemnly declaring once directly before he had his triumph and twice after the accomplishment of his design, that no man had ever gone that way before him. And in so far as he had any knowledge of a previous landfall on Española or any other West Indian territory, we profoundly believe him.

Lastly, we may summon as a witness Pope Alexander VI. In his famous Bull, *Inter Cetera*, he declares that Christopher Columbus, acting for the Spanish sovereigns, searched for

" . . . terras firmas et insulas remotas et incognitas hujusmodi, per mare ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat": " certain continental lands and islands remote and unknown in a part of the sea where up to that time no one had ever sailed."

And then the Pope further declares that they discovered

" . . . certas insulas remotissimas et etiam terras firmas quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant": "certain most distant islands and continental lands as well, which up to that time had not been discovered by others."

The evidence of the Pope may be challenged on the ground of its irrelevancy, but who so likely to learn of so great a piece of news as the Head of the Church into whose ears were poured tidings from every priest, every church, every village, and hamlet on the habitable globe. No such discovery as the pretended voyage and discovery of the Pilot could have taken place, with six witnesses and participants, possessed of human tongues while living and requiring priestly offices while dying, without its knowledge reaching the Pope. And if Pope Innocent VIII. had received such intelligence, it would in turn have reached his successor, Alexander VI.

[1] We have often found ourselves wondering why so momentous an event as the discovery of the New World has been the subject of no great poem, no great picture, no great musical composition. Dati's verse does not satisfy the requirements of poetry. Historical accuracy and the artists's pencil have not yet united to draw the startling scene. And notwithstanding the Abbé de Marbly's commendation of the opera-tragedy *La Decouverte du Nouveau Monde* composed by Jean Jacques Rousseau and the assurance of David that the music contained passages worthy of Buononcini, we cannot wholly regret the fate of the Prologue and First Act—all he ever completed—when the author at Lyons consigned them to the flames.

CHAPTER XXXXII

NO INDIVIDUAL FABRICATOR

THAT Columbus really did correspond with Toscanelli is evident from the Latin inscription of one of his letters, the famous letter inclosing a copy of the one previously written to the Lisbon Canon and also inclosing the map, made on the guard-folio of his example of the *Historia* of Æneas Sylvius printed in 1477. We expect to show in its appointed place that this inscription is in the proper hand of Columbus.[1] Moreover, while we do not find Columbus mentioning Toscanelli by name, we do find him quoting his very words in such a way that their source is apparent. When he speaks of the *Great Khan whose name means in our language King of Kings*, it is a quotation from memory close enough to disclose its source. In the Toscanelli-Spanish letter the words are: "*Gran Khan, el cual nombre quiere decir en nuestro romance Rey de los Reyes*"; while in the prologue to the *Journal* the phrase reads: "*Gran Khan, que quiere decir en nuestro romance, Rey de los Reyes.*"

The doctrine of chances would almost positively preclude such an arrangement of words in a phrase if the one phrase was not taken from the other. The Spanish translation of the original Latin letter came to Las Casas with the papers of Columbus.

The critics scarcely know whom to accuse in this alleged fabrication. The character of Las Casas will not sustain even the suspicion. He was a bold and righteous man. He never appeared very solicitous to protect the fair name of Columbus. In one passage of the *Journal* of the first voyage he gives the Admiral a good character, but for the most part he sees him through the clouds of cruelty and woe which hovered over

[1] See our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus."

the Indians, and he scarcely can forgive Columbus for having discovered the islands and for having made such conditions possible. Bartholomew Columbus, the Adelantado, is next examined to see if he can be made to bear this charge of fabrication. When we first meet this man, when we see him embracing his brother on the shores of Española in September, 1494, we behold a strong, brave, bold, intelligent man, but honest, sincere, and open. We follow him through the governorship of the island, his sharing of disgrace with his brother, his masterful management on the fourth voyage, and, as we become better and better acquainted with him, it seems impossible that he could, even for love of his brother's memory, commit a crime like that. It required a different kind of mental machinery for that sort of work. If he did fabricate the letter, it must have been done before 1514, the year he died. But Las Casas did not begin gathering his material until 1527, and therefore they could not have been in collusion. And the reader must bear in mind that if there was a fabrication, Las Casas must have been a party to it, either before or after the crime.

We next behold the passing figure of Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the Admiral by Beatriz Enriquez, and we are asked if we can fix the crime on him. He is the one person connected with the Columbus family, outside of the Admiral and the Adelantado, for whom we confess respect and fondness. He led a pure and useful life. He dedicated his fortune to mankind. He gathered books and opened them for men to read. He established a college and paid for popular education. He wrote a life of his father which, with alterations and modifications, has come down to us in an Italian version published thirty-two years after his death. In it the Toscanelli correspondence appears practically as it is in the *Historia*. And this brings us to another suspect, according to the critics. There was one member of the Columbus family so bad and degenerate that any crime would seem to fit his shoulders. That was the scapegrace Don Luis, the son of Diego Columbus, the first son of the Admiral, and Doña Maria de Toledo. The mixture of Genoese-Portuguese and a weakened strain of Spanish blood seems to have produced a thoroughly unworthy specimen of humanity. He was just twenty years of age at the very latest period allowable for the fabrication. He had already been for over a year the

father of an illegitimate daughter, and his mother was trying to find for him a spouse when he surreptitiously married another woman. His later career was one of polygamy and bigamy, for which crimes he was banished to Oran. He was equipped for the crime, but his peculiar failings do not suggest solicitude for his father's memory. However, this must be said: he did have the papers or manuscripts which formed the basis of his uncle Ferdinand's *History of Christopher Columbus*, and it was through his hand that they finally found their way to Italy and into print. He might have fabricated them and introduced them into the manuscript of Ferdinand, but he must have done this previous to the year 1542, and at that time he was busy with illegitimate loves. He would scarcely have been content to wait for twenty-nine years to see the fruit of his crime if he had done the deed in 1542.[1]

[1] Mr. Vignaud seems to suggest firmly that Bartholomew Columbus may have fabricated the correspondence,—in which case it must have been done prior to the year 1514,—and that Don Luis on April 25, 1571, gave it to Baliano di Fornari. The passage in the dedication of the *Historie* is as follows:

"Ne è da dubitare, che l'historia non sia vera. . . . Ne è ancora da dubitare, che non sia scritta di man del sudetto Illustr. D. Ernando, et che questo che V. S. ha hauuto non sia il proprio originale; essendo che à V. S. fu dato per tale dall' Illustr. D. Luigi Colombo, amico molto à V. S."

"Neither is to be doubted that the *History* is true. . . . Neither is it to be doubted also that it is written by the hand of the above-mentioned Most Illustrious Don Ferdinand and that this, which your Lordship has had, is the original itself; it having been given to your Lordship as such, by the Most Illustrious Don Luis Columbus, a great friend of your Lordship."

The reader is referred to the chapter on "The Life of Columbus in Portugal" for a discussion of the point raised by Mr. Vignaud, that the Portuguese at the time of the writing of the Toscanelli letter, June 25, 1474, had not yet entertained the project of reaching the East by the circumnavigation of Africa.

CHAPTER XXXXIII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF TOSCANELLI

MR. VIGNAUD has exhibited much acumen and given evidence of indefatigable research in studying the character of Toscanelli as revealed in the alleged letter, and in estimating his conception of a terrestrial meridian degree. For ourselves it seems anything but a profitable inquiry. Toscanelli made a map for Columbus on which were "laid down the coasts of Portugal and the islands from which you must begin to shape your course steadily westward." In a post-scriptum to his letter he says: "From the city of Lisbon *due west* there are 26 spaces marked on the map, each of which contains 250 miles as far as the very great and magnificent city of Quinsay." This is exact language. If the twenty-six spaces are multiplied by 250—26 x 250—we will have 6500 miles for the estimated distance westward between Lisbon and Quinsay. Quinsay has been identified by geographers as the modern Hang-Chow-Foo. Hang-Chow-Foo is situated in 30° north latitude, while Lisbon is in 38° 42′. Zaiton has been identified as Chang-Choo-Foo, situated in 24° 35′ north latitude. It is highly improbable that the exact geographical situation of either Quinsay or Zaiton was known to Toscanelli or to any other European philosopher in the fifteenth century. Geographers in those days, or in any days, were dependent not on their own observations, but on the reports of travellers for their records. In the first edition of the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy, translated from Greek into Latin and printed at Vicenza, September 13, 1475, we read:

"Cum autem in præſentiaꝝ propoſitum ſit habitabilem noſtri orbis deſcribere q̃ maxime fieri poſſit intra ſeſe coæqualem / neceſſe arbitramur in exordio hoc præponere: quod huius rei primum eſt hiſtoria peraga-

tionis plurimaȝ noticiam / nacta ex illorum traditione: qui diligentiſſime regiones quaſqȝ explorauerunt."

"But since it is proposed in this present work to describe the habitable part of our earth so that it shall correspond as nearly as possible with actual conditions, we think it necessary to declare at the very bèginning that the *story of travellers is the basis of the work*, and what we have derived from the accounts of those who have most thoroughly explored all these regions."

Toscanelli himself had much of his knowledge in the same manner. He says in his famous letter:

And also an Ambassador came to Pope Eugene[1] who related to him the great friendship which they feel for the Christians, and *I spoke much with him* of many things: of the grandeur of the royal edifices and of the great width and length of the rivers, a wonderful thing, and of the multitude of cities there on the banks of the rivers, and how there are two hundred cities on one river alone, and there are very wide and long bridges of marble ornamented with many marble columns.

And in the letter afterwards written to Columbus the Florentine says:

But you cannot well know it perfectly except by experience and *conversation, such as I have had in great quantity*, and good and reliable information from distinguished men of great knowledge, who have come from the said regions here to the Court of Rome, and from other merchants who have traded during a long time in those regions, men of great reliability.

Cristoforo Landino, another learned Florentine who translated Pliny, publishing his book at Venice in 1476, and who also published a *Commentary on Virgil*,[2] was a friend of Toscanelli,

[1] Gabriel Condelmerius, Cardinal Presbyter of St. Clement, a Venetian, was elected Pope on March 3, 1431, and assumed the name of Eugenius IV. He was a son of Angelus Condelmerius, of an ancient family, although not until his son's ecclesiastical promotion was the father made a Senator. His mother, Bariola Coraria, had a unique experience, since her own eyes saw her brother made Pope as Gregory XII., her son elected as Eugene IV., and her grandson, son of her daughter Polixena, elevated to the Papal chair as Paul II. Eugene died February 23, 1447.

Ramusio, and after him Humboldt, says it was in 1444 that Eugene IV. called before him at Florence Nicolò di Conti, who had just returned from the far East, and absolved him for having abjured his faith in his travels to save his life. But Pope Eugene left Florence on March 7, 1443, and we do not find that he returned to that city during the year 1444. Undoubtedly Toscanelli saw and talked with Nicolò di Conti, who speaks in his travels of Quinsay and Zaiton. The reader will be disappointed if he expects to find much concerning these two cities in the narration of Nicolò di Conti, as taken down at the Pope's command by the Secretary Poggio, a narration *di Conti* is said to have been obliged to make in return for his absolution.

[2] The reader will search in vain for bibliographical references to fifteenth-century editions of Virgil in Hain. Proctor gives a list of those in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

and has left on record that there came to Florence a great concourse of strangers from the East. Landino, in learnedly commenting on the verse of Virgil where *Ultima Thule*, the present Iceland, is mentioned, remarks that it was the custom of Toscanelli to subject to a systematic interrogatory all those strangers who, in passing through Florence, were able to furnish him with information concerning distant countries. Landino speaks of this from personal observation:

"Nostro tamen tempore cum Florentiæ homines viderit qui circa initia Tanais habitent, omnia de illa regione vera novit. Ego autem interfui cum illos Paulus Physicus diligenter queque interrogaret."

"When in our day he saw at Florence travellers who dwelt near the sources of the Tanais,[1] he acquainted himself with all the real truth concerning that region. And, indeed, I, myself, was present when Paul, the Physician, most searchingly interviewed such persons."

After Marco Polo, a traveller by the name of Giovanni da Montecorvino—1291 to 1328—went to India and brought back reports of the great wealth and riches of the eastern regions. Another famous traveller was Andrea da Perugia (1308 to 1326), a monk of the Franciscan order, a member of a mission established at Zaiton by Montecorvino. He told in a letter, dated 1326, of western merchants who were engaged in commerce in that place, among whom it is interesting to note were men from Genoa.

Oderigo de Pordenone, who lived between 1314–1380, was a traveller who brought to Toscanelli confirmation and enlargement of the tales of Marco Polo. He declared that the city of Sin-assin, or Canton, had more of commerce than all of Italy. Of Quinsay this traveller spoke in like terms with the Venetian, and even magnified its splendour and magnificence.

When Eugene IV. called the Council to meet at Florence on July 6, 1439, it is probable there came together in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore,—the very edifice for which Toscanelli and his friend Brunelleschi were designing a cupola,—among the five hundred delegates, not only representatives from the well-known centres of civilisation, but also from the most remote parts of

[1] Cristoforo Landino is talking about the country north of Moscow which feeds the ancient river Tanais—now the Don—as well as a tributary of the Volga. But the custom of Toscanelli of carefully interviewing travellers and foreign merchants is the point of importance.

Asia and Africa. It was at this time, in that very same month, that the Pope ordered Alberto da Sarteano to go into the Orient with letters from his Holiness addressed to Thomas, the Emperor of the Indians, Prester John, Emperor of the Ethiopians and of the Copts dispersed throughout Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Ethiopia, inviting them to follow the examples of the other Orientals in accepting the union and in acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman Church. By other letters, dated August 31, 1439, the Pope created Alberto da Sarteano his Commissioner General in all the East, in Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, with ample powers to institute and form monasteries, to preach and absolve and to do such other things as he might deem opportune to induce such Christians as might be found or made in those distant lands to accept the desired union. The experiences of this ecclesiastical commissioner and his suite are most interesting to the student of Catholic missions; but here we can only say that while Da Sarteano himself was mostly in Syria and Egypt and the hospitable island of Rhodes, three of his followers went up the Tanais and across into the Eastern countries, oftentimes pulling Turkish oars in captivity only to be rescued through the offices of rich Florentine merchants at Constantinople, and then again to continue their travels and tribulations. Just when the three returned to Italy we do not know, except that one of them appears to have died there in 1447, but Da Sarteano himself, with Andrea d'Ethiopia and Alberto Dulcerto di Ferrara, reached Florence, making a solemn entry in the summer of 1441. It was no doubt to the conversations with these travellers, as well as to interviews held with Nicolò di Conti, that Toscanelli alludes in his celebrated letter to Fernam Martins.

The route followed by these early travellers was somewhat like this:

Starting from the Sea of Azof they crossed to Astrakhan, going up the Volga to Tsaritsin, or Zaritzyn, in the department of Saratov, making their way over the Ural Mountains, stopping at Oorghenj or Kunya-Urgenj, a city on the Oxus, or Amoo-Darya in Turkestán, whence they went to Otrar in Ferghana on the Jaxartes, a city in the north of Turkestán; from there they journeyed to Armalecco,—the Alimali of the Chinese; from there, after seventy days' march, they reached Kan-Choo, in the province of Kan-Soo, in north latitude 39° 10′ near the north-west

frontier and close to the Great Wall of China. This city was the Kampion of Marco Polo.

It was from travellers he never knew or saw that Toscanelli had most of his knowledge. Marco Polo covered in his wanderings all the unknown country reaching to the eastern coasts of Cathay, and it was to reach this coast by the west—by the Atlantic—that the Florentine had advised and approved the undertaking of Columbus.

The geographical knowledge of India obtained by Toscanelli was general. Neither traveller nor foreign merchant ever gave him the latitude and longitude of Cambaluc,[1] Quinsay, or Zaiton. They carried neither astrolabe nor gnomen. The distances between places were also computed from the tales of travellers. The time occupied, the number of days on the back of a camel in crossing the sands, or on a mule crossing a mountain pass, or the days and nights during which a ship made its way over the seas, —these were taken by the cosmographers and, after deducting for delays, for individual peculiarities of beasts and men, for contrary winds and furled sails, the results found their way on to the maps in the form of figures and relative positions. Thus Marinus of Tyre estimated a seven-months' caravan journey at twenty miles a day, without sufficiently allowing for errors, and obtained a much longer distance for the habitable globe than Ptolemy was willing to allow. He made 225° to China on the parallel of Rhodes. The wonder is that the calculations of some of the early geographers were as correct as they afterward proved to be.[2]

Under these circumstances can we expect Toscanelli to give

[1] Cambaluc, in latitude 39° 54′, was the capital of the Great Khan, and is known to-day as Peking. It was called by the Mongols *Taidu*. The site of the old city can be determined from the remains of its walls, and, including Yenking, the circuit of the city was not less than twenty-four Italian miles.

[2] Many years of geography printing did not overcome gross errors, even in depicting familiar territory.

When, after the discoveries in the New World, geographers tried to be more particular, we find these results: The longitude of Quinsay, according to Gastaldo (Venice, 1548), 185°; Mercator (1538), 225°; Ortelius (Antwerp, 1570), 192°.

We confess we hardly comprehend Mr. Vignaud when he speaks of the knowledge of mediæval geographers respecting the terrestrial measurements of Marinus of Tyre. He regards that knowledge as leaking out only through Ptolemy, and seems to think that when Ptolemy corrected Marinus no one ever after entertained the same ideas. Gerardus Mercator, in his map published in 1538, places the province of Mangi in 225° of longitude east from the Canaries and on the parallel of Rhodes, and the city of Quinsay he places at the same distance in the parallel of Tarragona.

us exact measurements of the distance eastward from Lisbon to Quinsay? And if he did not know the exact distance over a travelled course between these two points, how could he be

It must be remembered that Toscanelli was a student of geography as well as of astronomy, and one of his works, now lost, treated of the dimensions of the earth. Mr. Vignaud seems to think that the Florentine philosopher was dependent for much of his knowledge, and certainly for his knowledge of Marinus of Tyre and his geographical conceptions, on Ptolemy, and as the cosmography of Ptolemy was not printed until 1475, he thinks that Toscanelli was not likely to have learned of Marinus until then. The Greek manuscripts of Ptolemy were many, and one or more was to be found in every important library. Toscanelli knew Greek almost as well as Theodore Gaza,—a sufficient certificate of proficiency. Before the young student had entered the University, the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy had been turned from Greek into Latin by Jacobus Angelus, a citizen of Florence. Latin manuscripts of the *Cosmographia*, made previous to any printed edition, are still at intervals to be met with in book commerce. It thus appears to us that Toscanelli had access to Ptolemy manuscripts from which he could have drawn his knowledge and his conclusions respecting Marinus and the corrections of Marinus by Ptolemy. It is true that Ptolemy considered the extent of longitude given by Marinus for the habitable world as too great, and reduced that extent from 225°, counting eastward from the Canaries to Sera or China, to 180° for the same distance. (*Sera Metropolis* is placed in longitude 177°.) But Ptolemy did not find a continental limit to his east. Beyond the capital city, Sera, on his map, were unknown lands. Ptolemy made his corrections by exactly the same method employed by Marinus in making his estimate,—the reports of travellers. That Toscanelli might have had knowledge of Marinus and his conceptions is plain from the existence of a map made by a Genoese about the year 1447, and which was afterward deposited in Florence. It bears upon its western extremity the legend in letters somewhat faded:

Haec est vera cosmographorum cum marino accordata descriptio quotidie friuolis narrationibus iniectis. MCCCCXLVII.

The author of this map seems to have corrected in places not only Marinus, but Ptolemy also. We must keep in mind that no student in the fifteenth century could interpret the geography of the habitable world in the far East except through such light as Marco Polo and other travellers cast upon it in their relations. His and their nomenclatures fixed locations. The length of their journeys fixed distances. But since we do not know what was upon Toscanelli's map, since we are not sure what was his conception of the extent of the habitable world, it seems not a very profitable inquiry at this time as to the dimensions given it by Marinus and Ptolemy.

Mr. Vignaud is right in his historical remark respecting the changed dynasty in China between the visits of Marco Polo and the time in which Toscanelli wrote, but we venture to think the names given that country, its cities, and its provinces by the Venetian traveller were still used by Europeans, and no further proof is needed than their appearance on maps for many years afterward. In the manuscript page reproduced farther on, the extreme east, as understood by Toscanelli, is not given, and consequently the names of Cathai and Quinsay and Zaiton do not appear. The reader will observe, however, as showing the difference between Toscanelli's east and that given by Ptolemy, that Sarada, or Sarata, is only 129° in Toscanelli's column, while it is the end of Ptolemy's east.

The contention of Mr. Vignaud is that a change of dynasty in the Mongolian power in China during the fourteenth century had changed the nomenclature of rulers and provinces, and that this changed nomenclature obtained in the time of Toscanelli. Not only in the fifteenth century but throughout nearly the whole of the sixteenth century the old names were used in Europe and we find in two of the first three books on America published in the English language, the latest of which is

expected accurately to determine the distance over an unexplored sea between these two points in a westward direction? Who was this Toscanelli? [1]

Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, printed at London in 1555, the important province of China is still called Cathay and its ruler the Great Khan. And in the latter book these names are employed in his preface by Richard Eden, himself a scholar and a courtier acquainted with statecraft and with the history of peoples.

[1] Not only *à propos* of Toscanselli's study of geography, but as completely disposing of the charge made by Mr. Vignaud to the effect that Toscanelli was unknown to the Portuguese, the following note or postilla, published by Signor Uzielli in 1898, is here given. It was found among the manuscript papers of Francesco Castellani, a cotemporary of Toscanelli.

"In 1459 I record that on . . . day of July I loaned to Andrea Bochacino, for Master Paolo of the family of Domenico da Pozo Toscanelli, my great historical mappemonde complete in every way. He carried . . . his family. And he was to restore it to me, except it was agreed that *he should have it for several days and show it to certain ambassadors of the King of Portugal:* and so the said Andrea and the said Paolo promised to restore it to me."

"Received from Master Ludovico, nephew of the said Master Paolo, February 2, 1484, the said mappemonde, somewhat damaged and worn by handling."

CHAPTER XXXXIV

PAOLO TOSCANELLI

PAOLO DAL POZZO TOSCANELLI, son of Domenico Toscanelli and Bartolommea, his wife, was born in Florence in 1397. There were two families in Florence by this name. One was the family of Toscanello Mangia, or Mangiatroia, from Castiglione in Val di Sieve, dwelling in the quarter of Santa Croce. The other was a family which dwelt across the Arno in the quarter of Santo Spirito, near the well of Toscanelli. Pozzo is the Italian word for well, and this particular well, celebrated in Florentine history, gave title to many another family besides the one to which our Paolo belonged. Neither of these families seems to have occupied official positions in the Republic. The well was on a street which had its name from it, and which ran at right angles to the present Via Toscanelli. Part of this street was included in the Pitti Palace when it was enlarged. The family of Landino lived near this well, and Giovanni Boccaccio is said by some to have been born in its immediate neighbourhood. The family Dal Pozzo Toscanelli occupied a house, the site of which was in the angle between the Via Guicciardini, then called Via di Piazza, and the Via de' Velluti, then called Via della Cella di Pier Fantoni. The family of Toscanelli seem to have acquired all the land from their own house as far as the corner of the Quattro Leoni. Paolo was educated at the University of Padua at some period between the years 1414 and 1424, at which latter date he had left the institution. While in the University he was an intimate friend of a fellow pupil, Nicholas de Cusa, who had come over the mountains from Germany. Toscanelli settled at Florence, his native city, and it is said he seldom was absent from his home. During the pontificate of Pius II., when that

Pope endeavoured to institute a crusade against the Ottomans, Toscanelli is believed to have attended the Christian Council held at Mantua in June, 1459. While still a young man he became acquainted with Filippo Brunelleschi, the famous architect. Legend says that this man, so skilled in his profession, the designer of important buildings, the inventor of a system of constructing vaults, found himself so much the inferior of Toscanelli in the science of mathematics, that he placed himself under his training in geometry and the other mathematical sciences so essential to his profession. The architect had been intrusted with the erection of a cupola for the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore when he first knew Toscanelli, and at a supper where they met the former uncovered his lack of mathematical knowledge, and this led, as we have said, to his friendship and association with the young and brilliant mathematician lately come out of the University. Antiquarians dispute to this day as to how much of Brunelleschi's work was really the result of calculations made for him by Toscanelli. The traveller, who from some point of sight, gazes at the great dome of the Cathedral Church can only know that Toscanelli had some part in its construction and is identified with one of the most famous buildings ever designed by man. When the same traveller enters the church, he sees inserted in the pavement in the Capello della Croce a marble gnomon [1] on which the sun's rays fall at noon on the summer solstice,—June 22. It consists of two solstitial marbles, one a large piece bearing the date of 1510, and a smaller one eccentric in form and of different marble. Each has a cavity into which the sun's rays fall from the lantern of the cupola, passing through an aperture in the southern window. The smaller one, about 360 mm. in diameter, a little more than fourteen inches, is so arranged that the sun strikes its southern edge eight days before the summer solstice. This is the one believed to have been constructed by Toscanelli about the year 1468. At a later period, finding that the gnomon supposed to be placed in the pavement by Toscanelli did not receive at the summer solstice the sun's rays directly in the centre, a new one was made in the year 1510, but was inserted around the old one. There is to-day in the same church and passing by the gnomon

[1] Sometimes this gnomon and line are covered with wooden guards to preserve both brass and marble.

a meridian line, one of the few erected by any city to show the people the exact line of the earth's surface upon which they live, and from which they can find true terrestrial directions.

The Florentines speak of two of their citizens in the fifteenth century between whom they know not how to divide the honours of fame,—Paolo Toscanelli and Leonardo, the brilliant son of Ser Piero da Vinci and of the passing Caterina. The youth of Da Vinci was as brilliant and promising as had been that of Toscanelli, passed in the preceding generation. There were bays enough for both. The mathematical and scientific studies of Leonardo must have brought him in contact with the great authority, Toscanelli. However this may be, no citizen of Florence in that time occupied so conspicuous a place of respect and veneration as Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. He was patronised by three generations of the Medici family. He beheld the struggles of Cosimo the Elder in mounting his seat of power. He saw him driven out of Florence, and he witnessed his return from Venice and his proud entry into the Tuscan capital. He heard the gouty Piero moving his disabled tongue. He paid his homage to the two brothers who jointly ruled the city, and, when a conspiracy removed the gentle Giuliano, he enjoyed the protection and encouragement of the pleasant tyrant, Lorenzo. It was under Cosimo, the merchant, that Toscanelli had his greatest advantages in meeting the travellers in commerce who entered every known market, and with their goods brought back strange tales and stories of marvel.

He was associated with the scholars of his time and early moved into the foremost rank. Leon Battista Alberti, the architect and painter, came from his studies at Bologna in the year 1429, and at once formed a lasting friendship with Toscanelli, as is seen in the letter prefixed to his *Intercenali*, which work he dedicated to his friend.[1] Not so creditable, although it was no

[1] Leon Battista de Alberti is not to be confounded with the poet, Battista de Albertis, who wrote *De Amore Liber*, or *Hecatomphila*, under which latter title it was published at Venice in 1491. The architect, Leon Battista, was an illegitimate son, as was also his brother Carlos, to whom he wrote one of his works, *De Commodis Litterarum*, and which was printed at Florence in 1496. His work *De Re Ædificatoria* was printed at Florence in 1485. The work mentioned in the text does not appear to have been printed under the title *Intercenali* during the fifteenth century.

fault of Toscanelli, is the honour paid him by Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini in putting into his mouth some of the anecdotes in his *Liber Facetiarum*, many editions of which came from the press in the fifteenth century.[1]

There were two friends of Toscanelli whose intercourse with him resulted in mutual joy and intellectual growth. Both these men were Germans.

One of these, Johannes Müller, was born June 6, 1436, at Königsberg, a city in East Prussia, and from the Latin name of this city he came to be called Regiomontanus. His father, having a mill at Unfind, in the neighbourhood of Königsberg, the trade gave the family its patronymic. Like many another before and since, the youth studied at stolen moments, and his family and friends were forced to recognise his thirst for knowledge and to provide him means for pursuing a course at the University of Leipsic. Hearing of the great German astronomer, George Von Peurbach, Müller went to Vienna, where he was teaching, and to his instructions and influence he owed his progress in the science of astronomy. The teacher died April 8, 1461, in the arms of his favourite pupil, bequeathing to him the duty of finishing certain mathematical and scientific works begun by him. Thus Müller's labours were committed to the study and problems of astronomy, in which science he far outstripped his Viennese teacher. He acquired Greek at Ferrara under Theodore Gaza, which enabled him to read Ptolemy in the original, and he was thus able to correct many errors made by those who had before translated that author into Latin. In 1462, he completed the translation of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the first six books of which Peurbach had translated before him. In 1464, Müller wrote a work to demonstrate the absurdity of Nicholas de Cusa's method of squaring the circle, and it is curious to note, as if he were recognised as the scientific Petronius, that both parties to this discussion dedicated their works to Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. Müller published his *Ephemerides Astronomicæ* probably in the year 1474, since the table of lunar observations is calculated from the year 1475 to 1506, and on the verso of the last folio we read:

[1] The first dated edition of the *Facezie*, or *Liber Facetiarum*, is that printed at Nuremberg by Fridericus Creusner in 1475.

" Explicitvm est Hoc opus
Anno Christi Domini
MCCCCLXXIIII
DVCTV IOANNIS
DE MONTEREGIO."

Bibliographers seem inclined to read *explicitum* as if it were *impressum.*

About this time he published his *Calendarium,*[1] a book in which we have a special interest. It is a tract of thirty-two folios of quarto form. On the verso of folio 16 is the woodcut of the total eclipse predicted for February 29, 1504. This book is believed to have accompanied Columbus on his fourth voyage, when, on the eventful night of February 29, 1504, the Admiral perhaps saved the lives of himself and companions, by reason of the fear inspired among the Indians by his prediction of an eclipse and his threat of Divine vengeance on the natives for withholding their assistance in the hour of his distress. In

[1] This tract has the recto of its first folio blank, and the calendar begins on the verso. The calendar comprises twelve folios. On the verso of folio 12 is *Tabvla Regionvm.* The eclipses of the moon follow with calculations from the year 1475 to 1530, woodcuts illustrating the different degrees of eclipse. On the recto of folio 19 is represented *Instrvmentvm horarvm inequalivm,* while on the verso is *Instrvmentvm veri motvs lunæ minve,* with a woodcut figure containing within it a smaller movable disk. On the verso of folio 16 is the woodcut of the total eclipse of February 29, 1504, which the reader will find reproduced in this Work. On the verso of folio 23 we read:

Verum omnem hanc fupputatione horarum cùmiuntiis fuis ad meridianum oppidi nurembergenfis referri uoluimus ꝙ locus ille dignus uidebatur quẽ nouo litterarum genere celebraremus.

From this passage we infer that not only was the work composed in Nuremberg, but that it was printed there on a press already established by Müller.

On the verso of folio 31 is the line:

Dvctv Ioannis de Monteregio.

As the reader will see in the text, it is believed that Müller had his own printing-press, and the above line may be regarded as a colophon. Folio 32 has a woodcut on both the recto and verso, the latter entitled, *Qvadratvm Horarivm Generale,* having a brass movable pointer.

In the author's example of this book, on the recto of folio 21, the printer substituted twelve lines concerning the days of February in their relation to the movable feasts. The reason for this doubtless is that the table on the verso had been already imprinted, and it was easier to make a correction than to reprint the whole.

The reader who is interested in this book will find bibliographical references to it in Panzer, vol. ii., p. 233. Panzer, however, never saw this book. Schwartz, *Doc. de Orig. Typ.*, vol. iii., p. 63; Dibdin's *Bib. Spenc,* vol. iv., p. 463; Hain's, *Repetorium,* vol. iv., p. 203.

our account of the fourth voyage of Columbus we give a reproduction of this page from the *Calendarium*.[1]

In his letter to Christian d'Erfurt, in speaking of his work on Ptolemy, Müller declares that he had recourse in his work for counsel and aid to two great scholars:

". . . Theodora Gaza, clarissimo viro, ac grece latinque doctissimo, Paolo florentino, grecarum quidem haud ignaro, in mathematicis autem plurimum excellenti."

" . . . to Theodora Gaza, a most illustrious man, most learned in both Greek and Latin, and to *Paolo the Florentine*, who, while not at all ignorant of Greek, was without rival in the mathematical sciences."

At the end of June, in the year 1475, Müller was summoned to Rome by Pope Sixtus IV. to confer with him concerning a reformation of the calendar, a project much at the heart of that Pontiff. At the same time the Pope announced to him that he would appoint him Bishop of Nuremberg. He had scarcely arrived in Rome when, falling ill of the pest then raging in the Eternal City, he died there, July 6, 1475, and was buried in the Pantheon. Popes Martin V. and Eugene IV. had endeavoured to turn this Papal Temple into a church, in which might be interred the illustrious dead. The sepulchre of Johannes Müller Regiomontanus is not identified in the present day.

Nicholas de Cusa, the other intimate friend of Toscanelli, was born in 1401 in Cues, a small village on the banks of the Moselle, in the province of Treves in Rhenish Prussia. He was educated at Deventer, in the house of the Brothers of the Common Life, a celebrated order of that time in Germany and Italy. Before he

[1] It is certain that Müller had established a printing-press at Nuremberg as early as 1471, in which year he went to that city, forming a partnership with a rich patrician, Bernardus Waltherus. It is not unlikely that his press was established as early as that of Johannes Sensenschmid, and perhaps he is entitled, as one might infer from the reference in our note, to the honour of being Nuremberg's first printer. However this may be, he printed the following works from his celebrated and extremely rare press:

Georgius Peurbachius: *Theoricæ Nouæ Planetarium.* **Folio.**
Manilius: *Astronomicon.* Quarto.
Johannes Regiomontanus: *Calendarium.* Quarto.
Johannes Regiomontanus: *Ephemerides.* Quarto.
Hæc Opera fient . . . ductu Johannis de Monteregio **(a single leaf only).**
Basilius: *Opusculum ad Juuenes.*
Johannes Regiomontanus: *Tractatus contra Cremonensia.* **Folio.**
Vegius: *Philalethes.* Quarto.
Ioh. Regiomontanus: *Kalender.* Quarto.

was twenty years of age he entered the University of Padua, where he met Toscanelli and where their friendship began. De Cusa left Padua about 1428, and entered upon an ecclesiastical career, in which he made rapid progress and obtained early preferment. In 1430 he was Dean of the College of St. Florins at Coblentz. After performing many ecclesiastical functions and serving as Papal legate, Nicolas V., soon after assuming the Pontifical dignity, bestowed the Red Cap upon De Cusa on December 28, 1448, with the title of Cardinal di San Pietro in Vincoli. Between the years of 1450 and 1460, De Cusa devoted all his spare time to mathematical studies, holding continual correspondence with Toscanelli, which was uninterrupted until the death of the Cardinal. He was several times in Florence, and in 1479 he persuaded his philosophical friend to visit him in Rome, which he did shortly after. De Cusa was the author of many theological and scientific works. He died in Todi, August 11, 1464, and we have a special interest in the will which was read directly after his death. On June 15, 1461, in his own palace near the Church of Santi Pietro e Paolo, the Cardinal made his will, having as one of his witnesses a certain Pietro Wymar di Erkelens, Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Three years after this the Cardinal, accompanied by Toscanelli and other friends, was on his way to meet the new Crusaders who were going against the Turks. Pope Pius II., then, like De Cusa, approaching his last days, was making his way in a litter to Ancona, where he welcomed a squadron of eleven galleys from Venice, headed by the Doge himself, Cristoforo Maurus. Here at Ancona, in the midst of his project of himself accompanying a fleet, the Pope, on August 14, 1464, died, a great priest, after a brief reign of six years. The Cardinal de Cusa, with Toscanelli, was on his way to this same meeting, but at Todi, a little town some five and twenty miles south of Perugia, he was taken ill, and, on August 11, 1464, three days before the death of the Head of his Church, he passed from earth. It is his second will, made at Todi on August 6, 1464, that holds our attention for a moment. There was present when this will was executed the same individual who had witnessed the previous instrument of June 15, 1461, Pietro Wymar di Erkelens, and who on this occasion officiated as notary. The body of the first will was confirmed with some modifications, and two cardinals, Giovanni, Bishop of Porto, and

Berardo of Santa Sabina, were named as his executors. The instrument was witnessed by Giovan Andrea d'Bussi, Bishop of Acci [1] in Corsica, Paulus Physicus of Florence (Toscanelli), and Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon. All three of these witnesses were interesting men. The first appended his name as follows:

"Ego Ioannes Andreas, episcopus Acciensis, premissis omnibus et singulis rogatus testis interfui, ac ea, ut premittitur, fieri vidi et audivi. ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

When printing was introduced into Italy, it was Giovan d'Bussi who became the corrector of the first Italian press set up at Subiaco by Conradus Sweynheim and Arnoldus Pannartz. Thus the hand of this man trimmed the torch of learning.

The second witness subscribed as follows:

"Ego Magister Paulus magistri Dominici, physicus, omnibus ac singulis rogatus [*sic*] testis interfui, ac etiam, ut premittitur, fieri vidi et audivi. ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

"I, Master Paolo, physician, the son of Domenico, was present when the witnesses all and severally were introduced and examined, and I saw and heard what was said as is set forth. Therefore, as a witness for each of them I have in good faith subscribed myself with my own hand."

Paulus Physicus, the son of Dominicus, is our own Toscanelli.

The third witness appended his name as follows:

"Ego Magister Fernandus de Roritz, Canonicus Ulixbonensis, artium et medicine doctor, premissis omnibus et singulis rogatus testis interfui, ac ea, ut premittitur fieri vidi et audivi. Ideo me hic manu propria subscripsi in fidem et testimonium eorundem."

"I, Master Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of the city of Lisbon, Doctor of Sciences and Medicine, was present when the witnesses all and severally were summoned and examined, and I saw and heard what was done as here set forth. Therefore, as a witness for each of them I have subscribed myself with my own hand."

The third witness is believed to be no other than Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, to whom Toscanelli, on June 25, 1474, wrote his famous letter concerning a western trans-Atlantic route to the Indies. It is the contention of Signor Uzielli

[1] Some have thought to identify this place with Adaiciensis or Ajaccio, but Signor Uzielli has determined that it was Acci, now disappeared, but once an important town in Corsica, and which, in the fifteenth century, had a bishopric.

that the name of this man, as it appears appended to the testament, is derived from the village of his birth. This village is Roritz, in Portugal, in the province Entre Douro-e-Minho, near the river Vizella, in the district of Oporto. It certainly was the custom to name men after the place in which they were born, and an instance of this is seen in the name of the testator himself, Nicholas de Cusa, who was called after his native village. It may be argued that in a formal document like this, a man's patronymic or the name describing the place of his origin, would be of the utmost importance for purposes of identification, and hence if the man in question, to avoid using a long appellation and to choose between subscribing himself Fernam Martins or Fernandus de Roritz, would naturally have made use of the latter form. But if this choice obtained in the case of this witness, why did it not in the case of that other witness, Paulus Physicus, who made use neither of Pozzo nor Toscanelli in subscribing to the will?[1] Cotemporaneous with both Toscanelli and De Cusa was another ecclesiastic, Antonio Martins, of the province of Oporto or a neighbouring province in Portugal. This man filled many offices in the church, having been connected with the Metropolitan Church at Lisbon,—the same in which our Fernam Martins held the office of Canon,—Dean of the church of Avora, Bishop of Porto, and Cardinal of San Grisogono. He was employed by King John to accompany his nephew Alfonso as delegate from Portugal to the Council of Bâle, and also as Ambassador to Charles VII. of France, to Henry VII. of England, and to Philip of Burgundy to induce them to conclude peace among themselves. This man was at the Councils held in Bâle, Ferrara, and Florence, and, being the most eminent representative from Portugal, it is certain he must have been known to Toscanelli. The inference is that these two men, the Canon of Lisbon and the Prince of the Church, having the same name of Martins, coming from the same or contiguous provinces, were of the same family and were both known to Toscanelli. It is only inference, but so is much of the matter relating to characters of the fifteenth century.

[1] As for ourselves, we do not find on any printed map of Portugal of the fifteenth or sixteenth century to which we have had access this village of Roritz. We should be inclined to think it might be another and ancient form for Cividad Rodrigo, except that Signor Uzielli, who has particularly studied this point, will not admit its probability.

The basis of the inference as to the identity of Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, with Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon, is the similarity of names united to the relationship Paolo Toscanelli held with each. It will be recalled that in the Latin letter which is claimed to have been inscribed by the hand of Columbus in the *Historia* of Pius II., Toscanelli at its very beginning expresses himself pleased to hear *de tua valitudine*. This solicitude for the health of his correspondent certainly suggests intimate personal relations.

Again, Toscanelli says in a passage immediately following:

Cum tecum alias locutus sum de breviori via ad loca aromatum.

"I have on other occasions spoken with thee concerning the shorter route to the land of spices."

This language indicates personal intercourse. The Florentine had before this communicated his ideas on this subject to the Lisbon Canon by word of mouth. When and where did these two men know each other? Toscanelli is known never to have departed out of Italy. He did make journeys to Rome. What more natural than that a Canon of Lisbon, a man bound to Rome by religious ties and to men of science by the bonds of learning, should find himself in company at Rome with Toscanelli and afterward journey with him and his friend the Cardinal to see the splendid spectacle of a new Crusade starting to wrest from the Mohammedan his hold on the cradle of Christianity?

Signor Uzielli produces another very strong reason for believing that the Fernandus de Roritz, Canon of Lisbon, associated with Cardinal de Cusa and Toscanelli was identical with the Fernam Martins, Canon of Lisbon, associated with Toscanelli in the famous correspondence concerning a shorter route to the land of spices. There is preserved in the *Biblioteca Reale* of Monaco a *Tetralogus de non Aliud* between the four individuals, Cardinal de Cusa under the name of Abbas, or the Abbe, Johannes Andreas Vigerius, Petrus Balbus Pisanus, and *Ferdinandus Matim Portugaliensi Natione*. The subject under discussion was the examination of a philosophical method to be employed in arriving at a knowledge of transcendental truths. The reader will remember that we have met with three of these men before, when two of them were gathered with our Toscanelli in the little Italian town of Todi around the death-bed of the third. Johan-

nes Andreas, Bishop of Acci and a native of Vigevano (from which De Cusa calls him Vigerius), and Fernandus (Martin) de Roritz, of the Portuguese nation and Canon of Lisbon, witnessed the last will and testament of Cardinal de Cusa on August 6, 1464. Here, then, are associated three of the parties to the discussion, and who can doubt that the *Fernando Martin* or *Ferdinandus Matim of the Portuguese nation* is the same individual who was at the death-bed of the author of the *Tetralogue* in which he figured, and the same individual who afterward corresponded with Toscanelli? It seems to us that the existence of a real personality for Toscanelli's correspondent has been established.

Toscanelli was the author of several works on geography, on perspective, and on meteorology as applied to agriculture. These works are to-day lost, but the reader has received already an impression of the learning of a man who could attract to himself the greatest hearts and minds of Germany and Italy. The relationship in which he lived with other great souls excites surprise when we learn of his retired and quiet life in his home at Florence. He seems to have been sought by the famous men of his day, rather than to have gone forth into the world for notoriety. Paolo Toscanelli died at Florence, May 10, 1482. In the early spring of that year, on his finding his end approaching, he called around him his natural heirs and recorded in a notarial act his wishes concerning his property, and particularly his desire that his heirs might live in unity. He seems to have made some disposition of the instruments associated with his studies of geography, astronomy, and the mathematical sciences, and of his library devoted to these subjects as well as to medicine and theology. It is said that among his books were sixteen volumes in Greek — presumably manuscripts — of great value. Ludovico Toscanelli inherited these. There was a volume of Ibn-Sina,[1] or Avicenna, the Arabian philosopher, which was greatly prized by Toscanelli, but so little were his death-bed admonitions heeded that this precious manuscript was put in pawn by his heirs for fifty-seven Florentine lire.

[1] This was probably a manuscript. There was no dated printed edition rare enough to deserve special care. During the fifteenth century there were printed no less than twenty-five separate editions of this author, several of which were issued prior to Toscanelli's death.

The cotemporaries of Toscanelli as well as subsequent historians all agree as to the singular purity of his life and character. Vespaciano da Bisticci says of him: *Era ferma opinione che Maestro Pagolo fusse Vergine*, a virtuous condition due, some critics think, to the extreme plainness of his person. This same Vespaciano reports that much of the time the philosopher had his sleep while lying upon a board attached to his writing-table. He lived most frugally on herbs, fruit, and water, scarcely touching meat.

Bartholomeo Fonzio, Public Professor of Eloquence at Florence, who knew Toscanelli in his old age, wrote of him in his *Annali:*

"Paulus Tuscanellus, medicus et insignis philosophus, magnum exemplar virtutis qui semper nudo vertice etiam in maximis frigoribus incedebat: . . . annum agens quintem et octogesium, idibus maiis, Florentia in patrie solo moritur."

"Paul Toscanelli, physician and distinguished philosopher, a great example of virtue, who always walked about with bared head even in the fiercest winter, . . . is dead on May 15, at Florence, his native place, aged eighty-five."

He was not free of speech in company, remaining long without intruding his conversation. Vespaciano regarded him as the most mild of men, so good himself that when he heard anything at all indecent he changed countenance. He himself never spoke evil of any one. He was extremely devout and observant of religious forms, a lover of the good and especially of those persons connected with the Church. He visited the sick and administered unto those in need. Thus he lived a life, says Vespaciano, of extreme virtue, having no weight upon his conscience.

The singular purity of this man's life is mentioned by Luca Landucci, the Florentine chronicler, who speaks of Toscanelli in 1458, when he makes mention of the illustrious citizens of Florence. In his *Diario* and in his list of famous men he places Toscanelli after the Archbishop Antonino and Messer Bartholomew de' Lappacci, calling him: *Master Paolo, a Physician. Philosopher, and Astrologer, and a Man of Holy Life.* The fourth name is that of Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, and history records that these four names were the most illustrious stars in the resplendent Tuscan capital, representing sanctity and the schools, science and the State.

Portrait of Paolo Toscanelli.

Toscanelli was by no means as poor as the proverbial philosopher. In the year 1462 there was the greatest excitement over the discovery of a mine of alunite or alum stone in Tolfa, ten miles north-east of Civita Vecchia. This discovery, it has been pointed out, was for its importance to Europe in that day like the discovery of gold in California in our own time. The supply of alum had come from Edessa in Syria and from Turkey, and now the Christian world found itself with home sources not only making it independent of the hated Mohammedan, but opening a new source of revenue, the wealth from which might be turned against the Moslems.

Thus Pope Pius II., intent on his new Crusade, was quick to take this view of the discovery and publicly announced that from the earth was to come the resources for the delivery of Jerusalem. This animated the Christian world and a general hunt for productive metals and earthy elements was instituted, particularly throughout Italy. A few years afterward, Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then on the throne, was notified of the discovery of certain rich copper mines at Montecatini in Val di Cecina, and besides securing a concession from Pope Sixtus IV., he formed a stock company consisting of six shareholders, of which Toscanelli was fortunate enough to be one. It is not certain that this particular investment was greatly profitable to the philosopher, but it seems to indicate that the great scientific knowledge of Toscanelli was the cause of his becoming associated with the speculators and captains of industry of that day. He gave much of his time also to the science of agriculture. His acquaintance with the properties of minerals and metals was important to the development of the mining and agricultural industries of his native country, and was of practical use to mankind.

There appears to have been only one contemporaneous portrait of Paolo Toscanelli, which was painted in a fresco by Alessio Baldovinetti, in the chapel of Santa Trinita, in Florence. It is thought that this was executed between the years 1471 and 1476. A century later, sometime between the years 1569 and 1572, Georgius Vasari was decorating the grand hall of the Palazzo Vecchio and was engaged in discovering portraits or works made by previous artists, in which search he mentions

particularly the examples of Baldovinetti in the said chapel of Santa Trinita. As Vasari proceeded to place on the wall of the Palazzo Vecchio the portrait of Paolo Toscanelli, it is inferred that he painted his portrait from a contemporaneous model by the earlier Florentine artist. Vasari introduces this illustrious character in his *Dialogue*, where the interlocutors were himself and Francesco de' Medici, and where the former is describing the frescoes in the Great Hall of Cosimo il Vecchio:

"Principe. . . . ma vegniamo a quest' altra storia, dove io veggio un gran numero di persone naturali intorno a Cosimo, che siede loro in mezzo. chi sono coloro che gli presentano libri, e quelli altri che li presentano statue, pitture e medaglie?

"Giorgio. Quel ritto vestito di pagonazzo, magro e grinzo, che ha quel libro in mano, è Marsilio Ficino, grandissimo e ottimo filosofo, che presenta a Cosimo l'opere sue, e dietro gli è l'Argiro Pilo, di nazion greca, litteratissimo di que' tempi, che fu mezzo Cosimo, che la gioventù fiorentina imparassi la lingua greca, in que' tempi poco nota; e quelli in proffilo allato al Ficino è mæstro *Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli*, grandissimo geometra.

"Principe. Huomini tutti grandi e onorati. . . ."

"Franceso. . . . But now we come to this other part where I see a great number of illustrious persons surrounding Cosimo, who is seated in their midst. Pray who are these who are presenting him with books and who are the others who present him with statues, paintings, and medals?

"Vasari. That one to the right, clothed in purple, lean and wrinkled, who has a book in his hand, is Marsilio Ficino, the best and greatest philosopher, who presents his own work to Cosimo, and behind him is Argiro Pilo, of the Greek nation, the most learned of those times, who was at the Court of Cosimo in order that the Florentine youth might become versed in the Greek tongue, at that time little known. And he whose profile appears by Vicino is Master Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, the greatest of geometricians.

"Francesco. All great and honoured men. . . ."

Toscanelli is believed to have been buried in the Church of Santo Spirito in Florence, where his family had the right of sepulture, but with the passing of time and in the changes of the vaults and pavements, his tomb is no longer identified.

We have dwelt thus at length on the personality of this Florentine for the purpose of recalling to the memory of the world one of the great lights of a past age whose acquirements and virtues entitle him to remembrance. He was one of the great men of his age and he walked among great men. If his

thoughts were much on the heavens, his hand brought to man many practical blessings. We can not think that any man or any coterie of men would dare have fabricated a letter from him on any subject whatsoever, especially when the second party to the correspondence was a man well known in Portugal and in Italy.[24]

CHAPTER XXXXV

TOSCANELLI, THE SCIENTIST

In the month of April of the year 1864, Professor Giovanni Battista Donati sent a communication to *Le Notizie Astronomiche* as follows:

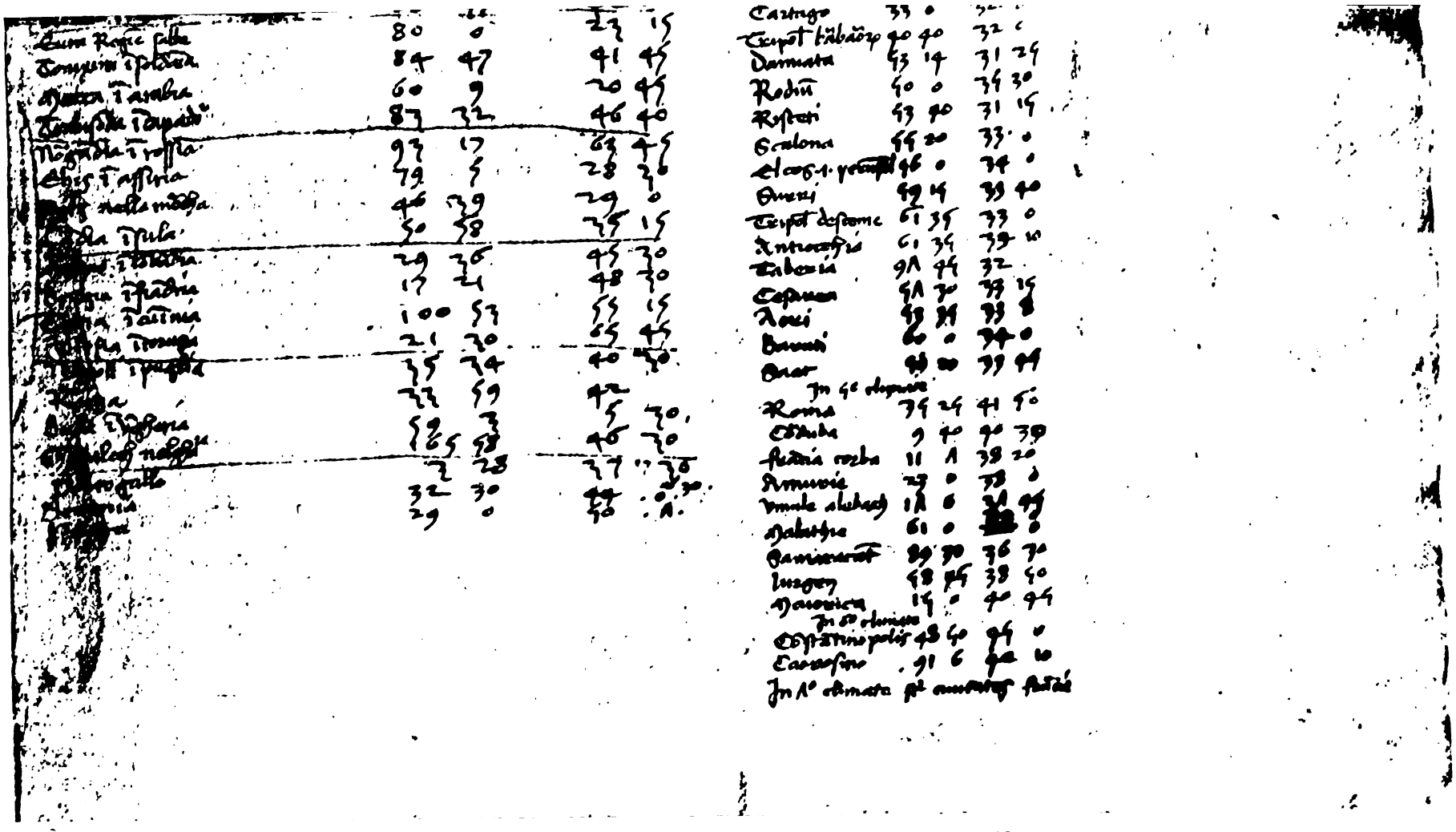
I have the pleasure of announcing to you that there have been found at Florence some very ancient observations, very interesting, concerning some comets of which up to the present time we have only very vague information. It is to Mons. the Professor Puliti that we owe the discovery of these, which he has found in an ancient manuscript in our National Library. These observations relate to the comets which made their appearance in the years 1433, 1449, 1456,[1] 1457, and 1472. We owe these observations to Paul Toscanelli, celebrated for his letters to Christopher Columbus and for the famous gnomon which he placed in our cathedral. I propose to write a detailed discourse on these observations and as soon as possible I will acquaint you with the results of my labours.[2]

Besides his observations on the comets, this precious manuscript, the only holograph of Toscanelli in existence, contains a table of latitudes and longitudes for many well-known places and a graduated rectangular outline designed for a map. We reproduce these in exact fac-simile. This last consists of two equal sheets, one marked in the manuscript 253 A, and the other 256 A, by which they may be identified. The one 253 A is 221 mms. in height and 215 mms. in length and has the word *Oriēs* (Oriens) inscribed on the lower dexter corner; on three of its sides, the upper, the lower, and the right, is a border containing spaces and degrees. The border on the right side marks the

[1] The Halley Comet.

[2] This manuscript will be found in the *Biblioteca Nazionale* under the following library designation: Banco rari, arm. 9, palch. 2, n. 13. Uzielli gives the following abbreviation, A. 9. 2. 13.

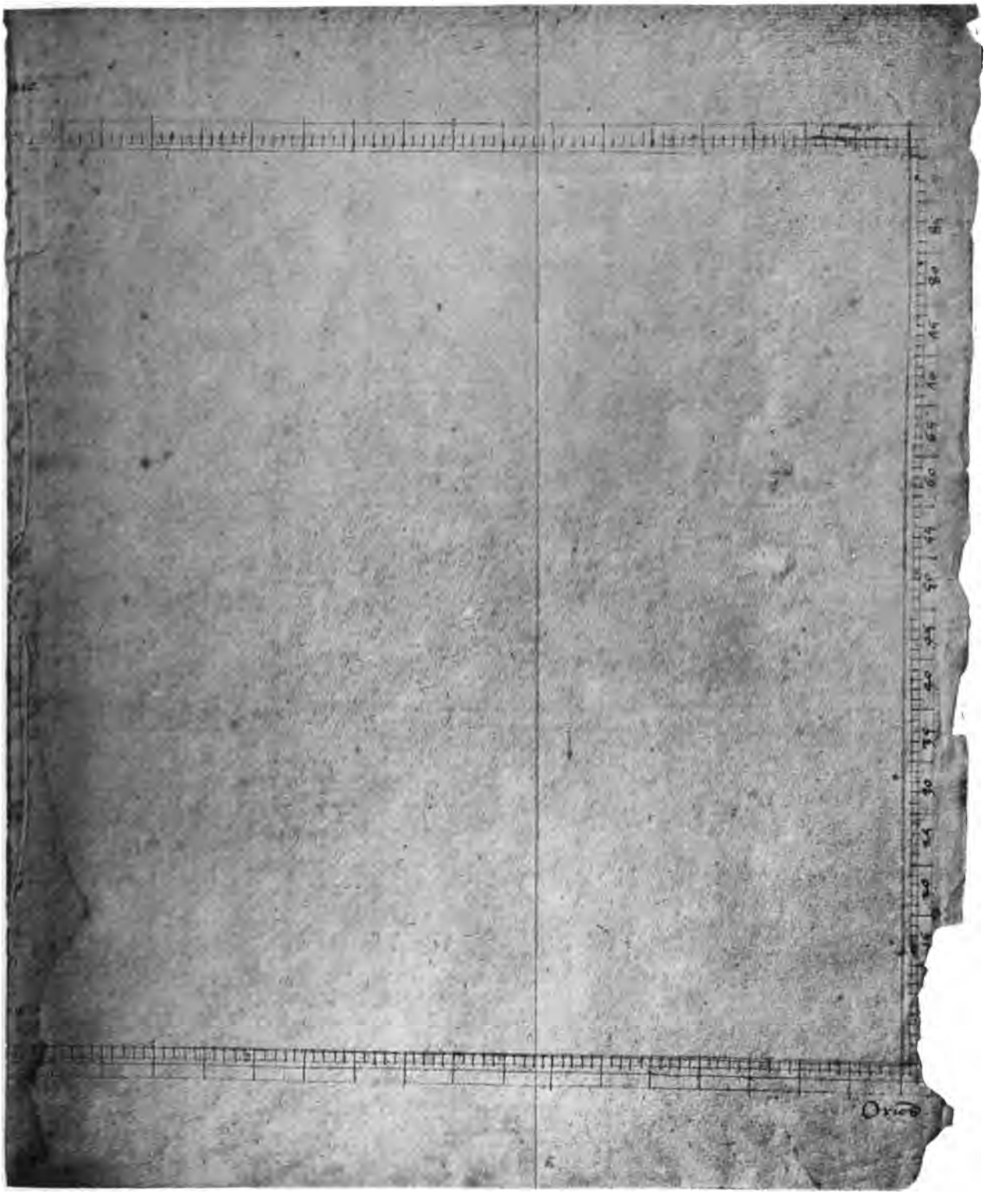
| | | |



Fac-simile of Toscanelli's Holograph Geographical Table.

Fac-simile of Toscanelli's Holograph M

[*Reduced from the size*



ap in a Graduated Rectangular Outline.
mentioned in the text.]

latitude, the lower parallel being the equator and the upper being the pole, there being 18 spaces, each having five subdivisions, each marking a degree, giving 90 degrees in height from the equatorial line to the Arctic Pole. The border on the lower and upper side marks the longitude and contains 36 spaces, each having five subdivisions, each marking a degree. The other, 256 A, is 221 mms. in height and 215 mms. in length. It has the word *Occidēs* (Occidens) on the lower sinister side, and is intended to have its right side joined immediately to the left side of 253 A, thus forming a rectangular plane 221 mms. in height, containing 18 spaces or 90 degrees of latitude from the equinoctial line to the Arctic Pole, and 430 mms. in length containing 36 spaces or 180 degrees of longitude. That this union is intended is evident from the fact that the word *Septētrio* (Septentrio) above each section is divided, the letters *Septē* appearing on the extreme upper dexter corner of 256 A and the *trio* appearing on the extreme upper sinister corner of 253 A, the word being completed by the union of the two sections. Evidently this plane was intended to be accompanied by another having the same dimensions, upon which was to be depicted the rest of the habitable world from the equator to the south or Antarctic Pole, the longitude being continued 36 spaces or another 180 degrees to complete the circumference of the earth. There is no geographical matter whatsoever inscribed within the border. It was only a frame in which the geographer expected to paint known and unknown places, as he did for King Alfonso and for Columbus, but he was interrupted in his work and his picture of the world is lost to us for ever. Enough is preserved, however, to indicate that Toscanelli divided the terrestrial equatorial line into 72 spaces, each having five degrees.

We have now to consider the other folio of the manuscript, which is marked 254 A, and which is here reproduced. We are to learn from this the length of a degree as calculated by Toscanelli. On the upper right-hand margin the philosopher has written:

"Gradus continet. 68. miliarum minus. 3^{a}. unius. Miliarum tria milia brachia. Brachium duos palmos. Palmus .12. uncias .7. filos."

"A degree contains 67⅔ [sixty-eight less one third] miles. A mile

contains 3000 brachia. A brachium contains two palms. A palm contains 12 inches and 7 fili."[1]

A brachium is estimated to contain 0.550637 metres. A mile or 3000 brachia would contain 1651.911 metres, or 5417 English feet. Toscanelli, then, estimated that a degree on the great circle at the equator measured $67\frac{2}{3}$ Tuscan miles, equal to $69\frac{23}{28}\frac{20}{80}$ English statute miles. According to this the circumference of the earth at the equator would equal 24,969 of our English miles. The French measurement made by M. Faye in the year 1894 was 40,007,520 metres, or 24,860 English miles. About the same time another measurement gave 24,871 statute miles. The world recognises improvements in measurements as in other things not so exact. If we do not know the exact circumference of the earth we cannot secure an exact unit of measure. The legal French metre is 39.370432 English inches, but the results obtained from the arc-measurements made by Col. A. R. Clarke make a metre 39.377786 English inches. However, the correctness of his calculations by this man in the fifteenth century, this man who had never been out of Italy, is something to excite our wonder.

We may now turn to the letter of Toscanelli to Columbus as copied by the hand of the latter in the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II. In this letter Toscanelli says he incloses with the letter a marine chart upon which he has laid down the coasts and islands of Portugal, with *straight* lines drawn lengthwise upon the map to indicate distances from east to west and *transverse* [lines] to show the distances from south to north, together with the location of various places. Writers do not agree as to the meaning of *transversæ*. Some, like Signor Uzielli, regard the *transverse* lines as running north and south, perpendicular to the other *straight* lines which Toscanelli says he has drawn from east to west. Others see in the use of these terms an expression of different kinds of lines, as if those running north and south were lines intersecting diagonally. Authorities are found for both readings.[2]

[1] We are at a loss to know the measure of the *filum* or *filo*. Some have imagined that Toscanelli wrote *ditos* for *digitos*. Some have thought it was intended for *crino*, a measure used by the Arabs and meaning the thickness of a horsehair. Evidently the word is the Latin *filum*, but its dimensions we do not know, unless, as is possible in this connection, it may be the twenty-fourth part of an inch. Dante sometimes uses *fil* as a unit of measure.

[2] Frontinus in his *De Aquæductibus* uses *transversæ* in the sense of oblique lines. And while no maps with projections were constructed in the fifteenth century, the

In this letter of Toscanelli is a post-scriptum which is so doubtful in its reading that Mr. Vignaud considers it as destroying the credibility of the entire letter. We confess that at first sight it seems decidedly puzzling. The first part of the paragraph is as follows:

" A ciutate vlixponis per occidentem in directo sunt 26 spacia in carta signita quorum quodlibet habet miliaria 250 usque ad nobilisim [am] et maximam ciuitatem quinsay circuit enim centum miliaria et habet pontes decem et nomen eius sonat cita del cielo ciuitas celi et multa miranda de ea narrantur de multitudine artificium et de reditibus. hoc spacium est fere tercia pars tocius spere, que ciuitas est in prouincia mangi scilicet vicina prouincie katay in qua residencia terre regia est."

" From the city of Lisbon by the west in a direct line there are 26 spaces designated on the map, each of which has 250 miles, as far as the splendid and great city of Quinsay. For it is a hundred miles about it and it has ten bridges and the name of it is *Cita del Cielo*, City of Heaven, and many wonderful things are narrated concerning it and concerning the multitude of its industries and resources. This space is nearly a third part of the whole sphere, which city is in the province of Mangi, certainly in the neighbourhood of the province of Cathay, in which country is the Royal Capital.

If now we are to understand that Toscanelli[1] intended to say that three times 26 spaces would encircle the globe it is contrary to the system on which he constructed the rectangular outline which we have reproduced. Three times 26 will give us 78 spaces for the circumference or total distance around the equator, and no geographer would select a system of divisions from which the 360 degrees of a circle could not be obtained by a whole multiple. The tendency in the use of figures has always been to employ decimals. At all events it is easier and therefore more desirable to use 10 or a power of 10 or a half of 10

fact that Toscanelli had in mind a sphere indicates that he knew the difference in the measurement of degrees according as one advanced toward the pole.

Moreover, his reference to directions which he had given of *how far it would be necessary to diverge from a straight line*—the equator—*quantum a polo vel a linea equinotiali debeatis declinare*, suggests that he was providing for the curvature of the earth and that it would be necessary not to follow absolutely a straight line, but to allow for the spheroidal form of the earth by diverging from the equatorial line.

[1] Perhaps in all Europe there was no man more worthy of succeeding to the reputation for scientific learning, and particularly geographical knowledge, once enjoyed by Paolo Toscanelli than Jaime Ferrer. Let the reader interpret his letter to the Spanish sovereigns, dated January 27, 1495, in which he undertakes to explain the 370 leagues of distance fixed by Spain and Portugal for a dividing line. If this scientist with knowledge of actual distances could not make himself clear in a few lines, it need not be wondered if Toscanelli fails to make his brief letter perfectly intelligible.

rather than a fraction. We do not believe Toscanelli would make use of any such division of the earth's circle as 78 equal spaces. If he had divided the circle into 72 spaces, the multiple 5, or 5 degrees to a space, would give us 360 degrees for the completed circle. The reader will notice that after employing exact terms, after stating that from Lisbon to Quinsay there are 26 spaces of 250 miles each, Toscanelli enters upon a brief description of the glories of Quinsay and then is made to state that *this space is almost a third part of the entire sphere;* after which he reverts again to Quinsay. This suggests an interpolation. It is so much in a parenthetical form that, as we have seen in the Spanish version which Las Casas probably had directly from the family of Columbus and therefore from his papers, it appears actually in a parenthesis. But even this form of inserting the passage does not relieve the incoherency of the interpolation. And above all the language used is not scientific language such as Toscanelli would have employed if he had been speaking of an actual map and of actual distances. The scientist does not know the words *nearly* or *almost* or *about.* The merchant traveller employs these words to describe the distances in his journeys, but an astronomer or geographer would not be likely to use indefinite measurements. We think, then, that this phrase, *this space is nearly one third part of the whole sphere,* was inserted by Columbus as his own expression, and that the Florentine philosopher is not to be held responsible for its appearance. We do not see why this admission or the fact itself should throw doubt upon the genuineness of the letter. This letter is not in Toscanelli's hand. It is almost certain from its construction and from the spelling of the words that it is not a literal transcription. We believe it is in the proper hand of Columbus, as we venture to hope we shall demonstrate in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus." Columbus, however, was not particular or careful in his orthography either in Spanish or Latin. If we imagine that Columbus was hurried or that some one was reading to him from the original when he was engaged in inscribing the letter in the blank page of the *Historia* of Pius II., it would account for the errors—not many at the most—which are noticeable in the copy and it would account for the sudden action of the transcriber in inserting the expression of a thought which he desired to connect with what the

original writer had said. The habit of making notes, of jotting down his ideas wherever he found blank paper and without regard to the dignity of the subject, was confirmed in Columbus, and it is quite possible that he saw no impropriety, since the letter itself and its transcription were for himself alone, in interpolating that phrase. It is like the incoherent manner of Columbus in his elaborate compositions and indeed in nearly all his writing. It certainly is not in harmony with the exact, methodical, precise habits of Toscanelli.

CHAPTER XXXXVI

THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE NAVIGATOR

If we examine the letter of Toscanelli we will discover that it tells Columbus no more than he himself knew from the same sources from which the Florentine derived his knowledge. If Toscanelli the philosopher had access to the *Imago Mundi* of Petrus Aliacus, so also had Columbus the navigator. If Toscanelli knew what Aristotle and Seneca, Plato and Pliny, Thucydides and Strabo said of the Western Ocean, Columbus knew it also. It was not the sort of thing discussed only by philosophers. The men who went down to the sea in ships, who sailed in the waters beyond the Pillars of Hercules, who saw the sun sink behind the Western waves, speculated on what these great authorities said. It is true that Toscanelli gave an exact measurement for the distance from Lisbon to Quinsay, the contemplated termini of this unknown road. But Columbus knew that neither Toscanelli nor any other man before him had ever gone that way. Columbus knew that even the eastern road between these two places had not been accurately mapped. And yet, we think from no source did Columbus draw such inspiration and support as from his correspondence with Toscanelli. No spirit ever so influenced the soul of Columbus as that of the calm, deliberative, speculative Paolo Toscanelli. Countless leagues of unknown waters, peopled in the minds of men with dread monsters and unclean things, lay between the shores of Europe and the spice lands of Cathay. The studious old man in his chamber in Florence, the foremost philosopher of his time, had never seen the Atlantic waves and yet at his voice of confidence and encouragement the soul of Columbus responded as to the voice of a prophet. "Go," said Toscanelli; "I go," an-

swered Columbus. The influence of the one over the other was not mechanical, but spiritual. It was not the map of Toscanelli but his philosophical approval that inspired Columbus. It was not the twenty-six spaces with their two hundred and fifty miles which encouraged the sailor. It was the abstract declaration of the greatest thinker of his age, that the project was scientifically practicable, which warmed the heart of Columbus and confirmed him in his purpose. The Florentine could tell the Genoese nothing about trimming his sails or sailing his ship. But there were other things which, if not mentioned in their correspondence, were answered in the abstract approval of the philosopher. When the ship reached a distance out into the Western sea, might not some mysterious rush of waters draw it down into its dreadful maw? Might not this vessel whose wood was fastened with iron nails yield its joints to an unknown betrayer, the destroying island told of by sailors and even put down on his map by Johannes Ruysch?[1] Would the island of demons draw his ship to destruction? Here, then, was the greatest speculative philosopher of the fifteenth century, an inquirer not merely of books but of such travellers and merchants as had sailed many waters and journeyed over many lands, saying to Columbus: "*Have no fear! The matter is not difficult! The way is not far! The honour is great! The gain is inestimable!*" No pilot could have fastened Columbus to his purpose as did the aged Florentine.

Thus, when the little fleet which this modern Tiphys guided set out upon its Western navigation, its captain bore with him the map prepared by Paolo Toscanelli. But this map was not his sailing chart. This last was no other than his own map, prepared by his own hands, with seas and lands and islands drawn in by himself and by none other.[2] Toscanelli's chart was set to

[1] In the Indian Ocean, also, the draughtsmen of the first engraved Ptolemy maps, Rome, 1478, placed an island or group of islands in the first *Paralellus versus Austrum*, with this legend:

"Hic lapis gignitvr Hercvlevs obque hoc navigia qve clavos fereos habent detinentur harvm. Incolæ Anthropaphagi svnt."

"The lodestone is found here, by means of which ships having iron nails are drawn to the shores. The people here are cannibals."

[2] It is true that Las Casas identifies as the chart of Toscanelli a map which Columbus had with him, but it is also true that he describes another certain chart as one constructed by Columbus himself. It was this last which Martin Alonso Pinzón had on his boat over which he and Columbus had pored, and which he finally returned on board the *Santa Maria*, on Tuesday, September 25, 1492.

a course between Lisbon and Quinsay. In front of Lisbon were the Azores. Beyond the Azores was the island of Antilia. Farther on was Cipango. And farther yet lay Cathay. The Canaries belonged to Spain and naturally the starting-point was from their shores. But the course was the course of Columbus and not that of Toscanelli.

To those who think the chart guiding Columbus was one belonging to the mysterious Pilot, we say that the words of Las Casas declaring it to be one on which Columbus had drawn islands and other things, equally apply. Martin Alonso Pinzón said that the islands depicted on that map by Columbus were in that region and in this view Columbus acquiesced. If the story of the Pilot was known only to Columbus, how came Martin Alonso Pinzón to know of the islands? If Martin Alonso Pinzón knew the Pilot's story, would he not have betrayed it, since he loved not the Genoese adventurer? We may be sure of this, Columbus made immediate, direct, practical use of neither a map furnished him by a strange pilot nor one furnished him by a wise philosopher. His own hand made this map and so far as any chart could aid him in unknown waters, his own map guided his course across the sea.

If the Toscanelli correspondence is fraudulent, we need seek no further for the perpetrator than Christopher Columbus himself. We will present, in our Chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," what we consider strong evidence tending to show that the transcript of the Latin letter on the guard-folio of the *Historia* of Pius II., printed at Venice in the year 1477, is in his proper hand. Andrés Bernaldez, the Curé of Los Palacios, who had a personal acquaintance with the Admiral after his return from his second voyage in 1496, declares that Columbus, while in Andalusia, had been employed in selling printed books,—*mercador de libros de estampa.* It is likely he knew of this book for, although this is the first edition of the *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, there had been many editions printed of its author's letter on a new Crusade against the Turks, and this was a subject ever dear to the heart of Columbus. The writings of one who had filled the Chair of St. Peter would be likely to attract the attention of a pious member of the Church. When then did he inscribe this letter in

the book? If the letter is a copy of a genuine letter of Toscanelli, it must have been transcribed prior to the year 1492, since after the discovery there would have been no point to the letter, and if it had been copied subsequently it would have been accompanied with the Admiral's notes and corrections.

If, however, the letter was a fabrication Columbus must have made it subsequent to the discovery or there would have been no point to the fabrication.

Las Casas, it will be remembered, said of the story:

> It was common for those of us who came here in the beginning to discuss it and treat it as a certain thing, which I believe must have been derived from some one or more persons who knew it or perhaps from some one who heard it from the mouth of the Admiral himself either as a whole or in part.

It is noticeable that nowhere does Las Casas treat this report as if it could in the least injure the fame of Columbus. He mentions it, simply, as one of the determining influences leading Columbus to the discovery, and then declares that even if true, neither it nor any one thing could be singled out as the determining cause. The language of Las Casas as to the currency of the story can hardly justify us in regarding it as literally meaning that it was in active existence when the young priest landed at San Domingo sometime in the year 1502, at which time the Admiral was on his fourth and last voyage. But, even if we fix the time of the report as circulating when Las Casas first found himself at Española, it would be subsequent to 1502. If, therefore, Columbus fabricated this correspondence to counteract the effect of the story, it must have been between 1502 and 1506 when he died. Surely we may eliminate the two years and six months from May 11, 1502, to November 7, 1504, occupied in the last voyage as affording no convenient time for the fabrication, and especially since the Admiral did not touch at San Domingo, where he first could have been apprised of the rumour, until shortly before he departed for Spain. Columbus landed on the shores of Spain from his last voyage November 7, 1504, a broken man. His health was so impaired that he had to intrust his enfeebled body to the gentle pace of a mule when he ventured to travel. His patroness, Queen Isabella, was dead a few days after his return. The King on

longer listened to him. His proud spirit bent beneath his troubles. We cannot imagine a fabrication of this character made by an old man, impaired in health of body and of mind. Forgery requires vigour, alertness, shrewdness. But what shall we think of a human being who fashions a forgery with such care and exactness and never provides for its publicity? The world did not know of this correspondence until the book of Ferdinand Columbus saw the light in 1571. Can we imagine the aged Admiral peering into the future and, beholding posterity exercised over his fame as the real first discoverer of the New World, planning a deception which should not be revealed for generations?

The only motive ever assigned for such a fabrication was that of overcoming the injury to his fame caused by the circulation of the Pilot story. If that story was not true Columbus would not have paid any attention to it, for he had already endured calumny. If it *was* true, King Ferdinand would have seized it quickly, eagerly, as relieving him from the moral and legal obligation to fulfil his agreement with the Admiral and to account to him and his heirs for his *thirds* and *eighths* and *tenths*. We may admit the existence of a legend concerning a Pilot as we admit the legends of the mysterious islands, Saint Brandan, the Seven Cities, Atlantis, and the mirages of Gomera. But we cannot admit that Columbus ever received from a Pilot a map of the route to the Western world, nor do we believe that any man in his time ever went that way before him.

CHAPTER XXXXVII

THE VOYAGE TO THE NORTH

THE large habitable island to which Columbus navigated in 1477 cannot well be any other than Iceland. How can we explain the error made by Columbus in describing its situation? He seems to be criticising others for placing it in 63 degrees of north latitude when even the south part of it should be, he says, 73 degrees above the equinoctial line. The situation of Iceland [1] is 66° 33′ on the north side to 63° 23′ on its south side.

[1] The poem of Adam of Bremen, referred to more at length below, composed about the year 1067, gives the name of Iceland, and mentions the voyage of a Bishop of Reginprecht thither, as well as of recent visits by Saxon missionaries. The geography of the Arabian Edrisi, written in the twelfth century, about the year 1153, introduces Iceland in the fourth portion of the *Seventh Clime*. In the original text the name is rendered *Lislandeh*, afterwards taking on the form *Itshlandeh*, an evident attempt to give the island the same pronunciation it has to-day. The pictured land is not an isle so much as it is an unknown or unexplored country, but that it was in part settled is seen from the representation of two cities called *Deghrateh* and *Belouri*.

Probably the earliest manuscript map to contain Iceland is the one by Claudius Clavus, and reproduced by Baron A. E. Nordenskjöld in his *Trois Cartes*. It is supposed to have been drawn as early as 1427, probably antedating the Genoese Portolano now in the Pitti Palace in Florence.

Iceland is represented for the first time upon any engraved map in the *Ptolemy* edited by Nicolaus de Donis and printed by Leonardus Hol at Ulm in 1482. This map was engraved by Johannes Schnitzen de Armszheim, and both his drawing and the work of the editor, Nicolaus de Donis, present cartographical progress and advancement. Iceland in this map extends from about 68° 30′ to 70° 45′.

Thule is situated, according to the first edition of *Ptolemy*, printed by Hermanus Levilapide at Vicenza in 1475, as follows:

"Thule supra has est: cuius insulæ pars quo maxime ad occasum tendit.

"Gradus habet.....	29	63
Quæ maxime ad ortum.....	31–2/3	63
Quæ maxime ad arctos.....	33	63 1/4
Quæ maxime ad austrum.....	33	62 2/3
Medium insulæ.....	33	63

[See verso folio a 4.]"

There are no maps in this edition, charts appearing for the first time in the Rome edition of 1478. The so-called 1462 edition is mis-dated. The reader is referred to the Author's *The Continent of America* for a description of these editions.

Thule is first named by Pytheas, the Greek geographer, who lived in the last

Columbus is made to say that the southern side should be 73° instead of 63°. It contains 39,200 square miles while England counts 58,320. Columbus is here made to say that the island to which he went was as large as England. When Columbus visited it the English, particularly men from Bristol, traded very largely with its people. This alone identifies the island visited by Columbus with the island of Iceland. During the fifteenth century Bristol ships and Bristol merchants were constantly visiting its shores forming its only communication with the outside world, carrying them iron and wood, honey, corn, and wine and the useful flax, taking from them in exchange sulphur, eider-down, wool, and the salted fish. The sea did not freeze while Columbus was there. In the southern part of Iceland the mean winter temperature is 29° 18′ Fahrenheit. Besides the high tides the sea around the south coast of Iceland is frequently disturbed by volcanic action, a necessary condition to raise the sea twenty-six fathoms. It would seem from a careful reading of the Italian text that Columbus sailed into the northern seas in the year 1477 and went as far as Iceland

quarter of the fourth century before our era. It was he who first took observations by means of the gnomon, and with this instrument he fixed the situation of Marseilles, his native city. His writings have not been preserved to us, and we depend on what later writers report as to his works. It is claimed for him that he himself visited the British Isles and passed on to a country which he called Thule, and which he placed under the Arctic Circle at about 66°, and therefore above the latitude of Iceland's southern shore. Strabo (Book II., chap. iv.) criticises him for not telling us whether his Thule is an island or simply the most northerly piece of land. He says Pytheas claimed to have travelled all over Britain on foot, and then attributed to him a description of Thule and the places neighbouring thereto, and of which he says: "Neither earth, water, nor air exists separately, but a sort of concretion of all these, resembling a marine sponge, in which the earth, the sea, and all things were suspended, thus forming as it were, a link to unite the whole together." What is ridiculed by Strabo in this wild description is the very thing which makes us think it possible Pytheas may have actually gone as far north as Iceland. The mountains of Iceland are volcanic, and throughout the island distinct traces have been left of their activity. A singular feature of these irruptions is the marvellous quantity of fine dust discharged and the distance to which it has been carried. It is said that in the year 1104 the sand was so constantly ejected and fell in such showers that it was known ever after as the "Sand-rain Winter," and in the year 1158 the sky was so long hidden in the falling ashes that it was called the year of the "Great Darkness." As late as the year 1766 a column of ashes mounted out of the crater of Hecla, in the south part of the island, to a height of 16,000 feet into the air. At times the dust has been carried as far as Norway on the east, and to Scotland on the south. If the Marseillian philosopher had arrived off Iceland at such a time, the sea covered with this fine dust, the air filled with falling ashes, "neither earth, water, nor air appearing to exist separately," but all united in clouds and darkness, it might well have caused the description he recorded and Strabo quoted only to ridicule.

beyond and westward of Thule as put down on the maps; that he found Iceland farther to the north than on the Calderinus, the precursors of the Donis maps, or those in manuscript which he consulted. He does not say that Ptolemy misplaced it but that "others" did, while he distinctly says it is farther west than Ptolemy's western boundary. Then he or his son Ferdinand adds the statement that Ptolemy's Thule lies where he said it did, and thereupon the Spanish editor of the Italian translation of the book of Ferdinand Columbus, Alfonso Ulloa, added the information that Ptolemy's Thule was in these latter times called Frislanda. In the year 1558 there was published at Venice an account [1] of certain voyages made by the Zeni brothers, Nicolò and Antonio, at the end of the fourteenth century, into the north, in which they discovered the islands of Frislanda, Erlanda, Engronelanda, Estotilanda, and Icaria, situated under the Arctic Pole. The original manuscript of this relation had been stored away forgotten, it was asserted, in the palace of the family in Venice, until it was unearthed and published by Caterino Zeno. As this is claimed by some to be the first time the word Frislanda was used, it would have the effect of invalidating the account quoted from his father's letter by Ferdinand Columbus. This account was locked away from the eye of the world, says Caterino Zeno, from the close of the fourteenth century until the year 1558. Columbus died in 1506 and Ferdinand in 1539; how then could the name of an island baptised by the Zeni brothers as Frislanda have gotten into the *Historie?* In the first place, it requires no great originality to call any land near the Arctic Circle Frislanda or Cold Land. The Bris-

[1] "*Dei Commentarii Del*
Viaggio in Perſia di M. Caterino Zeno il K.
& delle guerre fatte nell' Imperio Perſiano,
dal tempo di Vſſuncaſſano in quà.
Libri dve.
Et Dello Scoprimento
dell' Iſole Frislanda, Eslanda, Ergrouelanda, Eſto
tilanda, & Icaria, fatto ſotto il Polo Artico, da
due fratelli Zeni, M. Nicolò il K. e M. Antonio.
Libro Vno.
Con VN Disegno Particolare Di
tutte le dette parte di Tramontana da lor ſcoperte.
Con gratia, et Privilegio.
. . . . . .
In Venetia
Per Franceſco Marcolini. M D L VIII."

tol sailors might have called it that without its getting down on every map. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan a sea-chart is preserved on which an island Fixlanda appears where Frislanda is in the Zeno maps. In a Catalan chart of the end of the fifteenth century the island is called Frixlanda, easily read and written Frislanda. Frislanda is believed to be the group of islands called to-day *Faroe* or *Feroe* (Danish Färöerne). This island or group on the northern side is in latitude 62° 25′. In the *Ptolemy* of 1482 it is Latinised into Ferensis, and as the fishermen and sailors and natives added the termination island, land, or lant, to the names of places, it is not difficult to suppose that *Faroe-Island* or *Faeröisland* got itself written in the *Journal* of Columbus as Frislanda. But the more natural explanation is that Ulloa simply inserted the information as to the modern name of Frislanda just as Trivigiano inserted the personal information about Columbus in Peter Martyr's narrative. There are no quotation marks in the Italian edition to indicate what Columbus himself said and what Ferdinand said. The publication of the Zeno story in 1558 aroused widespread interest. The book was printed in Venice, where the *Historie* was printed, and it is quite probable that Ulloa, the translator, or the printer himself undertook to identify Ptolemy's Thule and the island Columbus passed on his way to Iceland as the Frislanda of the Zeni brothers and of which the world had been talking for the last thirteen years.

For many generations before the fourteenth century had closed there had been in Venice a rich and noble family by the name of Zeno, its members from time to time occupying some of the proudest positions in the Republic. One, the hero of the story, or one of the two heroes, Nicolò Zeno by name, who had fought much and sailed much, undertook one of those voyages to Flanders and to the north so common for Venetians at that age, as we have already seen. He went to the British Isles and beyond them, when the vessel was wrecked on an island he called Frislanda, where he and his companions were saved by a great chieftain, Zichmni by name, a ruler over the islands called Porlanda or Podanda, "lying over against Scotland." [1] This chief-

[1] R. H. Major, in his translation of this narrative printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1873 identifies this chieftain as Henry Sinclair of Roslyn, who in 1379 was invested by Hakon VI., King of Norway, with the earldom of the Orkneys and Caithness. Porlanda is supposed to represent the group of the Orkney Islands. Nicolò Zeno relates

tain addressed them in Latin and took them under his protection. The island bore the same name as its chief city, Frislanda, which city lay within a bay abounding in fish so that "many ships went laden therewith to supply Flanders, Brittany, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark." Nicolò now sent for his brother Antonio, who likewise was favourably received by Zichmni. The chieftain built a fortress at Bres, identified by some as one of the Shetland Islands, and Nicolò was made its Governor. Left there by Zichmni, who with Antonio and his ships returned to Frislanda, Nicolò resolved upon a land-discovery expedition on his own account. Accordingly in the month of July he sailed toward the north and arrived at Greenland, which he calls Engroneland and which we find on Donis's map of the *Ptolemy* of 1482 as *Engronelant*, exactly as it is written in the Zeno map accompanying the text.

"Doue trouò un monistero di frati dell ' ordine de ' Predicatori, & una Chiefa dedicata à San Tomaſo appreſſo un monte, che butta fuoco come Veſuuio, & Etna; et cè una fontana di acqua affocata, con laquale nella Chiefa del monistero, et nelle camere de' frati ſi fà l'habitatione calda.[1] . . ."

"Where he found a monastery of the Order of Preachers and a church dedicated to St. Thomas close to a mountain which gave forth smoke like Vesuvius and Etna [2]; and there is a fountain of fiery water with which both the Church of the monastery and the cells of the brothers are heated."

Thus does he describe one of the lost European colonies founded by King Olaus in the year 999. Falling ill in Greenland Nicolò returned to Frislanda, where he soon after died, four

some remarkable deeds performed by this great chieftain, whom he places in an ungrateful rebellion against the King of Norway, and who conquered Frislanda so that "Ambassadors were sent from all parts of the island to yield the country up into his hands, taking down their ensigns in every town and village." It sounds like the march of a German Prince against the League of Free Citizens.

[1] See recto folio 49.

[2] The alleged existence of volcanoes in Greenland causes much perplexity, as today the remains of these are nowhere found. Hot springs, on the other hand, are found, Captain Graah mentioning one in the north-east corner of the island of Ounartok seventy feet in circumference, in which the water registers a temperature of 108 degrees Fahrenheit. Ivar Bardsen, steward to the Bishop of Gardar, in the fourteenth century, describes such a monastery and such springs, but not exactly as does Zeno. The monastery of Ivar Bardsen was of the St. Augustine order, and was dedicated to St. Olaus. Professor Rafn places this in lat. 60° 26′, near the lake which lies on the right-hand side of the inner recess of the Fjord of Fessermuit. These springs were so hot that, according to Nicolò, fish and food were cooked in them, and bread when put into brass pots without water was baked as if in an oven. Hot water was conveyed by conduits under ground for the cultivation of gardens.

years after his brother Antonio came into that country. The latter succeeded to his wealth and honours and was employed, as he had been, in making discoveries. It so happened, says the narrative, that six and twenty years before, four fishing boats had been driven by a storm one thousand miles or more to the westward of Frislanda to an island called Estotiland. One of the boats was wrecked and six men who were in it were brought by the inhabitants into a fair and populous city, where one that spoke Latin expressed the King's pleasure in receiving them, and there they tarried five years, since, as the narrative says, "they could do no otherwise." The people had intercourse with the people of Greenland, whence they exported furs, brimstone, and pitch. Toward the south there was a great and populous country called *Drogio* whither they were sent by the King. They seem to have gone farther south even than Drogio. One who was ever afterward known as the Fisherman finally escaped after thirteen years spent in teaching one people after another the vulgar art of fishing with a net. An expedition was fitted out, of which Zichmni and Antonio Zeno were the leaders, to go to the country described by the Fisherman, who died shortly before they left Frislanda. They experienced much stormy weather, so that for a long time they were driven helplessly before the wind, when they found themselves in a region called Icaria.[1] From this they sailed in a westerly direction

[1] Major identified *Icaria* with Kerry in Ireland, but, as it seems to us, without warrant. The account says that they discovered land to the westward; that among the people who came down to the shore was a man from the Shetland Isles: that he told them it was an island called *Icaria:* that they sailed around the island in search of a harbour, which they found on the eastern side: that they doubled the north cape of the island, and that there or thereabouts they tried to get speech again with the man from Shetland, but in vain: that after leaving *Icaria* they sailed six days to the westward, and then, the wind shifting to the south-west and the sea becoming rough, they sailed four days with the wind aft and *finally* discovered land. If a sailor really wrote this, he did not mean that he sailed west for six days, then north-east for four, and *then* an indefinite number of more days in an indefinite number of directions, but he used his adverb *finalmente* to qualify the ten days' voyage from *Icaria* to the land he discovered, otherwise it would have been absurd to mention any directions or any number of days in which he sailed with a south-west wind behind him.

Major is attracted by the statements that when they saw this island of Icaria, they sailed *around* it and entered an harbour on the east side, and that when they asked the name of the island, they were told it was called Icaria, and he declares that the word *Icaria* could easily be made out of Kerry. Now when Antonio departed from Frislanda he sailed westward, passing Ilofe, an island he himself puts down westward of the south end of Frislanda, and the wind being in his favour he "pushed on," as Major translates *passammo avanti*, but evidently he pushed on in a westwardly direction; they then had a storm lasting eight days, after which they sailed with a

for six days, and then the wind shifting, they sailed four days with the wind aft and finally discovered land which was Greenland, and to the harbour into which they entered they gave the name of Trin. Here Zichmni, attracted by the country, remained to found a colony and Antonio sailed for home. After sailing twenty days to the eastward and five to the south-east he arrived at Neome and in three days more reached Frislanda. This entire story, if such a narrative can be called entire, is told by Nicolò Zeno, Junior, a descendant in the fifth generation of the second brother Antonio. He was born in the year 1515 and when a child—but we will let him confess his sin himself:

"Tutte queste lettere furono ſcritte da M. Antonio à M. Carlo ſuo fratello, & mi dolgo che il libro, & molte altre ſcritture pur in questo medeſimo propoſito ſiano andati non sò come miſeramente di male; perche ſendo io ancor fanciullo, & peruenutomi alle mani, ne ſapendo ciò che foſſero, come fanno i fanciulli le ſquarciai, & mandai tutte à male, ilche non poſſo, ſe non con grandisſimo dolore, ricordarmi hora. Pur, perche non ſi perda una sì bella memoria di coſe, quel che ho potuto hauere in detta materia, ho posto per ordine nella narratione di ſopra; acciò che ſe ne ſodisfaccia in qualche parte questa età, che più che alcun altra mai paſſata, mercè di tanta ſcoprimenti di nuoue terre fatte in quelle parti, doue à punto meno ſi penſaua, che ui foſſero, è ſtudioſisſima delle narrationi, nuoue, & delle diſcoperte de' paeſi non conoſciuti fatte dal grande animo, & grande industria de i noſtri maggiori."

"All these letters were written by M. Antonio to M. Carlo his brother, and I regret that the book and moreover many other writings on the same subject have unfortunately come to evil, I know not how; for, being but a little boy and they having come into my hands, not knowing what they were, I tore and destroyed them as children do, which I cannot now recall

prosperous wind, and "discovered land on the west." A prosperous wind for Antonio would have been a wind from the east, as he was bound on a westward voyage. Now as they afterward sailed *around* this island, which was the land they "discovered on the west," it is natural to suppose they landed first on the east side of the extreme north end. When they inquired the name of the island and who was the governor, they were answered "that the island was called *Icaria*, and that all the Kings that reigned there were called Icari." Now as early as the year 1210 King John had divided the larger part of Ireland into the several countries of Dublin, including Wicklow, Meath including West Meath, Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. These regions include the land to the north and east of Kerry. But it was at the extreme north end or on the east side of the island that Antonio was told the island was called *Icaria* and all the kings *Icari*. Moreover, the accompanying map of the Zeno narrative plainly locates the island of Icaria, and it is seen far westward of Frislanda and to the north of that island. The atlas of Ortelius, published in 1570, twelve years after the Zeno story, places the island of Icaria westward of Iceland (which it also calls Thule) and north of Frislanda. (See Ortelius, folio 45 and maps.)

without the deepest regret. Nevertheless in order that so interesting a memorial of things may not be lost, I have placed in order what I have been able to preserve of the said matter, in the above narration; so that this age may be satisfied because of it, in some degree: which age,—thanks to so many discoveries of new lands made in those regions where it was least thought they might be,—is most studious of the new narrations, and of the discoveries of unknown countries made by the great courage and great industry of our ancestors."

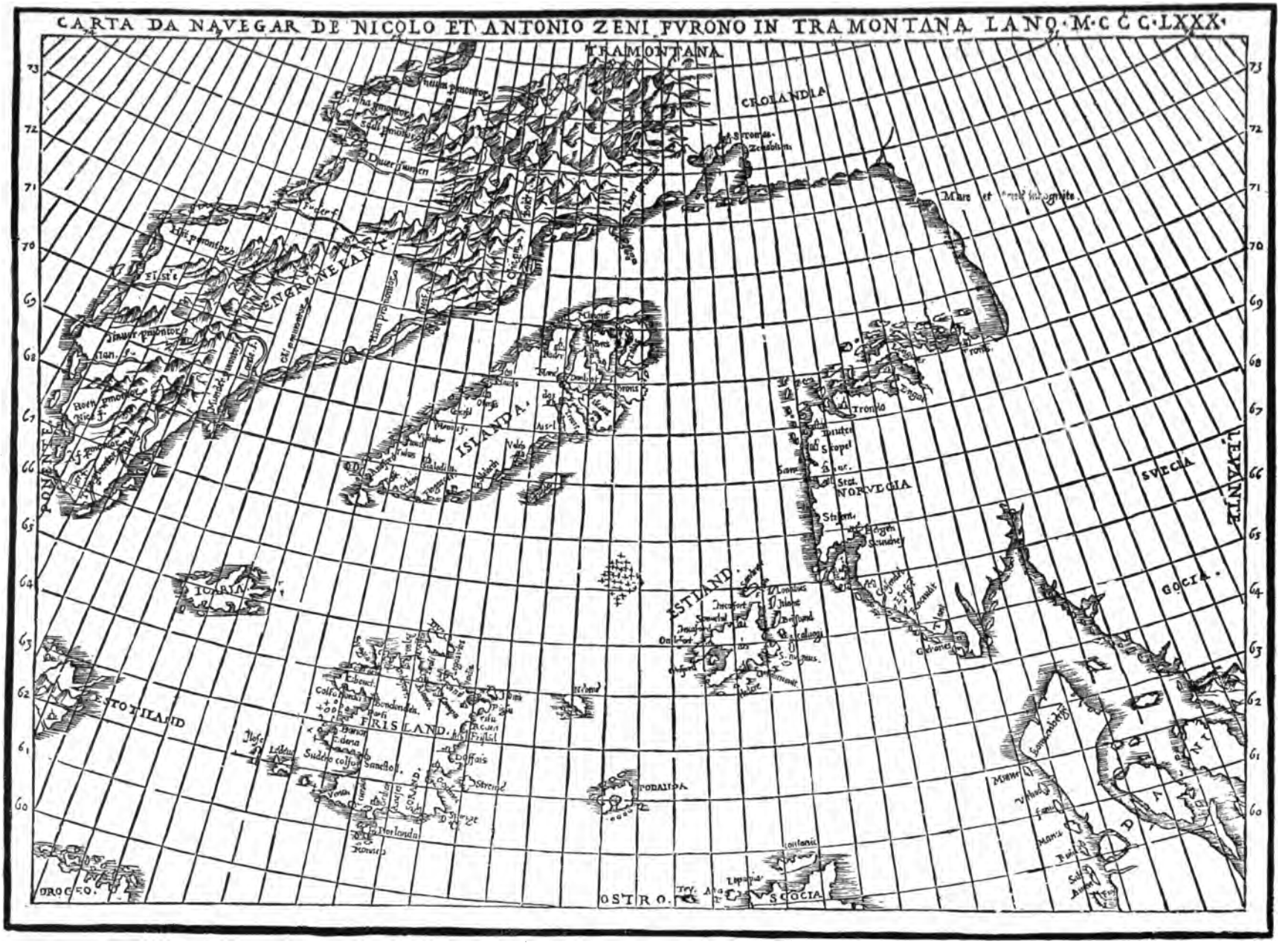
This Nicólò Zeno Junior found a map which had been made by Nicolò, the traveller, or by his brother Antonio, and, while he does not say so, the general impression is that Nicolò Junior took great liberties with that document, particularly in the matter of nomenclature. He says of it:

"Di queste parti di Tramontana m' è paruto di trarne una copia dalla carta de nauigare, che ancora mi truouo hauere tra le antiche nostre cose di casa; laquale, con tutto che sia Marcia, & uecchia di molti anni, m'è riuscita assai bene; & posta dauanti gli occhi di che si diletta di queste cose seruirà quasi per un lume à dargli intelligentia di quel, che senz' essa non si potrebbe così ben sapere." [1]

"It has appeared proper to me to make a copy of the sea-chart of these northern regions, which I find I still possess among the antiquities of our house: in which, notwithstanding the map's decayed condition and its great age, I have succeeded very well: and being placed before the eyes of those who delight in these things, it will serve almost as a light to make plain that which without it could not be understood."

The reader will understand from this narrative, then, that Nicolò Zeno first went to an island which he called Frislanda and from there wrote letters to his brother Antonio, or to his other brother, Carlo; that Nicolò made a voyage to Greenland; that after a time Antonio followed his brother to Frislanda and himself made a voyage to some place to the westward, whence he reached Greenland in a sail of four days with a south-west wind at his back; that he wrote home letters to his brother Carlo and likewise wrote an account of what he had seen, accompanying his writings with a map or chart; that these documents lay uncared-for and undiscovered in the Zeno family until a descendant of Antonio in the fifth generation, another Nicolò, found them as a boy, destroying some and damaging others; that when this destructive youth reached man's estate, he patched up the fragments, weaving them into his own story,

[1] See verso folio 460.


CARTA DA NAVEGAR DE NICOLO ET ANTONIO ZENI FVRONO IN TRAMONTANA. LANO. M.C.C.C.LXXX.
TRAMONTANA
CEOLANDIA
ENGRONELANT
ISLANDA.
ESTLAND.
SVECIA
LEXANTE
GOCIA.
NORVEGIA
Tronto
Stat.
Stiern.
Edgen
Scunding
Mare
ICARIA
FRISLAND.
FRISLAND
FODALDA
OSTRO.
SCOCIA
GROCO.

The Zeno Map.

making a copy of the decayed map and publishing the whole at Venice in the year 1558. From the time of the alleged travels of the Zeno brothers until the printing of this book, two centuries and a half had passed. America had been visited by Columbus, explored by Vespucius, and peopled by the Spaniards. The world had been circled by the ship of Magellan. John Cabot, by adoption a Venetian citizen, had gone out from Bristol and had passed over by the north to the New World. The Corte-reals had been there also. Many accounts of these voyages had been published and many maps and charts had been printed showing Northern lands and giving the names of Northern regions. Yet, this second Nicolò Zeno never breathes a word of his ancestors having visited the shores of the New World before them. Nor can one possibly read the narrative in such a way as to infer that either Nicolò or Antonio had ever been nearer the New World than Greenland. If any European in that age and as told in that story reached the shores of America it was the Fisherman, twenty-six years before Zichmni and Antonio Zeno attempted their voyage and in which they certainly never reached America. This Fisherman was wrecked on an island smaller than Iceland more than one thousand miles to the westward of Frislanda, the inhabitants of which had intercourse more or less regular with Engroneland, from which they exported furs. In the library of the King were Latin books. The Fisherman visited a country to the southward where the natives were rude and practised cannibalism. Farther south the people were more refined and had cities and temples dedicated to idols, in which they sacrificed men. When the Fisherman left that country he went by way of the *woods* to Drogio. That the publication of the Zeno story profoundly affected geographers is true. In the *Ptolemy* edited by Girolamo Rvscelli, printed at Venice in 1561, the Zeno map is inserted in a somewhat reduced form. In the year 1570, Ortelius issued his superb atlas, and on his map of the Northern regions we see the lands and the nomenclature bestowed by the Nicolò Zeno, Junior interpreting his ancestor's writings, but with the corrected renderings of Ortelius himself. And on this map we find Frislanda south and west of Iceland, or Islant, which latter island Ortelius calls Thule. Icaria is west of Iceland and is an island not much larger than the island of Grislada, placed

by both Zeno and Ortelius off the Southeast corner of Iceland. South of Icaria and far out in the Western sea is Drogio[1], but it is an island and not to be reached from Estotiland, which Ortelius considers continental land. North-east of Drogio, far, far north, lies Groenlandt, or Engroneland, with Trin at its southern extremity. Ortelius may have thought that the Fisherman had gone to Estotiland, but not that Zeno himself had gone there, and notwithstanding the assertion made by Antonio, who heard it from the Fisherman himself, that Estotiland was an island, Ortelius makes it into *terra firma.*

It is impossible from reading the Zeno story to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to what lands were seen by Antonio Zeno or by the Fisherman, but on the other hand one cannot arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to its being a pure fabrication. If Nicolò Zeno was concocting a story out of whole cloth he would have woven into it pictures of Labrador, Tierra de Nvrvmberg, Angoulême, Larcadia (Arcadia), Florida, and Mexico, all of which countries were then on the maps and which he must have had before his eyes in the Gastaldi *Ptolemy* printed in his own city just ten years before he published his own work. He would have located some of the scenes of his drama in at least one or more of these regions and he would have let fall some word telling the reader that neither Columbus nor Vespucius, neither Cabot nor Corte-real, neither Verrazzano nor Cartier, first discovered or first explored coast and bay and river of North America, but that Nicolò Zeno and Antonio Zeno, his ancestors, first of southern Europeans, sailed to those regions and that their shades stood waiting for the deferred honours. There is wanting a *motif* for the fabrication of the narrative.

Ferdinand Columbus speaks of this reference to Iceland by his father as occurring in a note or annotation (*in una memoria ò annotazione*) concerning the habitable zones, such a note as we find on the guard-folios or margins of five or six books still preserved in the *Biblioteca Columbina* at Seville. There are several holograph notes of Columbus in which he refers to the habitable zones and several where he comments on Guinea and San Jorge da Mina, to which last-named fortress he undoubtedly went in one of his repeated voyages south, but we find no manuscript note touching his voyage to the north in the year

[1] It is inserted on the map as Drogeo.

1477.[1] As reported by Ferdinand in the Italian translation of his life of his father, otherwise known as the *Historie*, Columbus is made to say in the first person:

> I navigated in the year 1477 in the month of February 100 leagues beyond the island of Thule, the southern part of which is 73° distant from the Equinoctial Line and not 63° as some make it: it does not lie within the line which includes the occident of Ptolemy, but is much farther westward. And to this island, which is as large as England, the English go with their merchandise, especially those from Bristol. And at the time that I went there, the sea was not frozen, although there was such a tide there that in some places it rose 26 fathoms and fell as much. [And it is very true that the Thule of which Ptolemy makes mention lies where he says: and this by moderns is called Frislanda.]

Commentators on this passage have sought to explain the incongruity of Columbus's assertion that the island of Thule has its southern part in latitude 73° above the equinoctial and not in latitude 63°, and the assertion immediately following this to the effect that Ptolemy's Thule lies where he said it did, in latitude 63°, and called by moderns Frislanda, by imagining that Ferdinand or the Italian editor added the last few lines, which we have inclosed in brackets. If they had quoted from Las Casas instead of from Ferdinand they would have seen that the Bishop of Chiapas, who had before him not only Ferdinand's manuscript but the original memorandum or annotation of Columbus himself, makes the note end with the passage as to the tides. The passage coming next he quotes as his own ideas on the subject or as Ferdinand's, but certainly not as an expression of the Admiral's. But this shortening of the quotation does not explain the words "*and not 63° as some make it,*" which phrase is in the very middle of the passage. The information that after the tide rose twenty-six fathoms, it *fell as much*, is not the language of a sailor-man. If Ferdinand or Ulloa introduced the final passage, one or the other must have inserted the few words farther back, which make an explanation necessary.

Whenever in reading the *Historie* we are confronted with apparent incongruities and then meet critics who explain them

[1] Las Casas, in his *Historia*, vol. i., p. 48, also speaks of this incident as found in the *anotaciones*.

Scholars always understand these *anotaciones* as referring to holograph notes scattered through the books and manuscripts belonging to the Discoverer, and which Las Casas had in his possession, for a time at least, while writing his history.

by accusing Ferdinand of wilfully misrepresenting the achievements of his father and crediting him with adventures he had never had, we feel like inquiring why, if Ferdinand did make up these stories, he did not make them more probable. He had learning, he was skilful in writing, he was a geographer or cosmographer himself. How is it possible he could have permitted himself to fabricate a story easily detected by its jagged points!

After all is said and done and written, we must fall back on conjecture, a mental attitude in which students as well as readers of history often find themselves. We may, then, conjecture that Columbus is trying to say, through the medium of Ferdinand, his son, or Ulloa, who translated the latter's book relating to his father, something like this:

> I navigated in the month of February in the year 1477 very far to the north, to an island 100 leagues beyond Iceland, which Iceland I take to be Ptolemy's Thule. This northernmost island is therefore the extremity of the habitable globe so far as I know it and is therefore to be known as the *Ultima Thule:* the island to which I went has its southerly coast in latitude 73°, while Ptolemy makes the southerly coast of his territorial extremity to be only 63°: my *Ultima Thule* is also very much farther to the westward than that of Ptolemy: the Iceland of which I was speaking is as large an island as England, and by the way, speaking of England I may say that the English, and particularly the people of Bristol, go there to trade their merchandise: when I was there the sea was not frozen and there was such a tide that in some places it rose 26 fathoms.

We are in possession of fac-similes of multitudinous notes believed to be in the hand of Columbus covering many of the events of his life. In their proper place many of these will be given and the reader may judge for himself whether or not these annotations, with their peculiar characteristics, abbreviations, and mysterious marks are correctly quoted in the many histories we have of the great Discoverer and his times, but here, in regard to this note, we are literally at sea, a northern sea, in what for us is an uninhabitable zone, and we believe the utmost any one can do is, as we have frankly done, to indulge in a conjecture.

There have been writers who have seen in the silence of Columbus concerning earlier voyages of which they assume he must have learned in his travels beyond Thule in the year 1477, evidence of a deceitful nature. They assert that his visit to that Northern region must have put him in possession of the

facts connected not only with the Icelandic discoveries but of the later ones made by the Zeni brothers and that he never breathed a word of his knowledge to King or priest or sailor, pretending that he first conceived of the western road to the Indies as afterward he was the very first to travel it. If the Zeni voyages said to have taken place ever were made, they would have been continued and an intercourse between Engroneland and Drogio and the Southern lands would not have been interrupted. But it would seem that these discoveries were not even known as legends. Columbus doubtless sailed to Iceland on a Bristol ship, and tarried there while the vessel unloaded its cargo and took in a new one, but if he had heard these narratives, these legends, he certainly would have made mention of them had they struck him as real or as important.[1] Suppose, however, that there had been repeated to him the details of the stories, what would it profit Columbus in the execution of his projects! The Indies lay not that way! The circle of the globe on which he proposed to sail was nearer the tropic of Cancer than that which guarded the Arctic seas. If the northern route had been kept perpetually open until his day, he would not have taken it. The discovery of others would have availed him nothing. Before he went northward he had formulated his plans, created the scenic drama in which he was to act, and studied well his own part, rehearsing it many times as he sailed on other seas. Therefore we say that if Columbus had ever heard the tale of the Sagas [2]

[1] There are some minds to which the difference between territory and geography never occurs. A half-inch circle on the map represents an island, but he who first sailed around that island may have taken days and weeks for his journey. On the map the island has a name, but when the voyager visits it there is no gigantic sign swinging from some lofty height revealing the island's name and size and character, with the legend, "This is Frislanda," "This is Thule." When Columbus visited Iceland no ancient harpist came down to the shore and recited the story of Eric or the adventures of the Fisherman. No one told him where he could find Estotiland or Drogio.

Laing, in his Introduction to the *Heimskringla*, the old chronicle of the kings of Norway, says it is known that Bishop Mangus was in Iceland in the year 1477, and the inference is that Columbus must have met him and heard the stories of the earlier westward expeditions.

[2] The story told in the Sagas found its way into the hands of Adam of Misnie, a Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Bremen in Germany, who put it into a poem, a sort of cosmographical treatise. It is entitled by some editors *De Situ Daniæ*, and by others *Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis*. The author, Adam of Bremen, visited the Court of the Danish King Svend Estridsson after the year 1069, where he secured the material for his work. He died in 1076. His manuscript is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. There is a passage which reads:

He spoke of an island in that ocean discovered by many, which is called Wineland,

or the story of the Fisherman, the prow of his ship would still have turned westward from the shores of Gomera and his watchful eye would have been fixed on the south rather than on the north. But our Columbus was no deceiver. He was not a secretive man. If he knew those tales and believed them and thought them worthy of repetition, he surely would have repeated them himself. He withheld from others no credit and he never appropriated to himself the honours of another. A characteristic based on a fancy when inconsistent with other characteristics based on facts may not be allowed a place in our estimation of a man. Deceit is inconsistent with the frank, open, determined, courageous seaman. It never yet did flourish in wet and salted air. We have no quarrel with any one who seeks to tear down or destroy in the interests of truth, but thus far no strand has been woven nor cable wound strong enough to shake from its place the statue of Columbus.

for the reason that vines grow wild there which yield the best of wine. Moreover, that grain unsown grows there abundantly is not a fabulous fancy, but from the accounts of the Danes, we know it to be a fact. Beyond this island, it is said, that there is no habitable land in that ocean, but all those regions which are beyond are filled with insupportable ice and boundless gloom, to which Martian thus refers:

"One day's sail beyond Thule the sea is frozen. This was essayed not long since by that enterprising Northmen's prince, Harold [King Harold Hardrede], who explored the extent of the northern ocean with his ship, but was scarcely able by retreating to escape in safety from the gulf's enormous abyss, where before his eyes the vanishing bounds of earth were hidden in gloom."

This description of Adam of Bremen was not printed until 1595, and as other manuscript copies have not been found in European libraries, Columbus probably never saw or heard thereof.

CHAPTER XXXXVIII

THE MARRIAGE OF COLUMBUS

COLUMBUS married in Portugal a young woman of good family, but when this marriage took place we do not know. Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*, says:

" Et, percioche ſi portaua molto honoratamente, & era huomo di bella preſenza, & che non ſi partiua dall' honeſto, auuenne, che vna gentildonna, chiamata Donna Filippa Mogniz, di nobil ſangue, Caualliera nel monasterio d'ogni Santi, doue l'Ammiraglio uſaua di andare a meſſa, preſe tanta prattica, & amicitia con lui, che diuenne ſua moglie. Ma, percioche il ſuo ſuocero, chiamato Pietro Mogniz Perestrelo, era già venuto a morte, ſe n'andarono a ſtar con la ſuocera: doue viuendo inſieme, & vedendolo eſſa tanto affettionato alla Coſmografia, gli raccontò, come il detto Perestrelo ſuo marito era ſtato grand 'huomo per mare, & che inſieme con altri duo Capitani con licentia del Rè di Portogallo era andato a ſcoprir terre, con patto, che, fatte tre parti di quel, che trouaſſero, eleggeſſe colui, a chi tocaſſe la ſorte. Col quale accordo partiti alla volta del Sudoeste, giunſero all' iſola della Madera, & di Porto Santo, luoghi, che ſino a quei tempi non erano ſtati ſcoperti. Et, perciò che l' iſola della Madera era maggiore, fecero di quella due parti, & le terza fu l'iſola di Porto Santo, che toccò per ſorte al detto Perestrelo ſuo ſuocero, il quale n'hebbe il gouerno, fin che venne a morte. La onde, perche l'intendere cotali navigationi, & historia piaceua molto all' Ammiraglio, la ſuocera gli diede le ſcritture, & carte di nauigare, che di ſuo marito gli erano rimaſe."

" And, since he behaved himself very honourably, and was a man of fine presence, and who did not deviate from honesty, it happened that a lady, named Donna Filippa Mogniz, of noble blood, 'Cavalliera' in the monastery of All Saints, where the Admiral was accustomed to go to mass, contracted such friendly relations with him, that she became his wife. But, as his father-in-law, named Pietro Mogniz Perestrelo, was already dead, they went to live with his mother-in-law: where, living together, and seeing him fond of Cosmography, she told him how the said Perestrelo, her husband, was a man skilful in seamanship, and that together with two other captains with licence from the King of Portugal he had gone to discover lands with the agreement that whatever they might find, having

divided it into three parts, should be allotted by chance. With which agreement having gone to the south-west, they arrived at the island of Madeira and of Porto Santo, places which up to that time had not been discovered. And, as the island of Madeira was larger, they divided it into two parts, and the third part was the island of Porto Santo, which was bestowed by lot upon the said Perestrelo, his father-in-law, who governed it until his death. Therefore, because the knowledge of such voyages and history pleased the Admiral greatly, his mother-in-law gave him the documents and sea-charts which her husband had left."

A cloud of obscurity, more or less impenetrable, seems to surround the family of Columbus and the years of his life leading up to the period of his fame. Ferdinand Columbus, when he tells us something of his father, frequently connects a fact with a fancy, confusing the whole. We have seen his anxiety to identify his father's family with the great and noble, and in this passage we see him seeking to connect the wife of Columbus with family honours not strictly her own.

In 1418 or 1419 João Gonsalvez Zarco and Tristam Vas Teixeyra, two Portuguese navigators, sailed to the island of Porto Santo through certain representations made by a Spanish pilot, Juan de Morales, who, while a prisoner in Morocco, had heard the romantic story of Robert Machin [1] and his discovery of the Madeiras, from some fellow captives who had been companions with the young Englishman. There is nothing to show that

[1] The islands of Porto Santo and Madeira are said to owe their discovery to a romantic incident. In the reign of Edward III. of England, a native of that island, named Robert Machin, fell in love with a lady, Anne d'Arset, or as some call her, Anne Dorset, of a higher family station than his own. Her people secured his imprisonment, thinking thus to separate the lovers, and then united her to a nobleman of wealth. The lady and her husband lived near Bristol, and when Machin was released, through the good offices of a friend who introduced himself into her family as a groom, he bore her away to a vessel which he had equipped for a brief voyage to the coast of France. The heavens smiled as they left the coast, but turned against them, and drove them in a storm far out to sea, when they landed on a strange island. Here the lady quickly died, and her lover built over her grave a chapel of stone on which he engraved her name and virtues, and where five days after he was found faithful but dead.

This story is derived from at least two independent sources somewhat differing in details and circumstances. The principal feature of the story was told in print first in the *Tratado dos Varios Caminhas por Onde* . . . Lisbon, 1563, by Antonio Galvano, a Portuguese writer and soldier, and Hakluyt incorporated it in his *Principall Navigations*, printed at London in 1589. This account fixes the event in the year 1344 (an impossible date when it comes to connect a hearer of the story, a captive in Morocco, with its subsequent rediscovery in 1419, and an unnecessary date, since Edward III. lived until 1377), and calls the Englishman Macham, saying that he anchored his vessel at the place on the island of Madeira subsequently called after him *Machico;* this account carries the rest of his company away from the island by another storm, leaving Macham and the lady he had stolen alone; she, dying soon, was

this expedition of Zarco was shared in by any member of the Perestrello family, and certainly not by any one calling himself Pietro Mogniz Perestrello. Francisco Brandão in his *Monarchia Lusytana*[1] refers to an act dated November 18, 1460, in which Prince Henry donated certain revenues from the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira for ecclesiastical purposes as if the said islands had been yielding these revenues for thirty-five years, which would give us the date of 1425 for their colonisation. Gomez Eannes de Azurara,[2] a Portuguese historian of the fifteenth century, places the colonisation in the year 1420. In a letter dated November 1, 1446, and inserted in the *Saudades da Terra*[3] compiled by Azevedo, Prince Henry is made to say:

Porque eu fiz esta mercee ao dito Bartholameu Perestrello por elle ser ho primeyro que per meu mandado a dita ylha poborou.

"Because I granted this favour to the said Bartholomeu Perestrello, he being the first one sent by me to the said island to colonise it."

buried by her lover, who then escaped in a boat he fashioned from a tree, and, to the marvel of the inhabitants, landed on the coast of Africa. The features here related which are not found in the story as told by Galvano come from an unpublished Portuguese manuscript, dated 1508, or half a century earlier than the Galvano publication, and compiled by a Moravian printer then residing in Lisbon, by the name of Valentin, and who, in connection with Nicolas de Saxonia, had produced in that Portuguese city in 1495 a most pretentious work in four large volumes, entitled *Vita Christi*.

When the companions of Machin reached Africa they were enslaved. To one of their fellow sufferers who was a Spaniard, Juan de Morales, they told their story and revealed the location of the island. He was redeemed from captivity from the fund bequeathed for that purpose by Don Sancho, youngest son of the King Ferdinand I. of Aragon, but he was captured again at sea by the Portuguese navigator João Gonsalvez Zarco, to whom he in turn told the story, and with whom he sailed to make a rediscovery. King Ferdinand died at Igualada, near Barcelona, on April 2, 1416, having made his will some months before when at Perpignan. His son, Don Sancho, died about the same time. If we are to believe this account, Juan de Morales must have been in captivity at or about 1377, which would be allowing the latest date for the occurrence of the Machin discovery and the captivity of his crew, while he could not have been ransomed by Don Sancho's legacy until at least 1416. This would give him a captivity of nearly forty years. It might be that twenty-five or thirty years had passed from the capture of the crew until, some years previous to 1416, they fell in with a Spanish stranger newly a captive, and then revealed to him the story of their discovery.

The fact that the story has been told by Portuguese and Spaniards, while it generously accords priority of discovery to an Englishman, is a strong confirmation of at least the single feature of a landing on the Madeira Islands previous to their discovery and colonisation by the Portuguese.

[1] Published at Lisbon, 1650–1672, folio, Part VI., lib. xix.

[2] *Chronica de Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné, Escripta por Mandado de el Rey Affonso V.* Paris, 1841.

[3] Fructuoso, *Saudades da Terra, Historia das Ilhas do Porto-Sancto, Madeira, Desertas e Selvagens*, edited by M. de Azevedo, Funchal, 1873, p. 659.

Prince Henry is made to indicate the date of 1425 as that of his colonising the island of Porto Santo and thus, as Bartholomeu Perestrello was its first Governor, we may fix that year as the date when he first went to Porto Santo to rule over an island colony, out in what had once been the Sea of Darkness, that sea whose mists and terrors the presence of man was to dispel through audacity and familiarity.

This Bartholomeu Perestrello is said to have been the son of Philippon Palestrello and of Caterina Visconti, and it is further asserted that he came of a family distinguished in the history of Plaisance.[1] The same authority says that Philippon was the youngest son of Gabriello Palestrello and Bartolina Bracciforti, and that he departed from Italy and settled in Portugal about the year 1371. Bartholomeu Perestrello was a member of the household of the young Prince Don João, and afterward of that of Prince Henry. Although this Bartholomeu probably was placed in charge of the colony at Porto Santo as early as 1425, the date of his governorship is found in the letters patent to him November 1, 1446. Harrisse explains this deferred grant by assuming that the first efforts at colonisation had failed and that a second and more successful attempt was made about the time of his formal appointment, and in confirmation of this supposition he cites the well-known story of the fearful multiplication of rabbits from a single female of that species brought over by the colonisers and which littered on the voyage. The legend goes that the entire colony was compelled by this circumstance to yield the land to the small but destructive beasts. The rabbit certainly does increase very rapidly, but on an island as small and as barren as Porto Santo the dispute between it and man should have easily been decided in favour of the latter. In the year 1455 Alvise da Cadamosto,[2] the Venetian navigator, visited Porto Santo and he distinctly states that *Bartholo-*

[1] *Bernardo Palastrelli, il Suocero e la Moglie di Cristoforo Colombo*, Piacenza, 1876.

[2] The first printed account of the voyage made by Aloysius da Ca da Mosto, or Luis Cadamosto, is found in the *Paesi Nouamente Retrouati*, printed at Vicenza in 1507. Here the date for the visit to the Madeira Islands is 1455. In the *Newe Weldt*, which is a German translation by Jobst Ruchamer, printed at Nuremberg in 1508, the same date is given. In the year 1532 Simon Grynæus published his *Novus Orbis* at Bâle, in the month of March, and at Paris in the month of November, 1532. By some strange error the date of Cadamosto's visit to the Madeiras is 1505; that is to say, they came to Porto Santo, Portus Sanctus, about noon of March 25, 1505. This error is repeated in the 1537 Bâle edition.

meus Pollastrellus was then Governor. Toward the close of the year 1457 Bartholomeu must have died, for in May, 1458, Prince Henry, by virtue of his authority as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, appointed Pedro Correa da Cunha, the son-in-law of Bartholomeu Perestrello, to be Governor of Porto Santo. When Bartholomeu II. became of age and returned from Africa, where he had been employed in arms, he claimed his rights as Governor and obtained them March 15, 1473. Pedro Correa died in 1499 and was buried in the chapel of St. João in the monastery of Carmo at Lisbon. It was this Pedro Correa who affirmed to Columbus that he himself had seen a piece of carved wood and some canes or bamboo stalks at Porto Santo, which had been driven ashore by the west wind. Bartholomeu, the first Governor, married [1] Beatriz Furtada de Mendoça, by whom he had Catherine Furtada, married to Rodriguez de Vasconcellos de Caniço; Hizeu Perestrello, married to Pedro Correa de Cunha, and Beatriz Furtada, who seems to have remained unmarried. This Bartholomeu next married Isabel Moñiz, by whom he had a son Bartholomeu II., but neither Fructuoso [2] nor Cordeyro [3] mentions a daughter. In order to place the wife of Columbus in her proper family orbit it would seem necessary to furnish her with at least one sister. In the public inquiry held by the Fiscal in 1513 to ascertain what part the Admiral really had taken in the discovery of the mainland and the coasts of Paria, one of the witnesses, Garcia Hernandez, physician,[4] declared, speaking of Christopher Columbus:

El se vino de la Corte é se iba derecho de esta villa á la villa de Huelva, para fallar y verse con un su cuñado, casado con Hermana de su Muger, é que á la sazon estaba, é que habia nombre Muliar.[5]

"He came away from the Court and was going straight from this town to the town of Huelva in order to find and converse with a brother-in-law of his who was married to a sister of his wife and who was living at the time and was named Muliar."

[1] It would seem that this Bartholomeu had a wife named Margarida Martins as early as 1431, so that he may have had three wives. (MSS. of La Torre do Tombo, lib. iv., folio 128 on the verso.)

[2] Gaspar Fructuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, cap. x., p. 51.

[3] Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana*, lib. iii., cap. iii.

[4] This Garcia Hernandez, who in 1513 is called a physician, was on board the *Pinta* on the first voyage in the capacity of *despensero*, not a steward, as some report, but one who had in charge the medicines for the expedition.

[5] Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 561.

There was then living in the year 1491 at Huelva in Andalusia a sister of Philippa Moñiz, whose married name was Muliar or Muliarte or Mulierte. Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral and of Philippa Moñiz, made a will at Las Cuevas, March 16, 1509, in which document the twenty-sixth item reads as follows:

"Manda veintiseis: Item mando que a mi tia *Brigulaga Moñiz* ferán dados por ſus tercios veinte mil maravedis en cada un año mientras que viviere para ſus neceſidades, computados los diez mil maravedis que le ſolia dar."

"Legacy 26: Also, I direct that there shall be given to my aunt *Brigulaga Moñiz*, through her agents, 20,000 maravedis each year while she lives, for her necessities, having deducted the 10,000 maravedis which I have been accustomed to give her."

In the letter or memorandum written to Diego by the Admiral as he was setting out on his fourth voyage, reproduced in full in that portion of our Work relating to that voyage, one of the items making disposition of money is as follows:

"A Violante Nuñiz da diez mil maravedis cada año, por tercios": "Give to Violante Nuñiz (or Muñiz) ten thousand maravedis each year by the hands of her agents."

The following most interesting document undoubtedly refers to this Violante Nuñiz under the name of Briolanje Muñiz, wife of Miguel[1] Muliarte of Huelva:

"Treslado de una cédula que se dió á suplicaçión del almirante, señalada de los del consejo de la ynquisiçión.

"'El rey y le reyna: devotos padres ynquisidores de la herética pravidad de la çibdad de Sevilla y su arçobispado. Nos vos encargamos y mandamos que los bienes muebles y ráyzes que fueron de Bartolomé de Sevilla,

[1] If this Miguel Muliarte is the husband of the sister of Philippa Moñiz, the wife of the Admiral, he is the same individual who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and who caused no little trouble. In the instructions which the sovereigns gave Juan Aguado, probably on April 9, 1495, we read:

"Lo octavo, que dexe venir á fray Jorge y á Don Fernando y á Bernaldo Balenciano y á Miguel Muliarte porque acá han quexado á Sus Altezas d'ello, diciendo que los tiene i maltrata."

"The eighth. That he [the Admiral] shall allow Friar Jorge and Don Fernando and Bernaldo Balencíano and Miguel Muliarte to come, because they have complained of him here to their Highnesses, saying that he detains them there and maltreats them."

The Admiral reached the city of Isabella on Española after his famous voyage along the coast of Cuba on September 29, 1494, and it was probably after this date that the trouble arose which led to the complaint here mentioned.

vezino de Huelva, y por vuestro mandado están secrestados en poder de Diego Alonso, escrivano, vezino de la dicha villa de Huelva, los pongáys en secrestaçión de Miguel Mulierte, vezino de la dicha çibdad de Sevilla, (y) Briolanje Múñiz, su muger, para que los ellos tengan en secresto, fasta que su cabsa sea determinada. non permitáys que d'ellos disponga el vuestro reçebdor cosa alguna, syn primero nos lo faser saber, y veáys nuestro mandamiento, y no fagades ende ál, porque así cunple á nuestro servicio. de Barçelona, á .XXX. de mayo de .XCIII, años.' "

" Copy of a Royal Order which was given at the entreaty of the Admiral, and was addressed to the members of the Council of the Inquisition.

" ' The King and the Queen: Devoted father Inquisitors of the heretical depravity of the city of Seville and its archbishopric: We charge and command you that the real and personal property which belonged to Bartholomé de Sevilla, citizen of Huelva, and which by your order were confiscated and placed in the keeping of Diego Alonso, Notary Public, citizen of the said village of Huelva, you shall place in confiscation with Miguel Mulierte, citizen of the said city of Seville (and) Briolanje Muñiz, his wife, in order that they may hold them in confiscation until their disposition shall be determined upon. Do not permit your receiver to dispose of any part whatsoever of this property without first making it known to us. See our order and do not disobey it, for in this manner our service is fulfilled. From Barcelona, May 30 '93.' "

In two instances where this document was printed from the original the name of the wife of Miguel is given as Violante Muñiz.[1]

This Briolanje Moñiz was the sister of Philippa, as Diego calls her his aunt.[2] If Philippa was the daughter of Bartholomeu Perestrello, the first Governor of the island of Porto Santo, he must have been the father of at least two daughters by his wife Isabel Moñiz, namely, Philippa and Briolanje or Violante, who was married to a man called Miguel Muliar or Muliarte, and as we have said, no Portuguese or genealogical writer mentions another daughter.[3]

[1] Duro speaks of this document first in *Colon y la Historia Pósthuma*, and in his *Nebulosa de Colon* he published it as from the original in the collection of Vargas Ponce. There he makes the passage read *Miguel Mulierte Vezino de la Dicha Çibdad de Sevilla (y) Violante Muñiz su Muger.*

[2] If the biographers of Columbus have their difficulties in placing Philippa in her proper family, the biographers of Philippa or of the Perestrello family have had their difficulties in identifying a connection with the Discoverer, since we find Fructuoso mentioning the prevailing opinion that the members of the Furtada de Mendoça family were "relatives of the wife of D. Pedro Colon who discovered the Indies of Castile."—*Muhler de D. Pedro Colon que Descobrio las Indias de Çastella.*

[3] Fructuoso gives the names of the daughters of Bartholomeu Perestrello by his wife Beatriz Furtada de Mendoça, and one would think he would have mentioned any daughters from his subsequent marriage, had there been any.

Bartholomeu Perestrello II. was put into possession of his rights by João II. under an act dated March 15, 1473, on his reaching his majority and upon his return from active service in Africa.[1] This would give us the date of about 1448 as the year of his birth, and he could not well have been in 1478 or 1479 the grandfather of Diego Columbus, the son of Christopher and Philippa Moñiz.

To find the possible family of the wife of Columbus we must take in our hands the thread entitled Moñiz and follow it backward. That was the family name and it will lead us into a genuine Moñiz family. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, about 1384, the famous Constable of Portugal, Nuño Alvarez Pereira had a Secretary who was called Gil Ayres Moñiz, a native of Alegrete. Among the works of the Constable Pereira was the founding in Lisbon of a monastery of Carmelites. He donated one of the chapels in this monastery, situated the first on the epistle side of the altar and dedicated to our Lady of Piety, "to Gil Ayres Moñiz and to his descendants for ever." When Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, made his final will in 1523 he provided that there should be transferred to the Church of Santa Clara in San Domingo[2] *el cuerpo de Doña Felipa Muñiz, muger del primer Almirante, que esta en Lisboa en el monasterio del Carmen en una capilla de su linaje de los Muñizes, que se nombra de la Piedad:* "the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, wife of the first Admiral, which is in Lisbon in the monastery of the Carmelites in a chapel of her lineage, of the Moñiz family, which is called *de la Piedad.*"

Thus the wife of the first Admiral was a descendant of the Moñiz family which had a chapel known as the Chapel of Piety in the monastery of Carmelites at Lisbon presented to his Secretary, Gil Ayres Moñiz, by the Great Constable of Portugal, Nuno Alvarez Pereira. She herself could not well have been a daughter of Gil Ayres Moñiz. The fact that he was acting as Secretary to the Constable as early as 1384 would require him to be

[1] In the document in favour of Pedro Correa, in May, 1458, the youthful Bartholomeu II. is said to have been only seven or eight years of age. If we allow him two years after arriving at his majority of twenty-five years, in which he remained in Africa in military employment, it would make these two dates agree.

[2] This church was not then constructed, but was built a little later. To-day it is restored, and travellers report it as one of the handsomest and most attractive in the city of San Domingo.

a nonogenarian when Philippa was born. Gil Ayres Moñiz had a daughter, Isabel, and three sons from his marriage with Leonora Moñiz de l'Algarve, a sister of Vasco Martins Moñiz and of Garcia Moñiz. These sons were named Diogo Gil, Vasco Gil, and Ruy Gil. The eldest son, Diogo Gil Moñiz, married Leonora de Sousa, daughter of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Señor of Chamusca. Harrisse quotes a document dated May 17, 1458 (included in the Cedula of Confirmation for Pedro Correa da Cunha, as temporary Governor of Porto Santo, dated August 17, 1459) in which one reads:

" Isabel Muñiz, sua madre, e Diogo Gil Moñiz, seu irmao, titores do dito Bertolameu Palestrello . . . et a dicta sua madre e seu tio, titores do dito moço " : " Isabel Moñiz, his mother, and Diogo Gil Moñiz, her brother, guardians of the said Bartholomeu Palestrello . . . and to the said his mother and his uncle, guardians of the said boy."

Antonio de Lima [1] says this Diogo Gil left a son called Pedro Moñiz. In one place Brandão [2] speaks of this Pedro Moñiz as the grandson of Gil Ayres Moñiz. We can find no trace of the marriage of Pedro Moñiz, but if he was the father of Doña Philippa we can understand how Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* should call the father of Doña Philippa, Pedro Moñiz Perestrello, intending the reader to understand that there was a direct connection between the Moñiz and Perestrello families. He knew that one or more of the family had been Governor of Porto Santo, and certainly he assigns that honourable office to Philippa's father rather than to Bartholomeu II., the son of Bartholomeu I., and of her great-grandmother, Isabel Moñiz. If Philippa was the daughter of Pedro Moñiz, he must also have been the father of the woman married to the man Muliar living at Huelva, Spain.

The following table will serve to indicate the descent of Doña Philippa Moñiz from Gil Ayres Moñiz, the protégé of the

[1] Antonio de Lima, *Nobiliario:* Title under the head of Moñiz family, manuscript preserved in the Canto Library. This historical writer died about the year 1582, and is of high authority in Portugal.

[2] Francisco Brandão, or Brandon, *Monarchia Lusytana*, Lisbon, 1672.

The first edition of this work was issued as follows:

Monarchia Lusytana Com a Continuaçao até 1385. Vols. i., ii., by Bernardo de Brito, vol. i., Alcobaça, 1597, vol. ii., Lisbon, 1609; vols. iii., iv., by Ant. Brandão, Lisbon, 1632; vols. v., vi., by Francisco Brandão, Lisbon, 1650 and 1672; vol. vii., by Raphael de Jesus, Lisbon, 1683; and vol. viii., by Man. dos Santos, Lisbon, 1727.

Constable Pereira. It also connects Doña Philippa with the Perestrello family.

Gil Ayres Moñiz
married to
Leonora Moñiz

Diogo Gil Moñiz. married Leonora de Sousa.	Vasco Gil.	Ruy Gil.	Guiomar Gil. married Lope Dias de Lemos.	Isabel. married Bartholomeu Perestrello I.
Pedro Moniz.				Bartholomeu Perestrello II.

Philippa married Christopher Columbus	Brigulanga or Violante or Briolanje, the aunt of Diego Columbus mentioned in his will and the wife of Miguel Muliar of Huelva.

Ferdinand Columbus declares that Philippa Moñiz was of noble blood and was a pupil in the convent of All Saints in Lisbon, where Columbus was in the habit of going to mass.

She noticed him, conceived a friendship for him, and became his wife. The author of the *Historie* then goes on to say that the father-in-law, Pedro Moñiz Perestrello, being dead, they went to live with the mother-in-law, presumably at Porto Santo. Here, as the story goes, the mother-in-law gave Columbus the papers and journals of her husband, who had been a great traveller, having discovered with two other captains the islands of Madeira and having been given as his portion the governorship of the island of Porto Santo: and that to these papers and journals, describing various voyages and navigations, is to be ascribed the inspiration of his projects. We nowhere find that this Pedro Moñiz was a navigator. He left no impress on his time. The story that Ferdinand tells of Pedro Moñiz discovering the Madeiras is not in conformity with history. That Columbus, early after his marriage, went to Porto Santo is likely. Fructuoso says:

" Hum homem de nação Italiana Genoes, chamado Christovão Colon, natural de Cogoreo, ou de Nervi a Selça de Genova . . . vindo da sua terra á ilha da Madeira, se cason nella, vivendo ali fazer cartas de marrear."

" He was a man of the Italian Genoese nation, named Christopher Columbus, a native of Cogoreo [Cogoleto] or of Nervi near Genoa . . . having come from his country to the island of Madeira, he married on that island, living there by making charts for navigation."

Oviedo [1] writes:

" Fuesse en Portugal. E allí vivió algun tiempo en la cibdad de Lisbona, desde la qual é de donde quiera que estuvo siempre, como hijo grato, socorria á su padre viejo con parte del fructo de sus sudores; viviendo en una vida assaz limitada è no con tantos bienes de fortuna que pudiesse estar sin assaz nesçessidad.

" Aunque ya era Colom casado en aquel reyno, é se habia hecho natural vasallo de aquella tierra por su matrimonio."

" He went away into Portugal. And there he lived for some time in the city of Lisbon, from which, and always from wherever he was, like a grateful son, he aided his old father with a part of the fruit of his labours: living a very narrow life and with not sufficient worldly treasures to be able to be free from some want.

" Columbus was already married in that kingdom, and had made himself a natural subject of that country by his marriage."

Las Casas [2] says:

Segun que me quiero acordar que me dijo su hijo Don Diego Colon . . . fuese á vivir Cristóbal Colon á la dicha isla de Puerto Santo, donde engendró al dicho su primogénito heredero, D. Diego."

" According as I remember what Don Diego Columbus told me, Christopher Columbus went to live on the said island of Porto Santo, where was begotten the said Don Diego, his first-born and heir."

The good Bishop is not very explicit and his language suggests uncertainty as to his own remembrance, but he seems to mean that *after* the marriage of Columbus, the latter went to Porto Santo. There is nothing to tell us the date of Diego's birth. He must have been old enough in 1485 or 1486 to endure the hardship of travel alone with his father and without the ministration of his mother or a nurse. If we suppose him to have been nine years old he would have been born in 1476, the year before his father's voyage to the Northern regions. There is extant a holograph letter of the Admiral preserved in the archives of the Duke de Veragua and printed by Navarrete, which plainly affirms that Diego was not the only child of this union.

" Suplico á vuestras mercedes que con zelo de fielísimos cristianos y de quien S. A. tanto fian, que miren todas mis escrituras, y como vine á servir estos Principes de tan lejos, y dejé muger y fijos que jamas ví por ello, y que agora al cabo de mi vida fuí despojado de mi honra y de mi hacienda

[1] *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. ii., vol. i., p. 13.
[2] *Historia de las Indias*, lib. i., cap. iv., vol. i., p. 54.

sin causa; y que en ello ni se aguardó justicia ni misericordia. Dije misericordia, y non se entienda de S. A. porque no tienen culpa."

"I pray your Worships as most zealous Christians and as those in whom his Majesty has so great confidence, to consider all my writings and how I came to serve these Princes from so far away, and left wife and *children* whom I never saw on account of it, and that now at the end of my life I was despoiled of my honour and of my fortune without cause: and that in the matter neither justice nor mercy took part. I said mercy, but it must not be understood in reference to his Highness, because he is not guilty."[1]

That Philippa Moñiz Columbus lived still in 1485 or 1486 is evident from the passage quoted above, as well as the further fact that there were two children or more born to her union with Christopher Columbus. From the care expressed by both the Admiral and his son Diego in providing for their relatives in their wills, we must conclude that whatever the number of his children living when Columbus departed out of Portugal and even when he made his great discovery and entered into his honours and contemplated fortunes, at the time of his death two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, alone survived him. In the document dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, authorising the creation of the Majorat, it speaks distinctly, after naming Diego for the entail, of *otros vuestros hijos, your other sons.* So that at this time, April, 1497, the sovereign knew of two or more sons besides Diego. The affectionate terms in which the Admiral confides Ferdinand to the care of the elder brother suggest that he likewise would have consigned to his protection the brothers in Portugal had there been any such living at the time he wrote. The justice with which he provides for the continuance of his fortune and honours in his family even to the most distant and unlikely heirs, leads us to believe that after Diego he would have left his estates and titles and privileges to his next oldest son by Doña Philippa had such a son then been living and eligible to their assumption. If it be said this other son or these other sons lived in Portugal, it is inconceivable

[1] This document Navarrete himself saw in the possession of the Duke of Veragua, and regarded it as a sort of minute or draft of a letter which Columbus had written, or was preparing to write, to some important personages in the Court who were interested in his cause when misfortunes came upon him. The sentiments are the same as those expressed in his famous letter written to the nurse of the Prince, but this particular document seems intended for two or more persons high in the royal favour. See Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 255.

that he or they would have failed to change allegiance from the flag of Portugal to that of Spain. When the broken-hearted Admiral writes his weird letter from the island of Jamaica on July 7 in the year 1503, he speaks only of two sons, Diego, then in Spain, and Ferdinand, the son of Beatriz Enriquez, then with him on that island, a brave companion in his dangers, although not fifteen years of age. In the letter written his son Diego and dated Friday, December 13, 1504, Columbus says: "Treat your brother—Ferdinand—as an elder brother should treat the younger. *You have no other brother.*" We must believe that if he left sons behind him when he departed from Portugal, he left but Diego and Ferdinand behind him when he departed his life in Valladolid.

We may confidently assert that Columbus did not depart for Spain before the end of 1485. On the guard-leaf of the famous *Historia Rerum Ubique Gestarum*, the precious volume containing so many annotations in the proper hand of Christopher Columbus, we find this memorandum:

"Rex Portugalie misit *in* Guinea a*n*no do*m*ini 1485. magister Jhosepius fixicus ejus & astrologus (ad com)pie*n*dum altitudine*m* solis in totta guinea q*ui* om*n*ia adinplevit et renu*n*ciavit dito *serenissimo regi* me pre*se*nte q*uod* . . . aliis *in* die. XI Marcii i*n*venit se distare ab eq*ui*nox*iali* *gradus* V. m*inute* *in* insula vocata de los ydolos q*ue* est p*r*ope s(ierr)a Lioa."[1]

"The King of Portugal sent in the year 1485 Master Joseph, his physician and astrologer, to take the altitude of the sun over Guinea, who accomplished all this and reported to the said most worthy King when I myself was present that . . . with others on March 11 he accurately found himself distant five degrees from the equinoctial line, in an island called *Los Ydolos* near the Sierra Leone."[2]

[1] The italics indicate the letters omitted in the original.

[2] This is probably the expedition sent out by Juan II. under Master Rodrigo and Master Joseph Judio (see Barros, *Asia*, Dec. I., Book IV.) to develop the science of navigation by means of observations of the sun's altitude. It is said that the Nuremberg scientist and traveller, Martin Behaim, who was knighted by the Portuguese King to be Chevalier of the Order of Christ, was a member of this same expedition. But Barros makes Martin Behaim return from this expedition in May or June, 1486. In the legend on Martin Behaim's globe we read that King John of Portugal fitted out the expedition in the year 1484, and that it lasted nineteen months. If this was the same expedition, it follows that the report to the King when Columbus was present was in 1486, and thus the time at which the latter is found in Portugal might be extended to that year. But the description of this voyage does not correspond with the scientific character given to the one on which Doctor Joseph sailed, and we incline to regard them as two distinct voyages. Doctor Joseph is so associated with Behaim in his construction

We shall show in the part of this Work relating to his handwriting that this note is in the hand of Columbus himself. It is the latest date given us whereby we may speculate on the time of his departure from Portugal.

of the astrolabe and the globe that unity seems to suggest their companionship when there is no historical proof to sustain it. If so famous a man as Martin Behaim had been on the expedition, Columbus would doubtless have referred to it as sent out under him as well as under Doctor Joseph. We imagine that the island or islands referred to may be identified with the group of three called to-day *Islas de Los*, and belonging to Great Britain. They are Factory Island, Tamara, and Ruma. But the most southerly of these islands is in latitude 9°, or a little more, north of the equator. They were discovered in an expedition, the first, we believe, after the death of Prince Henry, and therefore made about 1461 or 1462, under a gentleman of the household of the King of Portugal, Pedro de Cintra, who reported finding near a mountain range, called by them Sierra Leona, three small islands situated some eight miles from the coast. These islands they called the Selvagens.

CHAPTER XXXXIX

COLUMBUS IN SPAIN

WHEN an inventor produces some labour-saving device or presents an improvement in the parts of a machine, there generally lies before him the arduous task of interesting others in his proposals. It frequently occurs that the hand which fashions an advanced form of a machine has not the cunning or strength to draw the world near to see its operation. Columbus went into Spain with a well-projected scheme for discovery. But it was a conception, not a construction; a proposal, not a performance. It was a wilder plan than any yet proposed to pilot or to King. The wonder is he ever secured the assistance of the Spanish Sovereigns. Why did he not equip a small vessel at his own expense or why did he not interest one or two adventurous spirits like himself and push the hazard of fortune? Neither of these would have been too difficult. The reason is that he was something besides an adventurer. He looked forward not merely to the discovery but to its practical utilisation. He knew that no one discoverer, no one vessel, no fleet of ships could hold title to things discovered unaided by the arm of a strong nation.[1] Land could not be possessed, peoples could not be subdued to another nation and converted to God without the protection of some powerful king. Therefore we find Christopher Columbus arrived in Spain, following the Court and slowly advancing his plans. It is probable that on

[1] In the letter written by Columbus to the nurse of the late Prince Juan, dated in the year 1500, he says:

"Bien que yo sepa poco, no sé quien me tenga por tan turpe que yo no conozca que aunque las Yndias fuesen mias que yo non me pudiera sustener syn ayuda de Prinçipe": "although I may know but little, I do not think any one considers me so foolish as not to know that even if the Indies were mine, I would not be able to sustain them without the aid of some Prince."

first coming into Spain Columbus carried his little son Diego to his sister-in-law's house in Huelva and that the scene enacted at the convent door of La Rabida belongs to a much later act in the drama, as we shall shortly see.

In a letter[1] written probably in 1500, from which we have already quoted and in which Columbus asserts that seventeen years had passed since he had come into Spain to serve their Majesties in regard to the Indies, eight years of which had been passed in ridiculing his projects, he says:

"Yo con amor proseguí en ello, y respondí á Francia y á Inglaterra y á Portugal, que para el Rey y la Reina, mis Señores, eran esas tierras y Señorios."

"With zeal I prosecuted [these projects] and replied to France, to England and to Portugal that these lands and dominions were reserved for the King and Queen, my Sovereigns."

Both Las Casas and Ferdinand make him say:

"Por servir á Vuestras Altezas yo no quise entender con Francia ni Inglaterra ni Portugal, de los cuales Principes vieron Vuestras Altezas las cartas, por mano del doctor Villalono."[2]

"That I might serve your Highnesses, I listened neither to France nor England nor Portugal, the letters of whose sovereigns your Highnesses saw by the hand of the Doctor Villalon."

Therefore, such correspondence as might have taken place between Columbus and foreign Courts must have been after 1485 or subsequent to his arrival in Spain. Instead of beholding Columbus a suppliant before Anne of Beaujeu or Henry VII., or John II., we are asked to look upon him as repulsing the kindly offers of the great and the aid of the powerful. Ramusio would have us believe that Genoa, the country of his birth, was the first to receive his proposals for a western voyage and a

[1] Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 254.

[2] "Alonso de Villalón of the Royal Council. He was specially charged in the summer of 1493 with the forming of that armada from Biscay which was to proceed with Columbus to the Indies, and which served instead for the deportation of Muley Boabdil to Africa. He must have enjoyed high authority among the Court Councillors, since in a Memorial which Hernando de Talavera (one of the first protectors of Columbus) drew up for the Queen in regard to the manner in which the affairs should be despatched, it is recommended to "order him,"—that is to say the Comendador Mayor, "and the Doctor de Villalón to meet Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday at 3 o'clock to despatch petitions." This curious document is without date, but must be previous to 1498, since it appears that Alvarez died during that year.

circumnavigation of the globe. Carlo Antonio Marin reports that the Chevalier Francesco Pesaro, one of the Council of Ten, in examining the archives of his Government found a letter addressed by Columbus to the Venetian Republic proposing his plans for discovery. In no instance is there preserved any document or letter proving these attempts to obtain countenance outside of Spain. If they occurred at all, except as concerns Portugal, they were begun only after Columbus came into Spain. There may have been suggestions of aid from others made to Columbus more to embarrass Spain than to help an unknown dreamer, but the probability is that the language of Columbus in reminding his sovereigns of his service is that of exaggeration.

We reproduce here a remarkable letter written by Luis de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli to the Grand Cardinal of Spain, and which serves to light up part of the pathway trodden by Columbus in his struggle to reach the Court and the ears of the Sovereigns.

" Al Reverendísimo Señor el Señor Cardenal de España, Arzobispo de Toledo, &c.

" Reverendísimo Señor: No sé si sabe vuestra Señoría como yo tove en mi casa mucho tiempo á Cristóbal Colomo, que se venia de Portogal, y se queria ir al Rey de Francia para que emprendiese de ir á buscar las Indias con su favor y ayuda, é yo lo quisiera probar y enviar desde el Puetor que tenia buen aparejo con tres ó cuatro carabelas, que no me demandaba mas; pero como ví que era ésta empresa para la Reina nuestra Señora, escrebilo á su Alteza desde Rota, y respondióme que gelo enviase: yo gelo envié entonces, y supliqué á su Alteza, pues yo no lo quise tentar y lo aderezaba para su servicio, que me mandase hacer merced y parte en ello, y que el cargo y descargo deste negocio fuese en el Puerto. Su Alteza lo recibió y lo dió en cargo á Alonso Quintanilla, el cual me escribió de su parte que no tenia este negocio por muy cierto; pero que si se acertase, que su Alteza me haria merced y daria parte en ello; y despues de haberle bien examinado, acordo de enviarle á buscar las Indias. Puede haber ocho meses que partió, y agora él es venido de vuelta á Lisbona, y ha hallado todo lo que buscaba, y muy cumplidamente, lo cual luego yo supe, y por facer saber tan buena nueva á su Alteza ge lo escribo con Xuares, y le envio á suplicar me haga merced que yo pueda enviar en cada año allá algunas carabelas mias. Suplico á vuestra Señoría me quiera ayudar en ello, é ge lo supliqué de mi parte, pues á mi cabsa y por yo detenerle en mi casa dos años, y haberle enderezado á su servicio, se ha hallado tan grande cosa como esta. Y porque de todo informará mas largo Xuares

á vuestra Señoría suplícole le crea. Guarde neustro Señor vuestra Reverendísima persona como vuestra Señoría desea. De la mi villa de Cogolludo á diez y nueve de Marzo. Las manos de vuestra Señoría besamos.

EL DUQUE."

"To the Most Reverend Señor the Lord Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, &c.

"Most Reverend Lord: I do not know if your Lordship is aware that for a long time I had in my house Cristobal Colomo, who came from Portugal and desired to go to the King of France in order that by his favour and aid he might undertake to go and search for the Indies: and I would have liked to try it and to send an expedition from the Port [Santa Maria], as I was well prepared with three or four caravels, which was all he asked of me. But as I saw that this undertaking was worthy of the Queen, our Lady, I wrote to her Highness about it from Rota and she replied telling me to send him [Columbus] to her. I then sent him to the Queen and I entreated her Highness, since I would not attempt it and prepare the expedition for her service, to order that I should be favoured and receive a part in the affair, and that the loading and unloading of the fleet should take place in the Port [Santa Maria]. Her Majesty received him [Columbus] and gave him in charge to Alonso de Quintanilla, who wrote me on her behalf, that she did not consider this undertaking very certain: but that if it should be accepted, her Highness would show me favour and would give me a share in it. And after having examined him [Columbus] well, she decided to send him in search of the Indies. It may be eight months since he started, and now on his return he has come to Lisbon and has found all that he sought for and very fully. As soon as I learned of this and to make known such good news to her Highness, I wrote her about it by Xuares and I sent him to beg that she would show me favour and allow me to send some of my caravels there [to the Indies] each year. I beg your Lordship to kindly aid me in the matter and I entreat it of you on my part, since it was through me and by my detaining him in my house for two years and directing him to the service of her Highness, that he has accomplished so great a thing. And as Xuares will inform your Lordship more at length in regard to everything, I beg you to believe him. May our Lord guard your most Reverend person as your Lordship desires. From my village of Cogolludo March 19. We kiss the hands of your Lordship.

THE DUKE."

The Admiral on the *Niño* came out of the mouth of the Tagus on March 13, 1493, and at noon on the 15th he crossed the bar of Saltes and anchored in the deeper channel by the town of Palos, whence he had set out a little more than seven months before. The news of his arrival spread with rapidity and was not long in reaching the Duke of Medinaceli, whose interests lay near Cadiz. His residence at that time appears

to have been at Rota, six miles to the northward of Cadiz and near the port of Santa Maria where he had his ships and caravels. He had already on or before the 19th of March hastened a messenger to the Queen, then at Barcelona, and if this letter is reliable he may have despatched a swift vessel to the Court and thus have been the first to announce the news of the discovery. However this may be, the letter of the Duke asserts that Columbus was restrained by him, by his retaining him in his house, from seeking the aid of the French Court. Further, he declares that he sought to interest the Queen in his behalf and that this was through Alonso de Quintanilla. Oviedo [1] says of Columbus when he first came into Spain:

"Andaba en la corte, llegábase á casa de Alonso de Quintanilla, contador mayor de cuentas de los Reyes Cathólicos [el cual era notable varon y desseoso del acresçentamiento y serviçio de sus reyes] y mandabále dar de comer lo nesçessario por una compasibilidad de su pobreça. Y en este caballero halló mas parte é acogimiento Colom que en hombre de toda España."

"He was going to the Court and arrived at the house of Alonso de Quintanilla, First Treasurer of the Catholic [2] sovereigns [who was a notable man and eager for the aggrandisement and service of his sovereigns] and through compassion for his poverty he ordered that what he needed to eat should be given him. And Columbus was better received by this gentleman and found him more interested than any man in all Spain."

On May 5, 1487, Columbus received 3000 maravedis on account of some services and by the warrant of Alonso de Quintanilla, the Treasurer above mentioned. These two facts taken together lead us to assume that the period of residence of Columbus in the house of the Duke of Medinaceli was from the summer of the year 1486—Columbus left Portugal at the end of 1485—until early in the year 1487, when he had entered into certain relations with their Majesties. If Oviedo is correct Columbus had interested Alonso de Quintanilla in his condition, if not in his projects, directly on his arriving at the Court, and if the appearance of Columbus at the Court is immediately

[1] *Historia General*, lib. ii., cap. v.

[2] Of course at that time Ferdinand and Isabella were not known by the title of *Los Reyes Católicos*. This title was conferred on them by Pope Alexander VI. sometime in the year 1494, as Peter Martyr refers to it as an honour already conferred, in a letter written to the newly appointed Archbishop of Granada, dated February 5, 1495, where he says, speaking of the King and Queen, *Cathólicos Appellabimus*.

prior to his receipt of the 3000 maravedis the intervening time might well have been that passed in the house of the Duke.

Another powerful friend of Columbus was the King's Chamberlain, Juan Cabrero. Las Casas recites his virtues and his goodness to Columbus. In a memoir by his nephew, Martin Cabrero, dated March 21, 1517, he says of his uncle:

"Que fué causa principal de que se emprendiese la empresa de las Indias y se conquistasen, y si por él no fuera, no hobiera Indias, á los menos para provecho de Castilla."

"That he was the principal cause of the undertaking of the affair of the Indies and of their acquisition, and if it were not for him, the Indies would not have been discovered, at least for the benefit of Castile."

He was a devoted and appreciated friend to the King and Queen and when, in 1513, Ferdinand the King ordered that the Indian slaves brought out from the island of Santo Domingo should be returned, this Juan Cabrero was one of the five persons excepted from the royal mandates.[1]

In a letter written by the Admiral to his son Diego December 21 (1504), he says:

"Es de trabajar de saber si la Reina, que Dios tiene, dejo dicho algo en su testamento, de mí, y es de dar priesa al Sr. Obispo de Palencia, el que fue causa que sus Altezas hobiesen las Indias, y que yo, quedase en Castilla, que ya estaba yo de camino para fuera y ansí al Señor Camarero de su Alteza."

"We must strive to learn whether the Queen, whom God has in His keeping, said anything about me in her will and we must hurry the Lord Bishop of Palencia, who caused the possession of the Indies by their Highnesses and my remaining in Castile, for I was already on my way to leave it. And the Lord Chamberlain of his Highness must also be hurried."

[1] Navarrete (vol. iii., p. 315) in an article entitled *Noticias exactas de Amerigo Vespucio y Reflexiones Criticas* quotes this sentiment of Martin Cabrero as to the importance of his uncle's services.

The five individuals exempted from the order confining the holding of Indian slaves to persons residing on the island of Española are:

The Bishop of Palencia (Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca).

The Comendador Major of Castilla (The Grand Master of the Order of St. Jacques, Alonzo de Cardenas).

The Chamberlain, Mosen Juan Cabrero.

Miguel Perez de Almazar, Secretary.

Lope Conchillos, Secretary.

The reader will understand that the Bishop of Palencia mentioned in the text and who befriended Columbus is not Fonseca. The latter came into that office afterward.

The Bishop of Palencia was Diego de Deza, who had long been the good friend of Columbus. Las Casas says also he had heard it boasted that Fra. Diego de Deza and Cabrero were the two individuals who caused Ferdinand and Isabella to undertake the expedition of discovery. This learned priest, Diego de Deza, had been Professor of Theology in the University of Salamanca tutor to the young Prince Juan, confessor to the Queen, Bishop successively of Salamanca, Jaen, and Palencia, and afterwards had been made Archbishop of Seville. No one had greater influence with the King and Queen.

Las Casas quotes from a letter of the Admiral, the original of which is no longer in existence, to show that there was another brave spirit unknown to history save as this statement introduces him. This man's name was Antonio de Marchena, wrongly identified by Navarrete and others with that pious and persistent priest, Juan Perez of La Rabida.

"Y nos parescia que seria bueno para esto Fray Antonio de Marchena, porque es buen astrólogo, y siempre nos pareció que se conformaba con vuestro parecer."

"And it seemed to us that Brother Antonio de Marchena would be fitted for this matter, because he is a good astrologer, and it always appeared to us that he agreed with your opinion."

In the letter describing the third voyage the Admiral again alludes to the ridicule placed upon his project by all except two friars, *salvo dos frailes que siempre constantes*, the grandest praise which can be paid to companion, friend, or lover. One of these constant souls, then, was Antonio de Marchena and the other was Diego de Deza, the Bishop of Palencia.

Here are four men, among the first in the kingdom, friends and protectors of Columbus, the one occupying the very first rank among the Spanish grandees, two others filling the most important official positions in Spain, and the fourth a high ecclesiastic with the right of entrance to the inner chambers of the sovereigns. Somehow it presents the Genoese solicitor in somewhat better circumstances than pictures usually represent him, as he awaits in Spain the hour of his fate. The poet and the dramatist demand a setting of extreme poverty and utter friendlessness out of which Columbus must emerge to fortune and to fame. The facts do not justify this lowly condition.

A Mæcenas may be wearied through much importunity, but the project of Columbus was so grand, his design so attractive, the prospect so inviting and full of hope, that we cannot imagine any one to whom his plans had once been imparted wavering in sympathy or abating in interest. The man and his project would hold the meanest patron.

CHAPTER L

THE JUNTA

A CLEVER picture is sometimes the most powerful of arguments. It will often outweigh reasoning and destroy sophistry. Many a syllogism has fallen before a cartoon. There are several pictures, painted to the same theme, in which Columbus is seen standing before an official gathering of learned men, for the most part priests, in one of the convents, revealing his plans to hostile ears, himself the object of scorn and jest and pity. This scene is always laid in Salamanca.

Historians have been agreed that the Spanish Sovereigns referred the project of Columbus to certain learned and prominent persons for their consideration and advice. Las Casas simply says that their opinion was asked of the Grand Cardinal, Pero Gonzales de Mendoza, Diego de Deza, Alonso de Cardenas, the Prior of Prado, and Juan Cabrero. He does not say where any such council was held. Oviedo mentions no place where a council was convened, but does report a consultation on the part of certain persons in the Court, and a division of opinion. Ferdinand Columbus, as we have seen in the essay on "Peter Martyr,"[1] reports that the matter was referred to the "Prior of Prado, afterwards Archbishop of Granada," who was commanded, together with those learned in cosmography, to inform themselves fully, *a pieno*, on the subject. Ferdinand then makes the astonishing assertion that his father did not wish to have his project wholly understood lest he might be treated as he was in Portugal, referring to the Portuguese King's surreptitious attempt to realise on the plan for discovery presented him by Columbus. Navarrete in his invaluable work[2] prints the

[1] Verso, p. 32, *Historie*, Venice, 1571.

[2] *Viages*, vol. iii., p. 589.

Probanzas del Almirante, and in the fifteenth question we find a reference to this inquiry:

"El Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado, dice: 'que lo que desta pregunta sabe, es que esta testigo con el prior de Prado, que á la sazon era, que despues fué arzobispo de Granada, é con otros sábios é letrados y marineros, platicaron con el dicho Almirante sobre su ida á las dichas islas, é que todos ellos acordaron que era imposible ser verdad lo que el dicho Almirante decia, é contra el parecer de los mas dellos porfió el dicho Almirante de ir el dicho viage, é SS. AA. le mandaron libra cierta cantidad de maravedis para ello, é asentaron ciertas capitulaciones con él: lo cual todo supo este testigo como uno de los del Consejo de SS. AA., é que ansi partió el dicho Almirante á descobrir las dichas islas; y plugá á nuestro Señor que acertó en lo que decia; é que este deponente tiene por cierto que si el dicho Almirante no porfiara de ir el dicho viage, é si no descubriera las dichas islas, que estovieran fasta hoy por hallar.'"

"Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado says: 'That what he knows in regard to this question, is that this witness, together with him who was at the time Prior of Prado and afterwards Archbishop of Granada, and with other learned men, and men of letters and mariners, conversed with the said Admiral about his going to the said islands, and that all of them agreed that it was impossible that what the said Admiral stated could be true: and against the opinion of most of them the said Admiral persisted in going on the said voyage, and their Highnesses ordered that a certain quantity of maravedis should be appropriated for it, and they arranged certain capitulations with him: all of which this witness knew, being a member of the Council of their Highnesses and that in this manner the said Admiral set out to discover the said islands: and it pleased our Lord that he succeeded in what he proposed: and this deponent considers it certain that if the said Admiral had not persisted on going on the said voyage and if he had not discovered the said islands, they would remain undiscovered until the present day.'"

It is necessary, then, to add to this Council the name of Rodriguez de Maldonado, who himself says he made one of the number.

The Prior of the monastery of our Lady of Prado, near Valladolid, was Hernando de Talavera, of the Jeronimite order, one of the Father Confessors to Queen Isabella [1] and afterwards Bishop of Avila and Archbishop of Granada. No one of these writers mentions the place or date for the holding of this Council. Antonio de Remesal, of the Dominican order, published at Madrid in 1619 his *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente de Chyapa*. In this work Salamanca for the first time is men-

[1] Mariana, in his *History of Spain*, says the Prior of Prado was the Confessor of the King. The same authority declares that the King chose him to go to Portugal and ratify the Treaty of Peace with that country in 1483.

tioned as the place where the Council or consultation was held, and the particular chamber is stated to be the Hall of the Convent of St. Stephen, the home of the Dominican order. The imagination of some historians has peopled this chamber with University Professors and theological teachers who disputed every argument of Columbus with narrow and impossible references to the fathers of the Church and the writers on cosmography: and then when the decision was adverse to the project the great University of Salamanca is held up to ridicule as the seat of bigotry and ignorance. The date can be approximately fixed when this gathering was held. It undoubtedly took place on the arrival of Columbus at the Court. If he spent two years, or portions of two years, in the house of the Duke of Medinaceli before gaining access to the Sovereigns, it would bring him to the Court some time in the year 1487 or early in 1488.[1] At this precise date the Court was not at Salamanca. But Columbus undoubtedly obtained one or more audiences with the Sovereigns before this date. The chronicle of Valladolid gives the date of January 26 (or 20), 1487, for the departure of the Court from Salamanca for Andalusia. The Court was at Cordova in April, 1487, at a camp near Malaga in May, and at Saragossa in November of the same year. Both Ferdinand Columbus and Dr. Rodriguez de Maldonado[2] speak of Talavera as the *Prior of Prado*, and Maldonado speaks of him distinctly as the one "who was at that time Prior of Prado." Now the Prior of Prado became Bishop of Avila sometime in the year 1487 and presumably prior to August 18, the day on which the Sovereigns entered Malaga, as he is known to have consecrated the Moorish mosque of that city and celebrated mass at its altar, by virtue of his ecclesiastical authority, as Bishop.[3] If the members of the

[1] This date is not inconsistent with the assertion of Columbus in his *Journal* under January 14, 1493, when he said seven years would be completed on January 20th of that year since he came to serve them.

[2] This Rodriguez de Maldonado was a member of the Talavera family and was sometimes called Doctor Talavera. Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 614, Observacion viii., says he was a *Vecino y Regidor de la Ciudad de Salamanca*, a Citizen and Alderman of the City of Salamanca.

[3] Mariana says that the King left Cordova April 7, 1487, and that the Spanish forces encamped in front of Malaga to besiege it on May 15, 1487, and when Queen Isabella came to the camp, she was accompanied by the Bishop of Avila. As the Prior of Prado was her Confessor, it is probable he departed from Salamanca on January 26, 1487, when the Court moved to Cordova.

In the time of the Goths Malaga had been the seat of a bishopric and the Pope restored it to this dignity.

Council enumerated by Las Casas be correct, then only Diego de Deza occupied any relation to the University of Salamanca. He held the Chair of Theology, as Navarrete says in summing up the testimony in favour of Columbus. The Prior of Prado was a resident of Valladolid and belonged to the Order of St. Jerome, while Diego de Deza and the strong convent of St. Stephen were of the Order of Dominicans. The scientific faculty of the University nowhere appears to have been called upon for consultation or advice. No Professor of mathematics or astrology is mentioned as having been present. It was a function entirely in the hands of the Prior of Prado, who does not appear to have been attached by official, ecclesiastical, or friendly ties to the University. The result of this consultation we may learn from the testimony of Dr. Rodriguez de Maldonado; it was against the enterprise. If Columbus failed to give the Council or Junta the minutest detail, if he withheld some few links in the chain of reasoning, if he omitted a direction in sailing or the history of some event helpful to a conclusion, he could only blame his want of candour if the Council decided against him. While we therefore believe the Junta was held at Salamanca in the convent of St. Stephen at the end of 1486 or the beginning of 1487, and while it was a consultation which developed strong opposition to the feasibility of his plans, there is absolutely no reflection to be cast on the intelligence or learning of the University of Salamanca.

CHAPTER LI

BEATRIZ ENRIQUEZ

WHEN we follow the star of Columbus into the Seventh House appointed by the astrologists, we discover that some obstructing planet was Lord thereof. There was an astral perturbation which drew this strong man out of his natural orbit. Christopher Columbus was the father of Ferdinand Columbus; Beatriz Enriquez was the mother of Ferdinand. There is no documentary proof that these two persons were ever lawfully wedded. The reader will remember that in 1585, when the Majorat of 1498 was in question before the Council of the Indies, a leaf was missing, and for a time it was said that this mysterious folio would reveal the secret of the Admiral's relations with Beatriz. But when one of the claimants for the estates and honours, Baldassare Colombo, produced a legalised copy of the lost leaf, it was found to have no relation whatsoever to the mother of Ferdinand. On the other hand, the reference to her on the part of the Admiral can lead but to one conclusion. On the day preceding his death, May 19, 1506, in the city of Valladolid, Christopher Columbus executed his last will and testament. It was the last solemn act of his life. One of his injunctions made on the previous twenty-fifth of August and here confirmed, was as follows:

"Digo y mando á D. Diego, mi hijo, ó á quien heredare, que pague todas las deudas que dejo aquí en un memorial, por la forma que allí dice, é mas las otras que justamente parecerá que yo deba. E le mando que haya encomendada á Beatriz Enriquez, madre de D. Fernando, mi hijo, que la provea que pueda vivir honestamente, como persona á quien yo soy en tanto cargo. Y esto se haga por mi descargo de la conciencia, porque esto pesa mucha para mi ánima. La razon dello non es lícito de la escribir aquí."

"I say to and direct D. Diego, my son, or to whomever shall inherit, to pay all the debts which I leave here in a memorandum in the form expressed therein, and furthermore the other debts which it shall justly appear that I owe. And I direct him to make provision for Beatriz Enriquez, mother of D. Fernando, my son, that she may be able to live honestly, being a person to whom I am under very great obligation. And this shall be done for the satisfaction of my conscience, because this matter weighs heavily upon my soul. The reason for which, it is not fitting to write here."

This is the language of affection, repentance, and mystery. It is not conceivable that a man realising the approach of his last days and remembering the past would allude in such a document to his wife as *persona á quien yo soy en tanto cargo.* If he had neglected her, his very repentance would have led him to pay at least a tribute of respect in dignifying her as his wife had she been legally entitled to that name. When his son Diego made his Will at Las Cuevas, March 16, 1509, he provided partially at least for the care of Beatriz Enriquez, but without assigning any title of honour or respect and placing her in the order of his benevolence or duty after his aunt and two of his mistresses[1]:

[1] "Manda veinticuatro: Item mando que serán dados en limosna á Constanza Rosa, vecina de Burgos en la calle Tenebregosa, veinte mil maravedis; y si ella fuese fallecida, que con ellos sea casada una huerfana pobre, ó dado en redencion para cautivos; y por cuanto se ha dicho, que esta dicha Constanza parió un hijo ó hija de mi, mando que si se hallare ser verdad, que mi heredero reciba la tal criatura, y la mande criar y proveer en todo y por todo como conviene á mi honra y estado; y por saber la verdad de esto, doy por aviso á mis albaceas y á mi heredero, que considerando el tiempo que yo hube esta mujer, y el tiempo cuando la dejé, que esta tal criatura pudo nacer por el mes de junio ó julio de mil y quinientos y ocho años, como podran haber informacion de Garcia de Lama, vecino de Burgos á Santa Maria la Mayor.

"Manda veinticinco: Item mando que á Da. Isabel Samba, mujer que fué de Petisalazan, vecina de Bilboa ó de Garnica, que (por) espacio de dos años le seran [sean] dados por mis albaceas ó heredero doscientos ducados para sus necesidades; ca si fuere fallecida, quédense para cumplir las mandas de este testamento. E por cuanto ella parió un hijo, mando que fenecido el pleito que injustamente y contra verdad me movió, este tal hijo sea por mi heredero recibido y criado; é tratándose de mi honra y estado conviene; el cual hijo segun parece parió por el mes de octubre de quinientos y ocho años, y cuanto á lo de los dichos ducados docientos, no les serán dados cosa alguna, perdiendo el dicho pleito."

"Legacy 24. Item: I direct that 20,000 maravedis shall be given as charity to Constanza Rosa, a resident of Burgos in the street of Tenebregosa: and if she is dead, that this amount shall be used for the marriage of a poor orphan, or shall be given for the redemption of captives. And inasmuch as it has been said that this said Constanza gave birth to a son or a daughter belonging to me, I direct, if this shall be found to be the truth, that my heir shall receive such infant and shall order that it be brought up and provided for, in everything and with everything, in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. And in order to learn the truth of this matter, I

"Manda Veinte y siete: Item mando que á Beatriz Enriquez serán dados diez mil maravedis en cada un año, allende de los diez mil que le mandó dar el Almirante mi padre."

"Legacy 27: I also direct that 10,000 maravedis shall be given to Beatriz Enriquez each year, besides the 10,000 which the Admiral, my father, ordered given to her."

In a second Will made by Diego Columbus at San Domingo, May 2, 1523, he twice distinguishes his own mother in such a way as to certainly imply a reflection on the mother of Ferdinand. Speaking of himself, Diego says:

"Hijo legitimo de Don Cristobal Colon primero Visorrey é Almirante é Gobernador perpetuo destas dichas Yndias é tierra firma é de Doña Felipa Muñiz su legitima muger defuntos, que Dios aya."

"Legitimate son of Don Christopher Columbus, first Vice-King and Admiral and perpetual Governor of these said Indies and mainland, and of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, defunct, whom may God have in His keeping."

And again, when speaking of the proposed removal of the body of his own mother to the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, he says:

"É traer asy mismo allí el cuerpo de Doña Felipa Muñiz, su legitima muger, mi madre."

"And to carry there likewise, the body of Doña Philippa Moñiz, his legitimate wife, my mother."

Oviedo speaks of the two sons thus:

Los quales eran Don Diego Colom, hijo legitimo é Mayor del Almirante, é otro su hijo Don Fernando Colom, que hoy vive.

"Who were, Don Diego Columbus, the legitimate and oldest son of the Admiral, and another son, Don Fernando Columbus, who is now living."

advise my executors and my heir, that in consideration of the time at which I had relations with this woman and the time at which I left her, such infant should have been born in the month of June or July, 1508, as they will be able to learn from Garcia de Lama, a citizen of Burgos, in Santa Maria la Mayor.

"Legacy 25. Item: I direct that 200 ducats shall be given by my executors or by my heir, to Doña Isabel Samba, who was the wife of Petisalazan, a resident of Bilboa or of Garnica, during the space of two years, for her necessities: and if she is dead they shall be used for the satisfaction of the legacies of this testament. And inasmuch as she gave birth to a son, I direct that when the suit which was brought against me unjustly and in defiance of the truth, is finished, such son shall be received by my heir and brought up and treated in a manner suitable to my honour and rank. Which son, as it appears, was born in the month of October, 1508. And as to the matter of the said 200 ducats, if the said suit is lost, they shall not be given, nor any part of them."

Las Casas distinguishes the condition before the law of the two sons of Columbus where he speaks of *Don Diego Colon, hijo legitimo del Almirante D. Cristobal Colon* and of *D. Hernando, su hijo natural*—Don Diego Columbus, legitimate son of the Admiral—Don Ferdinand, his natural son.

There seems to be a somewhat pathetic acknowledgment of his condition when Ferdinand Columbus in his Will asks to be interred in the monastery of Las Cuevas in case the Chapter should refuse his body sepulture in the Cathedral. And yet this man did more for humanity by his decent life and by his great collection of books for the use of students than all the descendants of the Admiral together.

Beatriz Enriquez was a native of Cordova. This is not discovered in the Will of Diego as has been asserted, for this document, preserved in the archives of the Indies at Seville, does not mention the place of which she was *vecina*, or resident, there being a blank in the original. Las Casas, however, says that Pedro de Arana, a native of Cordova, was the brother of the mother of Ferdinand Columbus.

Not long ago a responsible Spanish review [1] published the results of some researches made by Don Rafael Ramirez de Arellano, nephew of the Marquis de Fuensanta del Valle. Finding in some manuscripts in the Columbian Library at Seville reference to certain notarial documents affecting the Arana family, Señor de Arellano hastened to Cordova to consult the originals. In the archives of that city he found documents which he asserted connected Beatriz Enriquez with the two Arana brothers and which proved that all three were of peasant extraction and acquainted with poverty, living in a small village near Cordova called Santa Maria de Trassiera. The mother of Beatriz was Anne Nunez de Arana and her father was Pedro de Torquemada. In a notarial Act, ceding a small annual payment for life to Ruiz de Buenosrinos and to his son, dated January 9, 1516, this Beatriz describes herself:

[1] *Boletin de la real Academia de la Historia*, December, 1900, pages 461–485. Also the same for January, 1902, pages 41–50. See also *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for May 15, 1902, where M. Gabriel Marcel discusses this question of the family of Beatriz Enriquez. Perhaps further researches may more clearly identify the mother of Ferdinand with this Beatriz of the little village near Cordova, but certainly in the life, character, and deeds of Ferdinand Columbus there is nothing to indicate a mean or low origin.

I, Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, daughter of the late Pedro de Torquemada,—whom God has in His keeping,—dwelling, etc.

It is evident that this woman was not married at this time, and if she had been the widow of Christopher Columbus, the First Admiral of the Indies, dead nearly ten years, she would have so described herself.

It is probable that when the Court moved from Salamanca to Cordova in January, 1487, Columbus accompanied it to that place, and as the minds of the Sovereigns were filled with thoughts of war to the exclusion of such far-away projects as Columbus had to propose, it is likely that he remained behind when the Court made its way to the South in the springtime of that year. Here in Cordova Christopher Columbus met Beatriz Enriquez and formed with her a relationship which resulted, on the fifteenth day of August, 1488, in the birth of Ferdinand Columbus.[1] When Columbus applied for leave to go back into Portugal in the year 1488 it is possible that it was to settle the estate of his first wife, Philippa Moñiz, and that as a consequence she had departed this life sometime in the first half of that year, but even this suggestion will permit no softening of the actual fact of his relationship with Beatriz Enriquez. A character living in the fifteenth century must be measured by the customs, conditions, and sentiments common to that time. Sons who were illegitimate were recognised by their fathers and honoured by the world.

The King himself, Ferdinand II. of Aragon, had an illegitimate son, Don Alonzo, who was a favourite of his father. When

[1] ". . . Porque por memorias suyas fidedignas paresze que nació en Cordova á quinze dias del mes de Agosto, dia de la Asuncion de nuestra Señora año de mill é quatrocientos é ochenta é ocho": ". . . According to his memorials worthy of belief, it appears that he was born in Cordova on the fifteenth day of the month of August, the day of the Ascension of our Lady, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight."

(Harrisse, Fernand Colomb, p. 220, Paris, 1872.)

The epitaph on the tombstone of Ferdinand Columbus in the church at Seville declares that he died on July 12, 1539, aged 50 years, 9 months, and 14 days. This would make his birth to have occurred on September 28, 1488.

Ortiz de Zuñiga (Anales Ecclesiasticas) says he was born on August 29, 1488, as appears from the original papers, *Que Tiene Nuestra Santa Iglesia.* No such papers, however, are believed to exist.

The date given in the text is that given by the executor of his last will and testament, Marcus Felipe, who was his friend and familiar and who spoke from his personal knowledge of the events in the life of Ferdinand.

Don Juan de Cobrera died leaving an immense fortune to his daughter Donna Anne, the King sought to wed Don Alonzo to that lady that he might become possessed of her estates. A king is morally not much better than his nobles, and they too thought it no terrible sin to bring children into the world without the authority of wedlock. Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis Duke of Cadiz, the hero of the war of Granada, when he died, August 28, 1492, left three illegitimate daughters, all of whom formed important marriages, the son of one, by authority of the Sovereigns, succeeding to the estates and honours of his grandfather. There was no Spanish rank in those days, spiritual, royal, or civil, in which there were not instances of children being born without the sanction of Church or State. This departure from a high moral standard was the more marked in the case of Columbus because it was not to be expected from a man of his temperance and control. He was not an immoral man. If he had been he would have allowed himself something of licence in his visits to the New World, but his enemies, ever watchful and observant, never discovered the slightest exhibition of laxity in his conduct. We prefer to think that there was some bar to a lawful union between Christopher Columbus and Beatriz Enriquez, but that they nevertheless permitted themselves to yield to a mutual attraction and affection. Such a union, or indeed any domestic union, was not the rôle for a man like Columbus, wedded to a plan, a purpose, which dominated all his thoughts and all his movements.

In his second Will, made May 2, 1523, Diego speaks of his payments due Beatriz of ten thousand maravedis—something over $61 of our money—per year, and says that, while it was all paid up to a certain point, there may be due her heirs the stipend for three or four years before her death. We may therefore assume that the mother of Ferdinand died about the year 1519.

Beyond these two or three references to her existence no mention is ever made of Beatriz Enriquez, by Christopher Columpus, her lover, or by Ferdinand Columbus, her son.

CHAPTER LII

THE TRIUMPH OF COLUMBUS

THE hour of Columbus was approaching. There was to be one more flow of hope, one more ebb of fortune, and then was to come the wave which would lift him to success. His two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, were at school in Cordova.[1] In the *Journal* of Columbus under date of February 14, 1493, Las Casas finds a passage which he transcribes as follows:

"Dice mas, que tambien le daba gran pena dos hijos que tenia en Córdoba al estudio, que los dejaba huérfanos de padre y madre en tierra estraña."

"He says, moreover, that he also felt great anxiety on account of the two sons whom he had in Cordova at school, as he had left them orphaned of father and mother in a foreign land."

Las Casas always distinguishes between the verbatim utterances of Columbus and his own interpretations of what he himself read in the *Journal*. If these were the literal words of the Admiral it would seem to mean that Philippa, the mother of Diego, and Beatriz, the mother of Ferdinand, were both dead and that only his own destruction was necessary to consummate the complete orphanage of the two sons. He undoubtedly is referring only to his own relationship as a parent. It is difficult to fix the age of the elder of these two sons. In the trial of 1513 one of the witnesses, as we shall soon see, characterises the boy as *niño* and *niñico* at the end of the year 1491, and this would suggest an age of not more than ten years. If, then, we

[1] Ferdinand Columbus would have been between four and five years old at this time, and there is no inconsistency in the Admiral speaking of him as being at school. It is probable that he was in the care of his mother, as perhaps also was the other son Diego.

accept this as probable, Diego would have been in his fifth year when he departed out of Portugal with his father. There are no means of determining the order of birth of Diego and the other children Columbus left behind him in Portugal. We would naturally suppose he was the oldest. He was appointed, May 8, 1492, on the turn of his father's fortunes, page to the infant Don Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was fourteen years of age in the year 1492.

The darkest days were those of the winter of 1491 and 1492. If Columbus was ever poor, he was poor then. If he was ever hopeless, he was hopeless then. The Spanish Sovereigns had resolved upon the capture of Granada. On April 23, 1491, King Ferdinand encamped within sight of its walls. This city was to be the last stand of the Moors. A few miles to the westward of the city, across a plain made fat, as Mariana says, by the blood that had been shed for many years by Spaniard and by Moor, the Sovereigns built a fortified camp called Santa Fé, which was indeed a city as well as camp, named to commemorate their unconquerable faith in the purpose and power of God and which, as has been said, was the only city in Spain never profaned by the foot of the Moslem. Hither at the close of the year 1491 came Columbus with his familiar project. The years were passing and they appeared to bring him no nearer the fulfilment of his plans. He must have an answer from the Spanish Sovereigns. Other kings there were whose ears would not be heavy nor their arms shortened to aid in so great an enterprise. But, alas! the eyes of the Spanish Sovereigns were fastened on an object seven miles to the eastward of their camp. How could they look out across the Western seas to the isles and lands beyond! A Council was again called and this Junta, like the one held at Salamanca, was of small help to Columbus. Alessandro Geraldini [1] was himself present at this Council, which he says was composed of the most eminent men and was held in the city of "Iliberis, that place which in our time is called Granada." He says that most of the Spanish prelates quoted Nicolas de Lyra and Saint Augustin to prove that the ideas of Columbus were heresies. Then this same Alessandro Geraldini leaned over to the Most Reverend Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza, and whispered that to his mind the geographical knowledge of

[1] Geraldini, *Itinerarium*, lib. xiv.

the fathers of the Church had been somewhat modified and enlarged since in these days the Portuguese navigators had been on a point in another hemisphere where the North Star no longer appeared in the heavens and where the pilot's eye was fixed on another star and another pole. We have not the reply of Mendoza, but Oviedo tells us that the Cardinal knew Columbus through the efforts of Alonso de Quintanilla and had given him several audiences and had come to take a great interest in him and his projects. Oviedo adds that because of this interest he had succeeded in making the King and Queen listen and that from then on the Sovereigns began to give ear to his petitions and proposals. However this may be, the Council did not advise the prosecution of the project and the King and Queen did not hold out an immediate hope.

The reader will understand that there are two distinct views to be taken concerning this second Junta. The first suggests a date early in December, 1491, and the scene, the camp at Santa Fé. The second suggests a date subsequent to January 6, 1492, and the scene the city of Granada, captured by the Moors and occupied by the Spanish forces. Those who hold to this second view will find room not only for the Junta and its adverse decision but for the discomfiture of Columbus and his exit from the city of Granada upon the mule which he had procured at Palos and for the messenger overtaking him on the bridge of Pinos with the joyful news of a reversal of judgment by the Spanish Sovereigns, or at least by Isabella, the Queen of Castile. As for ourselves, we believe that the second Junta was held in the camp at Santa Fé in November or December of the year 1491, and that as a result of its unfavourable decision Columbus left the Court and made his way on foot with his little son Diego to the monastery of La Rabida. The testimony of Garcia Hernandez fixes the inquiry as immediately preceding the departure of Columbus from the Court and his appearance at La Rabida. The language of Alessandro Geraldini in fixing the place as at Granada may be interpreted as covering the territory in that neighbourhood which would include the site of the camp at Santa Fé. We believe that to all intents and purposes an agreement was reached between Queen Isabella and the ambassador of Columbus, Father Juan Perez, as a result of which the twenty thousand maravedis was sent him and his return to

the Court was promptly secured. After all his years of importunity it is extremely improbable that the Queen or her officers would have invited Columbus to return, or that Columbus himself would have again repaired to the Court, if a definite understanding had not been reached. We believe it possible and even probable that after Columbus arrived at the Court there occurred serious differences of opinion between the Sovereigns and himself, relative to his demands. We can scarcely believe that there arose a disagreement sufficiently strong to account for the retirement of Columbus in disappointment and anger, from which he was recalled on the bridge of Pinos. After once having decided upon engaging in the enterprise the Sovereigns appear to have met (for a time at least) the demands of Columbus with a response of the largest liberality.

It was, then, probably the latter part of December in the year 1491 that Columbus turned his face away from the Spanish Court, as he thought for ever. It was his darkest hour. It was not merely that his plans had not been accepted, but that they had been rejected after so many years of patient waiting; and each new proposal to foreign Courts must needs have its own long period of probation, of inquiry, of doubting juntas, until the strength of the man should fail him and his soul despair. His son Diego was with him. He set out from Santa Fé and travelled on foot [1] to the coast, where he purposed again leaving Diego with his wife's sister, the woman Muliar at Huelva, and himself taking ship for France or some other land less indifferent to his project, and perhaps ready to welcome him and lend assistance to his designs. Not far from where the little river Odiel is joined by the still smaller river Tinto, in the south-west corner of Spain, lies a little place of eternal interest to us of America, for here came Columbus to the convent of La Rabida in sorrow, neglect, and hopelessness at the end of the year 1491, and from the little anchorage close by departed Columbus a few months later on his memorable voyage of discovery. The convent of La Rabida still stands, white in the Andalusian sun, but its glories are departed, it is emptied of its friars, it no longer

[1] Thus is taken out of history the spectacular scene where the message of the Queen overtakes Columbus as he is half way over the famous bridge of Pinos near Granada and calls him back from despair to hope. The scene was magnificent,—but it was not true.

gives food to the hungry or shelter to the weary, for none to-day passes its doors. But at the convent portal that December night knocked Christopher Columbus, who had made his way up the hill from the water-side below, asking alms and a bed for himself and little boy. While conversing with the porter, the Prior of the monastery, Friar Juan Perez, came forward, and observing that the man was a foreigner and a stranger, he inquired who he was and whence he came. Then was loosened that tongue which the stranger thought never again within the land of Spain would speak of his project or urge his plans. Long and eloquently he spoke of his hopes for adding new lands and new peoples to the Crown of the Spanish Sovereigns whose gentlemen and whose scholars had derided him in Court and mocked him in council. And now, he told the father, he was on his way to Huelva with his little boy to consult with his brother-in-law Muliar. The star of Columbus was in the ascendant. He was unfolding his plans to a sympathetic soul, to a mind capable of receiving new things and of entertaining large views. In Palos was a young man, Garcia Hernandez, who knew something of astronomy. He was summoned to the monastery, and the Prior Juan Perez, Columbus, and Hernandez, all three spoke together, and in the council of a few was much wisdom. Father Juan Perez was the Confessor to the Queen, and he volunteered to write a letter to her Highness, urging her to reconsider the determination of the Court and to undertake the expedition which Columbus had prepared. This letter was intrusted to a messenger by the name of Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe. In the meantime Columbus and his boy rested within the monastery. When fourteen days had passed the messenger returned, bearing a letter from the Queen to Father Perez, thanking him for calling her attention again to the matter, and commanding him when he should have read her letter to appear at Court, leaving Columbus behind at the monastery, but leaving him with the precious boon of a new hope, until she herself should write him. That night before the hour of low twelve had sounded through the halls of the monastery the good father secretly mounted his mule and departed for the Court at Santa Fé. When the father and the Queen had consulted, it was agreed that his prayer should be granted, and that three vessels should be equipped for the expedition. Then the Queen, calling

to her Diego Prieto, a citizen of Granada, gave him twenty thousand maravedis [1] and a letter which he was to hand to the witness, and which he was in turn to deliver to Christopher Columbus. The letter told the successful suppliant that at last his prayer was heard, that he must forthwith purchase a mule and prepare himself with proper raiment to appear before her Gracious Majesty. Columbus must have been impressed with the character of Garcia Hernandez, for to him and to a priest by the name of Martin Sanchez he left his little son Diego. Then light of heart, with the mirage of new lands appearing in the western sky of his fancy, Columbus set out for the new city of Santa Fé to kiss the hand that had once rejected the now successful suitor. That the reader may have clearly before him this important turning-point in the career of Columbus, the testimony of Dr. Garcia Hernandez is here given in full. It was first published to the world by Navarrete in 1829, although Señor Don Josef de la Higuera é Lara, General Archivist of the Indies, made a certification on August 23, 1826, and while this was incomplete in reporting much of the matter contained in *Las Probanzas*, the particular question answered and the testimony of Garcia Hernandez are there given completely and fully.

"García Hernandez, físico, . . . : é que sabe que el dicho Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon viniendo á la arribáda con su fijo D. Diego, que es agora Almirante, á pie, se vino á Rábida, que es monasterio de frailes en esta villa, el cual demandó á la portería que le diesen para aqual niñico, que era niño, pan y agua que bebiese: y que estando allí ende este testigo, un fraile, que se llamaba Fr. Juan Perez, que es ya difunto, quiso hablar con el dicho Don Cristóbal Colon, é viéndole disposicion de otra terra é reino ageno en su lengua le preguntó que quién era, é donde venia, é quel dicho Cristóbal Colon le dijo que él venia de la corte de S. A., e le quiso dar parte de su embajada, é que fué á la corte é como venia: é que dijo el dicho Cristóbal Colon al dicho Fr. Juan Perez, como habia puesto en plática á descubrir ante S. A., é que se obligaba á dar la tierra firme, queriéndole ayudar S. A. con navios é las cosas pertenecientes para el dicho viage é que conviniesen: é que muchos de los caballeros y otras personas que así se fallaron al dicho razonamiento, le volaron su palabra é que no fué acogida, mas que ántes facian burla de su razon, diciendo que tantos tiempos acá se habian probado é puesto navíos en la buscar, é que todo era un poco de aire é que no habia razon dello: quel dicho Cristóbal Colon, viendo ser su razon disuelta en tan poco conocimiento de lo que ofrecia de facer é de cumplir, él se vino de la

[1] As we have calculated the value of the maravedi, this sum would amount to about $123.

corte é se iba derecho de esta villa á la villa de Huelva para fallar y verse con un su cuñado, casado con hermana de su muger, é que á la sazon estaba, é que habia nombre Muliar; é que viendo el dicho fraile su razon, envió á élamar á este testigo, con el cual tenia mucha conversacion de amor, é porque alguna cosa sabia del arte astronómica, para que hablase con el dicho Cristóbal Colon, é viese razon sobre este caso del descubrir; y que este dicho testigo vino luego é fablaron todos tres sobre el dicho caso, é que de aqui eligieron luego un hombre para que llevase una carta á la reina Doña Isabel, que haya santa gloria, del dicho Fr. Juan Perez, que era su confesor; el cual portador de la dicha carta fué Sebastian Rodriguez, un piloto de Lepe, é que detuvieron al dicho Cristóbal Colon en el monasterio fasta saber respuesta de la dicha carta de S. A. para ver lo que por ella proveian, y así se fizo; é dende de catorce dias la Reina nuestra Señora, escribió al dicho Fr. Juan Perez, agradeciéndole mucho su buen propósito, é que le rogaba é mandaba que luego vista la presente pareciese en la corte ante S. A., é que dejase al dicho Cristóbal Colon en seguridad de esperanza fasta que S. A. le escribiese: é vista la dicha carta é su dispósición, secretamente se partió ante de media noche el dicho fraile del monasterio, é cabalgo en un mulo, é cumplió el mandamiento de S. A. é pareció en la corte, é de allí consultaron que le diesen al dicho Cristóbal Colon tres naviós para que fuese á descubrir é facer verdad su palabra dada; é que la Reina nuestra Señora, concedido esta, envío 20,000 maravedis en florines, los cuales trujo Diego Prieto, vecino de esta villa, é los dió con una carta á este testigo para que los diese á Cristóbal Colon para que se vistiese honestamente y mercase una bestezuela é pareciese ante S. A. é quel dicho Cristóbal Colon recibió los dichos 20,000 maravedis. é partió ante S. A. como dicho es, é consultaron todo lo susodicho, é de allí vino proveido con licencia para tomar los dichos navíos quél señalase que convenia para seguir el dicho viage, é de esta fecha fué el concierto é compañia que tomó con Martin Alonso Pinzón é Vicente Yañez, porque eran personas suficientes é sabidos en las cosas de mar, los cuales allende de su saber é del dicho Cristóbal Colon, le avisaron é pusieron en muchas cosas, las cuales fueron en provecho del dicho viage, é de esta pregunta esto sabe."

"Garcia Hernandez, physician, deposes . . . and says that he knows the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus in coming on foot to the landing-place with his son, Don Diego, who is now Admiral, came to Rabida, which is a monastery of friars in this town, and asked the porter to give him bread, and water to drink for the boy, who was a small child: and that this witness being there, a friar who is now dead, called Fr. Juan Perez, desired to talk with the said Don Christopher Columbus, and seeing that he appeared to be of another country and kingdom and foreign in his language, he asked him who he was and whence he came: and that the said Christopher Columbus told him he was coming from the Court of her Highness, and that he would make known to him his errand, and why he went to the Court and why he was coming away: and that the said Christopher Columbus told the said Fr. Juan Perez how he had caused the making of discoveries

to be discussed before her Highness and that he pledged himself to find the mainland, if her Highness would aid him with vessels and the things pertaining thereto, for the said voyage, and which would be required therefor: and that many of the gentlemen and other persons who were present at the said discussion made light of his speech and that it was not accepted, but that instead they ridiculed his reasoning saying that they had tried there so many times and had sent ships in search of the mainland and that it was all air and there was no reason in it: that the said Christopher Columbus seeing his argument dissolved because of so little knowledge of what he offered to do and fulfil, came away from the Court and was going straight from this town to the town of Huelva in order to find and converse with a brother-in-law of his, who was married to a sister of his wife, and who was living there at the time and was named Muliar: and that the said friar, appreciating his argument, summoned this witness,—with whom he had much friendly conversation, as he knew something of the astronomer's art,—in order that he should speak with the said Christopher Columbus, and that he might be convinced in regard to the matter of making discoveries: and that this said witness then came and that they all three talked about the said matter, and that they then chose a man from here to carry a letter to the Queen Doña Isabella (may she rest in glory) from the said Fr. Juan Perez, who was her confessor: which bearer of the letter was Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, and that they detained the said Christopher Columbus in the monastery until they learned the reply to the said letter to her Highness in order to see what she decided, and thus it was done: and at the end of fourteen days the Queen, our Lady, wrote to the said Fr. Juan Perez, thanking him greatly for his good proposition, and praying him and commanding him when he had read her letter to appear in Court before her Highness, and telling him to leave the said Christopher Columbus in the security of hope until her Highness should write him: and having read the said letter and her decision, the said friar left the monastery secretly before midnight, mounted on a mule, and complied with the command of her Highness and appeared at the Court: and there they advised that three vessels should be given to the said Christopher Columbus that he might go and make discoveries and prove true the words he had spoken: and that the Queen, our Lady, having conceded this, sent 20,000 maravedis in florins, which were brought by Diego Prieto, citizen of this town, and he gave them, with a letter, to this witness, to be given to Christopher Columbus in order that he might clothe himself decently, and buy a small beast and appear before her Highness: and that the said Christopher Columbus received the said 20,000 maravedis, and went before her Highness as has been said; that they consulted in regard to all the aforesaid, and from there he came provided with permission to take the said vessels which he should designate as suitable to undertake the said voyage: and the agreement and fellowship which he formed with Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Yañez dated from this time, because they were suitable persons and had a knowledge of matters pertaining to the sea, who advised him and

arranged many things beyond his [the witness's] knowledge and that of the said Christopher Columbus, which were for the benefit of the said voyage: and by this question, this thing is known."

The Moslem King sent a letter to King Ferdinand, which the latter received with glad surprise on the first day of the year 1492, in which he invited the Spanish King to come and take possession of the city of Granada. On the second day of January in that eventful year the Spanish armies entered within the city's walls, and close to the Alhambra the King of Spain received the keys of the castle and the homage of the Moor. Boabdil, the Little King, offered to kiss the hand of the Sovereign, but this mark of subjection Ferdinand did not exact.[1] The formal entry into the city was made on Friday, January 6, 1492. In the preamble, or *prologo*, to his *Journal*, Columbus writes [2]:

"Porque, cristianísimos, y muy altos, y muy excelentes, y muy poderosos Príncipes, Rey y Reina de las Españas y de las islas de la mar, nuestros Señores, este presente año de 1492, despues de vuestras Altezas haber dado fin á la guerra de los moros que reinaban en Europa, y haber acabado la guerra en la muy grande ciudad de Granada, adonde este presente año a dos dias del mes de Enero por fuerza de armas vide poner las banderas Reales de vuestras Altezas en las torres de Alfambra, que es la fortaleza de la dicha ciudad, y vide salir al Rey Moro á las puertas de la ciudad y besar las Reales manos de vuestras Altezas y del Príncipe mi Señor, y luego en aquel presente mes por la informacion que yo habia dado á vuestras Altezas de las tierras de India. . . ."

"Because, *Most Christian*, and very exalted and very excellent and very powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the islands of the sea, our Lords in this present year of 1492, after your Highnesses had made an end to the war of the Moors who were reigning in Europe, and having finished the war in the very great city of Granada, where, in this present year, on the second day of the month of January, I saw the royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said city; and I saw the Moorish King come out to the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of your Highnesses and of the Prince, my Lord; and then in that same month, because of the information which I had given your Highnesses about the lands of India. . . ."

Thus the reader will see that Christopher Columbus was at the Court when the city of Granada capitulated on January 2, 1492, and that consequently he had been summoned by the Queen back to the Court with money to buy a mule and suitable

[1] Mariana, lib. xxv.

[2] Navarrete, vol. i., p. 1.

clothing, and that having supplied himself with these, and having made his journey from Palos to Santa Fé, he arrived previous to the events of the first and second day of January. It was, then, not the fall of Granada and the subjection of the Moors which inclined the heart of Isabella to accept the proposition of Columbus. The expedition of discovery was to be undertaken whether the Moslem power fell or continued its stubborn resistance. This new and splendid design was to be woven in the loom of royal action before the old pattern of Moorish subjugation had been finished and completed. It makes the triumph of Columbus brighter. He forced to royal consideration in the midst of exciting and culminating events a subject new, foreign, uncertain. The victory was the individual victory of Columbus, fortified and controlled by his high purpose. His hour had come.

CHAPTER LIII

THE CAPITULATION

FROM the opening lines in the *Journal* it is evident that Columbus considered his agreement with the Sovereigns was practically reached when he returned to the camp at Santa Fé on the last days of December, 1491, or the first day of January, 1492. We know he was with the Court on January 2, 1492, and after the negotiation undertaken by the priest from La Rabida, and accepted by the Sovereigns while Columbus was yet at the monastery, it is probable the very presence of the adventurer was a formal act of agreement. In his *Journal*, begun either before or on August 3, 1492, when he commenced his voyage, Columbus says:

"Así que despues de haber echado fuera todos los judíos de todos vuestros reinos y señoríos, en el mismo mes de Enero mandaron vuestras Altezas á mí que con armada suficiente me fuese á las dichas partidas de India."

"So that, after having banished all the Jews from all your kingdoms and realms, in the same month of January, you ordered me to go with a sufficient fleet to the said regions of India."

The edict expelling the Jews from Spain was signed March 30, 1492, although doubtless efforts had already been made to force these good citizens from their homes, and many entire households had already moved themselves from out the unfriendly land. The wholesale banishment did not take place until some months subsequent to January, and therefore the entry in the *Journal* is not exact. The written agreement between Columbus and the Sovereigns, the two documents known as constituting the Capitulation, are *first*, that executed on April 17, 1492, containing the five famous articles or items of concessions, and, *second*, that executed April 30, 1492, containing a dissertation

on the Divine Right of Kings, followed by an elaborate definition of the powers and privileges appertaining to the offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor. The first document was the vital instrument. The five articles provided as follows:

Article one, that he should be Admiral of such islands and mainland as he or his heirs should discover or acquire with such prerogatives as belonged to the office of High Admiral of Castile:

Article two, that he should be Viceroy and Governor-General in all those islands or mainlands he might discover or acquire, with power to name three persons for each office under him, from which three persons the Sovereign must select one [1]:

Article three, that he should have a tenth of the profits arising from buying, bartering, discovering, acquiring, or obtaining merchandise of whatsoever kind:

Article four, that he should in his quality of Admiral have in himself or by deputy sole cognisance or judicial jurisdiction of any suit growing out of trade or traffic in the lands and islands to be discovered:

Article five, that whenever and as often as ships should be equipped for traffic, he should have the right to furnish one eighth of all that should be expended in the equipment and have and enjoy one eighth of the profits which should result from such equipment.

In this Capitulation of April 17, 1492, there is no word said about a third interest in any revenues or profits.

Article one provided for the exercise of the pre-eminences and prerogatives appertaining to the office of High Admiral of Castile, as formerly exercised by Don Alfonso Enriquez. But this concession carried with it no money rewards other than the usual salary of the office. If Don Alfonso Enriquez in the reign of King John and his mother, the Regent Catherine, enjoyed under his grant great honours and pre-eminences, like honours and pre-eminences were to be enjoyed by Columbus, confined, however, to the regions of his prospective discoveries. In the second document of the Capitulation, executed April 30, 1492, there is no direct mention of a third money interest in the profits and emoluments, but there is conceded Columbus not only the pre-eminences and prerogatives of

[1] The American Civil Service Reformer of to-day will recognise a suggestion of his system with that first exercised in America.

the office of Admiral, but civil and criminal jurisdiction with power to punish and to collect fees and penalties. In addition, there is conceded him "the salary, dues, and other things" appertaining to the office of High Admiral. Columbus interpreted this concession to mean that the "salary, dues, and other things" were to be those which King John in the year 1416 had conferred on his uncle Don Alfonso Enriquez, High Admiral of Castile. When Columbus investigated the rights and privileges conferred on Don Alfonso Enriquez, he found this important provision:

" E tengo por bien que todas las ganançias que el dicho mi Almirante mayor oviere o fiziere enla mi flota o por la mar que aya Yo las doss partes, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte e yendo el por su cuerpo mesmo enla dicha flota, aunque la dicha flota o parte della se aparte por su mando, o syn su mandado, o otrosi que todas las galeas que yo mandare armar syn flota para ganar, que dela ganançia que oviere, que aya Yo las doss partes, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte. Otrosy tengo por bien e mando que todas las galeas e naos e galeotas e leños e otras fustas quales quier, que armaren a otras partes de que Yo aya de aver el quinto, que Yo aya las doss partes deste dicho quinto, e el dicho Almirante la terçia parte del."

"And I declare that of all the profits which the said my said High Admiral may receive or make in my fleet or on the sea, I shall have the two parts and the said Admiral the third part, he going in person in the said fleet although the said fleet or some part thereof may depart by his order or without his order, and also that all the galleys which I may order to equip the fleet for the purpose of making gain, of the gain which is received I shall have two parts and the said Admiral the third part. Also I declare and order that all the galleys and ships and galleaciæ and boats and other vessels [foists] which may be equipped for other regions in which I am to have a fifth share, that I shall have two parts of the said fifth and the said Admiral shall have the third part of it."

The gains or profits referred to here are not to be considered as "salary, dues, or other things" appertaining to the office of High Admiral. If there were no "gains or profits," the High Admiral would doubtless receive a regular salary. But even if Columbus felt himself entitled to a third part of the gains, it would appear—by inference rather than by the expression itself —that this was confined to what was captured on the high seas from enemies. Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean, was not instructed or empowered to capture ships upon the seas. That this distinction between profits gained from sea-enterprises and such as he contemplated on land, although reached by the

sea, was recognised by Columbus is evident from Document No. XXXXII. in the *Book of Privileges* made by Columbus himself in 1502, wherein the legal adviser of Columbus claims that the benefit should be interpreted as belonging to the duties and obligations of the office, quoting the legal phrase, *propter officium datum beneficium.* Manifestly the duties of Admiral, as expected of Columbus, were not to wage war by sea and capture galleys and ships as in the case of Don Alfonso Enriquez, but to go by sea to discover new lands and to institute and excite trade and traffic from which should flow gains and profits. It is needless to say that Columbus nowhere appears to have received a third of any gain or profit arising from his discovery. If Columbus and his heirs had been permitted to derive, first, a third part of all gains and profits in the New World, second, a tenth part of all gains and profits in the New World, third, an eighth part of all gains and profits, it must be apparent that his revenues would be immense even in comparison with those accruing to the Sovereigns or the Crown of Castile. If, now, as was claimed for him, these portions were to be deducted from the whole before the shares allotted the Crown were paid, it would seem that his office controlled by himself or by his heirs would reap a greater reward than that of Royalty itself.

The reader may well be struck with amazement when he finds in neither of these documents of the Capitulation any reference to India or a voyage to the Eastern countries by way of the Western ocean. Columbus is here made to contemplate only a discovery of islands and mainlands, and the King and Queen are made to provide only for governing such lands and sharing the gains to come from trade and possession. The Great Khan is not mentioned. Prester John and his Christian subjects have no part in this commercial drama. It is when we turn to the first entry in the *Journal* that we find the project of Columbus as it appeared to both him and his Sovereigns, a voyage to the Oriental regions by way of the west, to carry to the Eastern nations the religious faith of the Catholic Kings. On the way there might be found islands and mainlands, inasmuch as tradition and rumour and scientific prophecies all pointed to their existence in the ocean-sea, although, said Columbus, *we do not know that up to this day any human being ever went that way.* In expectation, yea, in confident expectation, that such lands

might be found, documents were formally executed, giving, granting, and conceding prospective enjoyments of prospective discoveries. The incidental project had a happy issue, and from the day of discovery to this time men have been interested in preserving the records connected therewith rather than a remembrance of the contemplated voyage to the Orient and the conversion of the Great Khan. There were other documents, letters to princes, papers of instruction and of guidance, but for them no one has searched, and if found their purport would be of little matter compared to the significance of these two documents making of the Genoese sailor a High Admiral of Spain and admitting him to partnership with the Crown of proud Castile.

"LA CAPITULAÇION

"Las cosas suplicadas e que Vuestras Altezas dan e otorgan á Don Christoval Colon en alguna satisfaçion delo que ha descubierto enlas mares oçeanas e del viaje que agora conel ayuda de Dios ha de fazer, por ellas en serviçio de Vuestras Altezas, son las que se siguen:

"Primeramente que Vuestras Altezas como Señores que son delas dichas mares oçeanas fasen dende agora al dicho Don Christoval Colon su Almirante en todas aquellas yslas e tierra firme que por su mano e yndustria se descubriran o ganaran enlas dichas mares oçeanas para durante su vida e despues del muerto a sus herederos e subçesores de uno en otro perpetuamente con todas aquellas preheminençias e prerrogatyvas perteneçientes al tal ofiçio e segun que Don Alonso Enriques vuestro Almirante Mayor de Castilla e los otros preçesores enel dicho ofiçio lo tenian en sus distritos. Plaze a Sus Altezas. Juan de Coloma.

"Otrosy que Vuestras Altezas hazen al dicho Don Christoval su Viso Rey e Governador General en todas las dichas yslas e tierra firme y yslas que como dicho es el descubriere o ganare enlas dichas mares a que para el regimiento de cada una ex qualquier dellas faga eleçion de tres personas para cada ofiçio, y que Vuestras Altesas tomen y escojan uno el que mas fuere su serviçio e asy seran mejor regidas las tierras que nuestro Señor le dexare fallar e ganar a serviçio de Vuestras Altesas. Plaze a Su [s] Altesa[s]. Juan de Coloma.

"Yten que todas e quales quier mercaderias sy quier sean perlas, piedras, preçiosas, oro, plata, espeçeria, y otras quales quier cosas e mercaderias de qual quier espeçie nombre e manera que se compraren, trocaren, fallaren, ganaren e ovieren dentro delos limites del dicho almirantadgo que dende agora Vuestras Altesas fazen merçed al dicho Don Christoval, y quieren que aya, y lieve para sy la dezena parte de todo ello quitadas las cosas que se hizieren enello por manera que delo que quedare lynpio e libre aya e tome la deçima parte para sy mismo e faga dello a su volumtad quedando las otras

nueve partes para Vuestras Altesas. Plase a Sus Altesas. Juan de Coloma.

"Otrosy que sy a cabsa delas mercadurias que el trajera delas dichas yslas e tierra que asy como dicho es se ganaren o descubrieren o delas que en troque de aquellas se tomaren aca de otros mercaderes naçiere plito alguno enel logar donde el dicho comertio e trato se terna e fara que sy por la prehemenencia de su ofiçio de almirante le perteneçera conoçer del tal plito plega a Vuestra[s|] Altesa[s] que el o su teniente e non otro juez conozca del tal plito e asy, lo provea dende agora. Plase a Sus Altesas sy perteneçe al dicho ofiçio de almirante segun que lo tenia el almirante Don Alonso Enriques e los otros sus subçesores en sus distritos e syendo justo. Juan de Coloma.

"Yten que en todas los navios que se amaren para el dicho trato e negociaçion cada e quando e quantas vezes se amaren que pueda el dicho Don Christoval Colon sy quisyere contribuir e pagar la ochava parte e todo lo que se gastare enel armazon. E que tanbien aya e lieve del provecho la ochava parte delo que resultare dela tal armada. Plaze a Sus Altesas. Juan de Coloma.

"Son otorgados e despachadas conlas respuestas de Vuestras Altesas en fin de cada un capitulo enla villa de Santa Fe dela Vega de Granada, a dies e syete dias de abril del año del naçimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatro çientos e noventa e dos años. Yo el Rey. Yo la Reyna. Juan de Coloma. Registrada. Calçena."

"THE CAPITULATION

"The things supplicated and which your Highnesses give and declare to Christopher Columbus in some satisfaction for what he has discovered [1] in the oceans, and for the voyage which now, with the aid of God, he is about to make therein, in the service of your Highnesses, are as follows:

"Firstly, that your Highnesses as Lords that are of the said oceans, make from this time the said Don Christopher Columbus your Admiral in all those islands and mainlands which by his hand and industry shall be discovered or acquired in the said oceans, during his life, and after his death, his heirs and successors, from one to another perpetually, with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives belonging to the said office and accord-

[1] The document as given by the Sovereigns did not contain the preliminary phrase. It was inserted in the *Book of Privileges* in January, 1502, and at that time was introduced with these words. Navarrete (vol. ii., p. 7, Document V.) gives the Capitulation as copied from the original at the city of Isabella in the island of Española December 16, 1495, drawn up in the presence of the Admiral by the Public Notary of Isabella, Rodrigo Perez, and witnessed by Rafael Cataneo, citizen of Seville; Adan de Marquina, citizen of Guernicaiz; Pedro de Salcedo, citizen of Fuensaldaña, and Francisco de Madrid, citizen of Madrid. In this Isabella transcript the opening words read . . . "en alguna satisfacion delo que ha de descubrir"—"as some satisfaction for what *he is to discover*. . . ." When the *Book of Privileges* was prepared the scribe carelessly used the wrong part of speech. It really formed no part of the document as issued by the Sovereigns and was simply a title or description of the instrument.

ing as Don Alonso Enriques, your High Admiral of Castile, and the other predecessors in the said office held it in their districts. It so pleases your Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Likewise, that your Highnesses make the said Don Christopher your Viceroy and Governor General in all the said islands and mainlands and islands which as has been said, he may discover or acquire in the said seas; and that for the government of each one and of any one of them, he may make selection of three persons for each office, and that your Highnesses may choose and select the one who shall be most serviceable to you, and thus the lands which our Lord shall permit him to discover and acquire will be better governed, in the service of your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Item, that all and whatever merchandise, whether it be pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other things whatsoever, and merchandise of whatever kind, name, and manner it may be, which may be bought, bartered, discovered, acquired, or obtained within the limits of the said Admiralty, your Highnesses grant henceforth to the said Don Christopher, and will that he may have and take for himself, the tenth part of all of them, deducting all the expenses which may be incurred therein; so that of what shall remain free and clear, he may have and take the tenth part for himself, and do with it as he wills, the other nine parts remaining for your Highnesses. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"Likewise, that if on account of the merchandise that he might bring from the said islands and land, which as aforesaid he shall acquire and discover, or of that which may be taken in exchange for the same from other merchants here, any suit should arise in the place where the said trade and traffic shall be held and conducted; and if by the pre-eminence of his office of Admiral it may belong to him to know of such suit, it may please your Highnesses that he or his deputy and no other judge, may take cognisance of the said suit, and thus it is decreed henceforth. It so pleases their Highnesses if it belongs to the said office of Admiral, as the said Admiral Don Alonso Enriques held it and the others, his predecessors in their districts, and if it be just. John de Coloma.

"Item, that in all the vessels which may be equipped for the said traffic and negotiation each time and whenever and as often as they may be equipped, the said Admiral Don Christopher Columbus may, if he wishes, contribute and pay the eighth part of all that may be expended in the equipment. And also that he may have and take of the profit, the eighth part of all which may result from such equipment. It so pleases their Highnesses. John de Coloma.

"These are executed and despatched with the responses of your Highnesses at the end of each article in the town of Santa Fe de la Vega de Granada, on the seventeenth day of April in the year of the nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. I, the King. I, the Queen. By order of the King and of the Queen. John de Coloma. Registered Calçena."

"Enel nombre dela Sancta Trinidad e eterna Unidad Padre e Hijo e Spiritu Santo tress personas realmente distintas e una esençia divina que bive e reyna por sienpre syn fin e dela bien aventurada Virgen gloriosa Santa Maria nuestra Señora su madre aquien nos tenemos por Señora e por abogada en todos los nuestros fechos e a onrra e reverençia suya e de bien aventurada Apostol Señor Santiago luz y espejo delas Españas, patron e guiador delos Reyes de Castilla e de Leon e asy mismo a honrra e reverençia de todos los otros santos e santas dela corte celestial porque aunque segun natura non puede el ome cunplida mente conoçer que cosa es Dios por el mayor conoçimiento que del mundo puede aver, puedelo conosçer veyendo e contenplando sus maravillas e obras e fechos que hizo e faze de cada dia pues que todas las obras por su poder son fechas e por su saber governadas e por su bondad mantenidas e asy el ome puede entender que Dios es comienço e medio e fyn de todas las cosas e que enel seençierran, y el mantiene a cada uno en aquel estado que las bordeno, y todos le han menester y el no ha menester aellas y el las puede mudar cada vez que quisiere segund su voluntad, y non puede caber enel que se mude ni se canbie en alguna manera, y el es dicho rey sobre todos los Reyes por que del han ellos nonbre e por el reynan y el los govierna e mantiene los quales son vicarios suyos cada uno en su reyno puestos por el sobre las gentes para los mantener en justiçia, y en verdad temporal mente lo qual se muestra cunplida mente en dos maneras, las una dellas es espiritual segund lo mostraron los profetas, y los santos aquien dio nuestro Señor graçia de saber las cosas çierta mente e las hazer entender, la otra manera segund natura asy como lo mostraron los omes sabios que fueron conoçedores delas cosas natural mente ca los Santos dixeron que el Rey es puesto enla tierra en lugar de Dios para cunplir la justiçia, e dar a cada uno su derecho, y porende lo llamaron coraçon, y alma del pueblo, e asy como el alma esta enel coraçon del ome, y por el bive el cuerpo y se mantiene, asy enel Rey esta la justiçia que es vida e mantenimiento del pueblo de su señorio, e asy como el coraçon es uno e por el reçiben todos los otros mienbros unidad para ser un cuerpo bien asy todos los del reyno maguer sean muchos son onu, porque el Rey deve ser, y es uno y por eso deven ser todos unos conel para lo seguir e ayudar enlas cosas que ha de fazer, y natural mente dixeron los sabios que los Reyes son cabeça del reyno por que como dela cabeça naçen los sentidos, porque se mandan todos los mienbros del cuerpo, bien asi por el mandamiento que nace del Rey, que es Señor y cabeça de todos los del Reyno se deven mandar e guiar y lo obedeçer, y tan grande es el derecho del poder delos Reyes, que todas las leyes y los derechos tienen so su poderio, porque aquel no le han delos omes, mas de Dios, cuyo lugar tienen enlas cosas temporales, alqual entre las otras cosas principalmente perteneçe amar y honrrar y guardar sus pueblos, y entre los otros señalada mente deve tomar y honrrar alos que lo mereçen, por serviçios que le ayan fecho, y porende el Rey o el Principe entre los otros poderes que ha, no tan solamente puede mas deve faser graçias alos que las meresçen por serviçios que le ayan fecho y por bondad que falle enellos, y porque entre las otras virtudes anexas alos Reyes segund dixeron

los sabios, es la justicia, la qual es virtud e verdad las cosas, por lo qula mejor e mas endereçadamente se mantiene el mundo, y es asy como fuente donde manan todos los derechos e dura por sienpre enlas voluntades delos omes justos, e nunca desfalleçe, e da e reparte a cada uno ygual mente su derecho, e comprehende ensi todas las virtudes prinçipales, y naçe della mui grand utilidad, por que fase vivir cuerda mente y en paz a cada uno segund su estado, syn culpa e syn yerro, e los buenos se hasen por ella mejores, reçibiendo galardones por los bienes que fizieron, e los otros por ella se endereçan e emiendan, la qual justiçia tiene ensi doss partes prinçipales, la una es comutativa que es entre un one e otro, la otra es distributiva, enla qual consiguen los galardones e remuneraçiones delos buenos e virtuosos trabajos e serviçios, que los buenos fasen alos reyes e principes e ala cosa publica de sus reynos. E por que segund disen las leyes, dar galardon, alos que bien e leal mente syrven, es cosa que conviene mucho a todos los omes mayor mente alos reyes e principes e grandes señores, que tienen poder delo faser, y a ellos es propia cosa honrrar y sublimar a aquellos que bien e leal mente le syrven, e sus virtudes e serviçios lo meresçen, y en galardonar los buenos fechos, los Reyes que lo fasen muestran ser conoçedores dela virtud, otrosy justiçieros, ca la justiçia non es tan sola mente es escarmentar los malos mas aun en galardonar los buenos, y demas desto naçe della otra grand utilidad, porque da voluntad alos buenos para ser mas virtuosos e alos malos para emendarse, y quando asy no se hase podria acaesçer por contrario, y porque entre los otros galardones e remuneraçiones que los Reyes pueden faser alos que bien e leal mente le syrven, es honrrarlos e sublimarlos entre los otros de su linage, e los ennobleçer e decorar e honrrar e les faser otros muchos bienes e graçias e merçedes, porende considerando, e acatando lo suso dicho, queremos que sepan por esta nuestra carta de privilegio, o por su treslado sygnado de escrivano publico, todos los que agora son e seran de aqui adelante, como nos Don Fernando e Doña Ysabel, por la graçia de Dios Rey e Reyna de Castilla e de Leon, de Aragon, de Siçilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Corçega, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe, de Algezira, de Gibraltar e delas Yslas de Canaria, Conde e Condesa de Barçelona, Señores de Viscaya e de Molina, Duques de Athenas e de Neopatria, Condes de Rosellon e de Cerdania, Marqueses de Oristan e de Goçiano, vimos una carta de merçed, firmada de nuestros nombres e sellada con nuestro sello, fecha enesta guisa. Don Fernando e Doña Ysabel, por la graçia de Dios Rey e Reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Siçilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valençia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Çerdeña, de Cordova, de Corçega, de Murçia, de Jahen, del Algarbe, de Algezira, de Gibraltar, e delas yslas de Canaria, Conde e Condesa de Barçelona e Señores de Viscaya e de Molina, Duques de Athenas, e de Neopatria, Condes de Rosellon e de Çerdenia, Marqueses de Oristan e de Goçiano, Por quanto vos Christoval Colon, vades por nuestro mandado, a descobrir e ganar con çiertas fustas nuestras e con nuestras gentes çiertas yslas e tierra firme enla mar oçeana, e se espera que conla ayuda de Dios se descobriran e ganaran algunas delas dichas yslas e

tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana por vuestra mano e yndustria, e asy es cosa justa e rasonable, que pues os pones al dicho peligro por nuestro serviçio, seades dello remunerado, e queriendos honrrar e faser merçed por lo suso dicho, es nuestra merçed e voluntad que vos el dicho Christoval Colon, despues que ayays descubierto e ganado las dichas yslas e tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana o quales quier dellas, que seades nuestro Almirante delas dichas yslas e tierra firme que asy descubrierdes, e ganardes e seades nuestro Almirante, e Viso Rey, e Governador enellas, e vos podades dende en adelante llamar e yntitular, Don Christoval Colon, e asy vuestros fijos e subçesores enel dicho ofiçio e cargo, se puedan yntitular, e llamar, Don, e Almirante e Viso Rey, e Governador dellas, e para que podades usar e exerçer el dicho ofiçio de Almirantadgo, conel dicho ofiçio de Viso Rey, e Governador delas dichas yslas e tierra firme, que asy descubrierdes y ganardes, por vos, o por vuestros lugar tenientes, e oyr e librar todos los plitos e cabsas çiviles e criminales tocantes al dicho ofiçio de Almirantadgo, e de Viso Rey e Governador, segund fallardes por derecho, e segund lo acostumbran usar e exerçer los Almirantes de nuestros reynos, e podades punir e castigar los delinquentes, e usedes delos dichos ofiçios de Almirantadgo e Viso Rey e Governador vos e vuestros dichos lugar tenientes, en todo lo que alos dichos ofiçios, e a cada uno dellos, es anexo e conçerniente, e que ayades e levedes los derechos e salarios alos dichos ofiçios e a cada uno dellos anexos e conçernientes e pertenesçientes segund e como los lieva e acostumbra levar el nuestro Almirante mayor enel Almirantadgo delos nuestros reynos. E por esta nuestra carta, o por su treslado sygnado de escrivano publico, mandamos al Prinçipe Don Juan, nuestro muy caro e muy amado fijo, e alos ynfantes, duques, perlados, marqueses, condes, maestres de las ordenes, priores, comendadores, e alos del nuestro consejo, e oydores dela nuestra Abdiençia, alcaldes e otras justiçias quales quier dela nuestra casa e corte e chançilleria, e alos subcomendadores, alcaydes delos castillos e casas fuertes e llanas, e a todos los conçejos e a systentes e regidores, e alcaldes e alguasyles, merinos, veynte e quatros, cavalleros, jurados, escuderos, ofiçiales e omes buenos, de todas las çibdades e villas e logares delos nuestros reynos e señorios, e delos que vos conquistardes e ganardes, e alos capitanes, maestres, contramaestres e ofiçiales marineros, e gentes dela mar, nuestros subditos e naturales, que agora son o seran de aqui adelante e a cada uno e qual quier dellos, que siendo por vos descubiertas e ganadas las dichas yslas e tierra firme enla dicha mar oçeana, e fecho por vos o por quien vuestro poder oviere, el juramento e solepnidad que en tal caso se requiere, vos ayan e tengan dende en adelante para en todo vuestra vida, e despues de vos a vuestro fijo e subçesor, e de subçesor en subçesor, para sienpre jamas, por nuestro Almirante dela dicha mas oçeana, e por Viso Rey e Governador delas dichas yslas e tierra firme que vos el dicho Don Christoval Colon descubrierdes e ganardes, e usen con vos, e conlos dichos vuestros lugar tenientes, que enlos dichos ofiçios de Almirantadgo e Viso Rey e Governador pusierdes, en todo lo aellos, conçerniente, e vos recudan e fagan recudir, conla quitaçion e derechos, e otras cosas, alos dichos ofiçios anexas

e pertenesçientes, e vos guarden e fagan guardar todas las honrras e graçias e merçedes e libertades preheminençias prerrogativas esençiones ymunidades, e todas las otras cosas, e cada una dellas, que por rason delos dichos ofiçios de Almirante, e Viso Rey, e Governador devedes aver e gosar e vos deven ser guardadas, en todo bien e conplida mente, en guisa que vos non mengue ende cosa alguna, e que enello ni en parte dello enbargo ni contrario alguno vos non pongan ni consientan poner, ca nos por esta nuestra carta desde agora para entonçes vos fazemos merçed de los dichos ofiçios de Almirantadgo e Viso Rey e Governador, por juro de heredad para syempre jamas, e vos damos la posesyon e casy posesion, dellos e de cada uno dellos, e poder e abtoridad para lo usar e exerçer e llevar los derechos e salarios, aellos e a cada uno dellos anexos e perteneçientes, segund e como dicho es. Sobre lo qual todo que dicho es, sy neçesario vos fuere e gelos vos pidierdes mandamos al nuestro chançiller e notarios, e los otros ofiçiales que estan ala tabla delos nuestros sellos, que vos den e libren e pasen e sellen nuestra carta de privilegio rodado, la mas fuerte e firme e bastante, que les pidierdes e ovierdes menester. E los unos ni los otros non fagades ni fagan ende al por alguna manera, so pena dela nuestra merçed, e de dies mill maravedis para la nuestra camara, a cada uno que lo contrario fiziere. E de mas mandamos al ome que les esta nuestra carta mostrare, que los emplase que parescades ante nos enla nuestra corte do quier que nos seamos del dia que los emplasare, a qunize dias primeros siguientes sola dicha pena, sola qual mandamos a qual quier escrivano publico, que para esto fuere llamado que de ende al que gela mostrare testimonio signado con su signo, por que nos sepamos encomo se cumple nuestro mandado. Dada enla nuestra çibdad de Granada a treynta dias del mes de Abril, año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesu Christo de mill e quatroçientos e noventa e dos años. Yo el Rey. Yo el Reyna. Yo Iohan de Coloma Secretario del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros Señores la fis escrivir por su mandado. Acordada en forma. Rodericus Doctor. Registrada. Savastian Dolano. Francisco de Madrid Chançiller."

[The translation here follows that given in Stevens's *Book of Privileges*.]

"In the name of the Holy Trinity and Eternal Unity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons really distinct and one divine essence which lives and reigns for ever without end, and of the blessed and glorious Virgin, Saint Mary, our Lady, his mother, whom we regard as sovereign and advocate in all our actions, and to her honour and worship, and of the blessed Apostle Saint James, light and mirror of the Spains, patron and guide of the Kings of Castile and Leon, and likewise to the honour and worship of all the other saints of the celestial court. Now though according to nature man cannot know perfectly what God is, however great His knowledge of the world may be, yet he can know Him by seeing and contemplating His wonders and the works and acts which He has done and does every day, since all works are done by His power, governed by His wisdom and maintained by His goodness; and thus man can understand that God is the beginning, middle, and end of all things, and that in Him they are comprehended; and

He maintains each one in that state which He has ordained for them, and all have need of Him and He has no need of them, and He is able to change them whenever He may choose, according to His will; and it is not in His nature to change or alter in any manner; and He is called King over all Kings, because from Him they derive their name and by Him they reign, and He governs and maintains them, and they are His viceregents, each one in His kingdom, placed by Him over the nations to maintain them in justice and in truth, temporally; which is shown completely in two ways, one being spiritual, as the prophets and saints have shown, to whom our Lord gave grace to have accurate knowledge of things and to cause them to be understood; the other is according to nature, as philosophers have shown, who were discerners of things naturally. For the Saints said that the King is set upon earth in the place of God to fulfil justice and to give to each one his due, and therefore they called him the heart and soul of the people; and just as the soul is in the heart of man, and by it the body lives and is maintained, so in the King resides justice, which is the life and support of the people of his dominions; and just as there is but one heart and by it all the members are united to form one body, even so all the members of the kingdom, however many they may be, are one, because the King must be, and is, one, and therefore they must all be one with him to follow him and to help in the things which he has to do; and according to nature the philosophers said that kings are the head of the kingdom, for as from the head proceed the perceptions by which all the members of the body are directed, even so by the mandate which proceeds from the King, who is Lord and head of all the members of the kingdom, they must be governed and directed and must pay obedience thereto; and so great is the authority of the power of kings, that all laws and rights are subject to their power, for they do not derive it from men, but from God, whose place they occupy in matters temporal; to whom among other things it chiefly appertains to love, honour, and protect his people, and among others he must especially select and honour those who deserve it on account of the services they have rendered to him; and therefore, the king or prince, among his other powers, not only can but ought to bestow favours upon those who are deserving thereof for the services they have rendered to him and for the goodness he may find in them. And because among the other virtues appertaining to kings, according to the saying of the philosophers, justice is one, and is the virtue and truth of things, and by it the world is best and most righteously maintained, and it is, as it were, a fountain from which all rights flow, and it always exists in the dispositions of just men, never failing, and giving and distributing to each his due; and it comprehends in itself all the principal virtues, and very great utility arises therefrom, for it causes every one to live prudently and peaceably according to his condition, without fault and without error; and thereby the good become better, receiving rewards for the good deeds they have done, and the others are reformed and amended. And this justice consists of two principal parts, the one commutative, which is between one man and another, the other distributive, in which are ob-

tained the rewards and remunerations of the good and virtuous labours and services which good men do for kings and princes and for the public welfare of their kingdoms. And since, as the laws declare, to give rewards to those who serve well and faithfully is a thing which is very becoming to all men, but especially to kings, princes, and great lords, who have the power to do it, and it is their peculiar privilege to honour and exalt those who serve them well and faithfully, and whose virtues and services deserve it; and in rewarding good deeds the kings who do so show that they are discerners of virtue and likewise administrators of justice, for justice does not consist only in the exemplary punishment of evil-doers, but also in rewarding the good. And moreover another great utility arises therefrom, for it incites the good to become more virtuous and the wicked to amend themselves, and when this course is not pursued the contrary might happen. And since among the other rewards and remunerations which kings can bestow upon those who serve them well and faithfully they can honour and elevate them among the others of their family, and ennoble, decorate, and honour them, and confer many other benefits, graces, and favours upon them: Therefore, considering and taking into account all that is aforesaid, we desire that by this our patent of privilege, or by the transcript thereof signed by a public scrivener, all who now are and shall be from henceforth may know that we Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbe, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona; Lords of Biscay and Molina, Dukes of Athens and Neopatria; Counts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Marquises of Oristano and Goziano, have seen a patent of grace, signed with our names and sealed with our seal, made in this manner: *Don* Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, by the grace of God King and Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbe, Algeciras, Gibraltar, and the Canary Islands; Count and Countess of Barcelona; Lords of Biscay and Molina; Dukes of Athens and Neopatria, Counts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, Marquises of Oristano and Goziano; Forasmuch as you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our command, with some of our ships and with our subjects, to discover and acquire certain islands and mainland in the ocean, and it is hoped that, by the help of God, some of the said islands and mainland in the said ocean will be discovered and acquired by your pains and industry; and therefore it is a just and reasonable thing that since you incur the said danger for our service you should be rewarded for it, and as we desire to honour and favour you on account of what is aforesaid, it is our will and pleasure that you, the said Christopher Columbus, after you have discovered and acquired the said islands and mainland in the said ocean, or any of them whatsoever, shall be our Admiral of the said islands and mainland which you may thus discover and acquire, and shall be our Admiral and Viceroy and Governor therein, and shall be empowered from that time forward to call and entitle yourself

Don Christopher Columbus, and that your sons and successors in the said office and charge may likewise entitle and call themselves Don, and Admiral and Viceroy and Governor thereof; and that you may have power to use and exercise the said office of Admiral, together with the said office of Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and mainland which you may thus discover and acquire, by yourself or by your lieutenants, and to hear and determine all the suits and causes civil and criminal appertaining to the said office of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor according as you shall find by law, and as the Admirals of our kingdoms are accustomed to use and exercise it; and may have power to punish and chastise delinquents, and exercise the said offices of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor, you and your said lieutenants, in all that concerns and appertains to the said offices and to each of them; and that you shall have and levy the fees and salaries annexed, belonging and appertaining to the said offices and to each of them, according as our High Admiral in the Admiralty of our kingdoms levies and is accustomed to levy them. And by this our patent, or by the transcript thereof signed by a public scrivener, we command Prince Don Juan, our very dear and well beloved son, and the Infantes, dukes, prelates, marquises, counts, masters of orders, priors, commanders, and members of our Council, and auditors of our chamber, alcaldes, and other justices whomsoever of our household, court, and chancery, and sub-commanders, governors of castles and fortified and unfortified houses, and all councillors, assistants, governors, alcaldes, bailiffs, judges, veinticuatros, jurats, knights, esquires, officers, and liege men of all the cities, towns, and places of our kingdoms and dominions, and of those which you may conquer and acquire, and the captains, masters, mates, officers, mariners, and seamen, our natural subjects who now are or hereafter shall be, and each and any of them, that upon the said islands and mainland in the said ocean being discovered and acquired by you, and the oath and formality requisite in such case having been made and done by you or by him who may have your procuration, they shall have and hold you from thenceforth for the whole of your life, and your son and successor after you, and successor after successor for ever and ever, as our Admiral of the said ocean, and as Viceroy and Governor of the said islands and mainland, which you, the said Don Christopher Columbus, may discover and acquire; and they shall treat with you, and with your said lieutenants whom you may place in the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor, about everything appertaining thereto, and shall pay and cause to be paid to you the salary, dues and other things annexed and appertaining to the said offices, and shall observe and cause to be observed towards you all the honours, graces, favours, liberties, pre-eminences, prerogatives, exemptions, immunities, and all other things, and each of them, which in virtue of the said offices of Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor you shall be entitled to have and enjoy, and which ought to be observed towards you in every respect fully and completely so that nothing may be diminished therefrom; and that neither therein nor in any part thereof shall they place or consent to place hindrance or obstacle against you; for we by this our patent from

now henceforth grant to you the said offices of Admiralty, Viceroy, and Governor by right of inheritance for ever and ever, and we give you actual and prospective possession thereof, and of each of them, and power and authority to use and exercise it, and to collect the dues and salaries annexed and appertaining to them and to each of them, according to what is aforesaid. Concerning all that is aforesaid, if it should be necessary and you should require it of them, we command our chancellor and notaries and the other officers who are at the board of our seals to give, deliver, pass, and seal for you our patent of privileges with the circle of signatures, in the strongest, firmest, and most sufficient manner that you may request and may find needful, and neither one nor the other of you or them shall do contrary hereto in any manner, under penalty of our displeasure and of ten thousand maravedis to our chamber, upon every one who shall do to the contrary. And further we command the man who shall show them this our patent, to cite them to appear before us in our court, wheresoever we may be, within fifteen days from the day of citation, under the said penalty, under which we command every public scrivener who may be summoned for this purpose, to give to the person who shall show it to him a certificate thereof signed with his signature, whereby we may know in what manner our command is executed. Given in our city of Granada, on the thirtieth day of the month of April, in the year of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. I the King. I the Queen. I, John de Coloma, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused this to be written by their command. Granted in form, Roderick, Doctor. Registered, Sebastian Dolano. Francis de Madrid, Chancellor."

CHAPTER LIV

THE EQUIPMENT

THE discoverer and the inventor will testify that the most difficult step in their progress has been to obtain an equipment. A conception is without form or substance; money is real. A conception is a dream in the mind of the inventor; money is perceptible to the touch. Whether the conception is ever born or not, money goes on, reproducing itself faithfully and constantly. A conception of itself will not assume bodily form. Money of itself will not produce a conception. When money is sent after a conception, it may come back again, or it may not. Whoever contributes money for the material development of a useful idea is entitled to his reward. Thus we are interested to know who equipped the fleet of Columbus, and how much money was furnished. We do not know that either of these questions can be answered with entire satisfaction. Even if there existed to-day the books of accounts relating to the equipment, they probably would not disclose all we want to know. If Las Casas is right in placing the amount furnished by Columbus himself at 500,000 maravedis, and in fixing that feature of his interest in the enterprise as one eighth of the whole, it will not tell us who supplied Columbus with the money for his eighth. Somehow, history will not credit the Genoese adventurer with the possession of wealth at this epoch. It is more than likely, as we have already surmised, that the Duke of Medinaceli furnished a part, if not the whole, of this eighth share.

In accordance with the terms of the capitulation, dated April 17, 1492, Columbus was entitled to contribute one eighth of the expenses and to receive one eighth of the profit.[1] That

[1] The reader will find in Document LIII. of the *Book of Privileges* a curious paragraph relative to the cost of the expedition. This document is the rejoinder from

he actually did contribute this one eighth is apparent from the Majorat executed February 22, 1498, where the Admiral says:

". . . é yo hàbiese el diezmo de todo lo que en el dicho Almirantazgo se fallase é hobiese é rentase, y asimismo la octava parte de las tierras y todas las otras cosas. . . ."

". . . and that I should have the tenth of everything that might be discovered and possessed and produced in the said Almirantazgo, and also *the eighth part* of the lands and of all other things. . ."

And again in the same document, a little farther on, we read:

"É porque esperamos en aquel alto Dios que se haya de haber antes de grande tiempo buena é grande renta en las dichas islas y tierra-firme de la cual por la razon sobre dicha me pertenece el dicho diezmo y ochavo. . . . "

"And as we hope in that high God that before long we may have a good and great revenue in the said islands and continental land, of which for the reason aforesaid the tenth and *the eighth belong to me*. . . ."

The Admiral could have acquired his rights to the eighth part only by having contributed his eighth of the cost on the occasion of the memorable first voyage. We find Las Casas stating:

"Y porque Cristóbal Colon quiso contribuir la ochava parte en este viaje, por que con solo el cuento de maravedis que por los Reyes prestó Luis de Santangel no podia despacharse, y tambien por haber de la ganancia su ochavo, y como Cristóbal Colon quedó de la corte muy alcanzado, y puso medio cuento de maravedis por el dicho ochavo, que fué todo para se despachar necesario, como pareció por las cuentas de los gastos que se hicieren por ante escribano publico en la dicha villa y puerto de Palos, que el dicho Martin Alonso, cosa es verosimile y cercana de la verdad, segun lo que yo tengo entendido, presto solo al Cristóbal Colon el medio cuento, o el y sus hermanos."

"And as Christopher Columbus wished to contribute the eighth part of the expense of this voyage in order to have his eighth of the profit (since he

Columbus or his legal adviser to the objections made by the Sovereigns against the Admiral's interpretation of Article Five of the Capitulation.

"Porque en la primera armada de que resulto las dichas Yndias es asaber la ganançia que dellas proçede tal dicho Almirante contribuyo en su ochava parte, y aun çerca dela mitad dela costa de donde consyguio perpetuo tytulo al dicho ochavo por ser el resulto dela dicha armada senpyterno."

"Since in the first expedition from which resulted the said Indies, to ascertain the gain which proceeded therefrom, the said Admiral contributed his eighth part and even about a half of the cost, from whence he secured a perpetual title to the said eighth, because the result of the said expedition is perpetual."

This reference to furnishing one half the cost by Columbus appears to be the language of exaggeration.

could not complete his preparations with the million maravedis loan, which Luis de Santangel secured for the Sovereigns), and inasmuch as Christopher Columbus came from the Court in very needy circumstances and considered the half million maravedis enough to contribute for the said eighth part (which was all that was necessary for the preparation of the fleet as appeared by the accounts of the expenses made before a notary public in the said town and port of Palos) it is a fact quite probable and apparently true according to what I have understood, that the said Martin Alonso of himself or for himself and brothers together, did lend Christopher Columbus the half million."

In the Fiscal inquiry the Pinzón family claimed to have supplied Columbus with this money. Arias Perez Pinzón, the son of Martin Alonzo Pinzón, the eldest of three brothers of that name, and the one who, tradition says, died of grief because the Sovereigns declined to receive him at Court when he returned to Spain after the first voyage, deposed that Columbus agreed with his father to share with him in all that he received from what the Sovereigns gave him, whereupon the said Martin Alonzo furnished the money, and sent him (Columbus) to the Court with a Friar named Juan Perez.[1] This witness further testified that when he was at Rome in 1491, his father, Martin Alonzo Pinzón, was frequently in the library of Pope Innocent VIII., being on friendly terms with one of its attendants, a man greatly skilled in cosmography, and who had many manuscript documents; that on one of these visits his father was shown a document, together with a map of the world, which gave a knowledge of these lands afterwards discovered. Martin Alonzo made a copy of this document, and this he read to his son. Then Martin Alonzo, having learned these things, told his son that he himself wished to equip two ships and go on a voyage for the discovery of these lands. In the Fiscal inquiry of 1511, all this testimony is heard for the first time. Twenty-two witnesses were examined, and of these only four had ever heard anything of this matter. Of these four, there were three who had heard the matter by rumour, and only one, Martin Alonzo's own son, testified to having had read to him the copy of the document on file in the Pope's library. Navarrete advances the theory that Columbus and the Friar, Juan Perez, when they found such a strong feeling among the people of Palos against taking part in the expedition, to-

[1] Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 559.

gether concocted this story in order to show the people that previous knowledge of the lands existed, and that, as Martin Alonzo knew of it and was going on the expedition with his brother because of his faith in the document and in its revelation, they, too, should have confidence in the proposed voyage, and lend it their aid and countenance, especially in volunteering as mariners and crew. But Navarrete forgets that, to be effective, such rumours should have been general and common property, whereas of the twenty-two residents of Palos and its vicinity, only four had ever heard the story. Martin Nuñez, a citizen of Palos, testified that he knew Martin Alonzo Pinzón gave two of his ships to Columbus. Martin Nuñez was only fifteen years of age when this occurred, and it is hardly likely he was a witness to any such improbable occurrence. As Harrisse has pointed out, the strongest evidence against the contribution having come from the Pinzóns is found in the omission to recall the fact, had it been a fact, in the Act of Charles V. when, in 1519, he granted that family the right to bear arms. In this Act are recited the memorable things done by the various members of the family, mentioning Martin Alonzo Pinzón and Vincente Yañez Pinzón, the one the captain of the second, and the other the captain of the third vessel of the little fleet of Columbus; while reference is made to their services in sailing with the Admiral on the voyage of discovery, nothing is said about their contributing to the expense, while there is particular reference to the voyage to the Pearl Coast, in which these men equipped three vessels *at their own expense.* It is probable that had the Pinzóns made any such sacrifice in the first voyage, it would have been placed to their credit in this important document, especially as it would have been the Royal excuse for granting the arms. The Pinzóns did render services upon the first voyage. Their presence in the expedition, their high standing in the community of Palos, their ability as seamen, gave a promise of success which could not be offered alone by Columbus, a stranger in Palos and a foreigner, as the Friar Juan Perez saw at a glance when a short time before they stood together at the monastery gate. As citizens of a seaport town, the inhabitants of Palos were used to sailors and adventurers of every nation, but it was a serious proposition when they were asked to enroll themselves on an expedition to unknown lands on an

unknown sea under an unknown commander. It does not appear that the Pinzóns owned any of the vessels, unless it possibly may have been the *Niña*, and therefore they might have escaped from going at all. The fact that they did go and that their example influenced others alone distinguishes their services and makes them worthy of remembrance.

That Las Casas himself did not credit this Columbus-Pinzón story is clear from the following passage:

"Ansí que, como dije, sucedió que el Fiscal, por informacion de algun marinero, pusiese algunas preguntas para probar que el dicho Martin Alonso habia dado dineros al dicho Cristóbal Colon para ir á la corte la primera vez, y, despues de alcanzada de los Reyes la dicha negociacion y capitulacion, que le habia prometido de partir con él la mitad de las mercedes y privilegios que le habian concedido los Reyes, y otras cosas, que, como por la misma probanza parece, lo cual yo he visto y tenido en mi poder y leido muchas veces, se convencen de falsedad. Cierto, si le hobiera prometido Cristóbal Colon la mitad de las mercedes, no era tan simple Martin Alonso, siendo él y sus hermanos sabios y estimados por tales, que no hobieran pedídole alguna escritura dello, aunque no fuera sino un simple cognoscimiento con su firma, ó al ménos, pusiéranle algun pleito sus herederos, y Vicente Yañez, que vivio despues muchas años, el cual yo conocí, hobiera alguna queja ó fama dello, pero nunca hobo dello memoria ni tal se boqueó (lo cual creo yo que á mí no se me encubriera, como yo sea muy de aquellos tiempos) hasta quel dicho pleito se comenzó, que creo que fué el ano de 1508, venido el Rey católico de Napoles."

"Therefore, as I said, it happened that the Fiscal, from information given by some sailor, put some questions to prove that the said Martin Alonso had given moneys to the said Christopher Columbus to go to the Court the first time, and after having obtained from the Sovereigns the said agreement and capitulation, that he had promised to share with him the half of the grants and privileges conceded him by the Sovereigns and the other things, which, as appears by the same testimony (which I have seen and had in my possession and read many times) *is shown to be false.* Certainly if Christopher Columbus had promised the half of the grants, Martin Alonso was not simple enough, he and his brothers being intelligent men and considered as such, not to have secured from him some writing, even if it was only a simple acknowledgment with his signature, or at least his heirs would have brought some suit and Vicente Yañez, who survived him many years (whom I knew) would have made some complaint or account thereof, but I never had knowledge of such (and this would not have been concealed from my knowledge as I myself was a part of those times) nor was any such thing heard of until the said law-suit commenced, which I believe was in the year 1508 on the return of the Catholic King from Naples."

The conduct of Martin Alonzo Pinzón was not that of a man who was a partner in a great enterprise. Even his share of the eighth would have been an inducement for him to work in harmony with Columbus. Instead, he separated himself from him more than once, and we will see in the *Journal* that on the voyage Columbus had small assistance from the Pinzón family, with abundant causes of complaint. This attitude of Pinzón would be all the more inexplicable if we were to credit the claim made before the Fiscal that Columbus had pledged himself to give Martin Alonzo half of all his rights, interests, and income. In none of the numerous documents and letters of Columbus do we find any mention of financial assistance rendered him by the Pinzóns. As we understand Las Casas, he acknowledges the moral support accorded Columbus in the port of Palos by the Pinzóns, who were men of standing in the community, and whose examples influenced the common mariners to intrust themselves to the hazard of the enterprise, but he does not assert that there existed an agreement or bond proving that the Pinzóns had furnished actual money, or that Columbus had mortgaged his rights or his interests to a Pinzón or to any one else. On the contrary, Las Casas characterises such reports as false.

Thus far we find that Columbus was a contributor, and that common report credited him with furnishing 500,000 maravedis. In the archives of Simancas are still preserved the account books of the Hermandad,[1] whose treasurers were Luis de Santangel and Francisco Pinelo. These accounts disclose the fact that during the years 1492 and 1493 there had been returned to them the sum of 1,140,000 maravedis for moneys furnished Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, formerly Bishop of Avila, for equipping the fleet of Columbus. The following extract is from the Royal Cedula of the Sovereigns to Fernando de Villadiego, dated from Segovia, August 19, 1494:

[1] The Hermandad or Santa Hermandad was an organisation empowered to consider and deal with all crimes committed on the highways of Spain or in cases where criminals were found on the highways but whose crimes had been committed in cities. It had once been so powerful an order as to embarrass the Crown itself, but had lost its power when Isabella, on her accession in 1476, revived it in Castile on account of the social disorder existing in her realms. The penalty for even a petty theft was stripes as a minimum punishment and the loss of life as a maximum. The order was empowered to raise money from the inhabitants, the ostensible purposes of which were the enforcement of the law and the suppression of domestic violence. Thus they accumulated great sums of money, and frequently furnished the means of relieving the obligations of other branches of the Government.

"El rey e la Reina. Fernando de Villadiego, tesorero é comisario en cierta parte de los obispados de Oviedo é Astorga: el muy reverendo in Cristo padre arzobispo de Granada por nuestro mandado hobo librado en Rui Garcia Suarez e Luis de Santángel, nuestro escribano de racion é de nuestro consejo, doscientos é noventa mil maravedis en cuenta de dos cuentos e seiscientos é cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber, el un cuento é cuarenta mil maravedis que nos prestó para despachar a Cristobal Colon, é el un cuento e quinientos mil maravedis que pagó por nuestro mandado a D. Isaque Abranel, segun mas largamente en el dicho libramiento se contiene. . . ."

"The King and the Queen. Fernando de Villadiego, Treasurer and Commissary in a certain part of the Bishoprics of Oviedo and Astorga: Whereas the very reverend in Christ, father archbishop of Granada, by our command has paid to Rui Garcia Suarez and Luis de Santangel, our escribano de racion and a member of our Council, 290,000 maravedis on account of 2,640,000 maravedis which were due him, the 1,040,000 maravedis which he loaned us to equip Christopher Columbus, and the 1,500,000 maravedis which he paid by our order to D. Isaque Abranel, as is contained more at length in the said warrant. . . ."

That an error was made in copying the figures relating to the Columbus item is evident from a previous record quoted by Navarrete, where, alluding to this same entry in the books of the said treasurers, he says the sum was written *"un cuento é ciento é cuarenta mil maravedis"*—*"one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis."*

"Vos fueron recibidos é pagados en cuenta un cuento é ciento é cuarenta mil maravedis que distes por nuestro mandado al Obispo de Avila, que agora es Arzobispo de Granada, para el despacho del Almirante D. Cristobal Colon."

"You had received and paid on account one million and one hundred and forty thousand maravedis, which you gave by our order to the Bishop of Avila, who is now Archbishop of Granada, for the equipment of the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus."

Again, in another book of accounts of Garcia Martinez and Pedro de Montemayor, constituting Bulls of the Bishopric of Palencia from the year 1484 and following, Navarrete found the following entry:

"Dió y pagó mas el dicho Alonso de las Cabezas (tesorero de la Cruzada, en el Obispado de Bajadoz) por otro libramiento del dicho Arzobispo de Granada, fecho 5 de Mayo de 92 años, á Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion del Rey, nuestro Señor, é por él á Alonso de Angulo, por virtud de un

poder que del dicho Escribano de Racion mostró, en el cual estaba inserto dicho libramiento, doscientos mil maravedis, en cuenta de cuatrocientos mil que en él, en Vasco de Quiroga, le libró el dicho Arzobispo por el dicho libramiento de dos cuentos seiscientos cuarenta mil maravedis que hobo de haber en esta manera: un cuento y quinientos mil maravedis para pagar á D. Isag Abrahan por otro tanto que prestó á sus Altezas para los gastos de la guerra, é el un cuento ciento cuarenta mil maravedis restantes para pagar al dicho Escribano de Racion en cuenta de otro tanto que prestó para la paga de las carabelas que sus Altezas mandaron ir de armada á las Indias, é para pagar á Cristobal Colon que va en la dicha armada." [1]

"Furthermore, the said Alonso de las Cabezas (treasurer of the Crusade in the Bishopric of Bajadoz) gave and paid by another warrant of the said Archbishop of Granada, made on the 5th of May in the year 1492 to Luis de Santangel, Escribano de Racion of the King, our Lord, and through him to Alonso de Angulo, by virtue of an authorisation which he exhibited from the said Escribano de Racion, in which was inserted the said warrant, 200,000 maravedis on account of 400,000 paid to Vasco de Quiroga, which the said Archbishop paid by the said warrant of 2,640,000 maravedis which he was to receive in this manner: 1,500,000 maravedis to pay to D. Isag. Abrahan for a like sum which he loaned to their Highnesses to carry on the war, and the 1,140,000 maravedis remaining to pay the said Escribano de Racion on account of a like sum which he loaned to pay for the caravels which their Highnesses ordered to go as a fleet to the Indies, and to pay to Christopher Columbus, who went in the said fleet."

This entry was copied for Navarrete on November 15, 1814, by Thomas Gonzales, who certified under oath that it was a literal transcript from the original records in the archives of Simancas.

Luis de Santangel the Escribano, was of the proscribed faith.

The Jews had an important part given them in the American drama. Few names among the *dramatis personæ* were more illustrious than those of Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez. When the craze against the Jews was at its height in Spain, when persecution sorely tormented them, when their property was confiscated and their lives in peril, many apostatised and pretended to accept the Christian faith. These became known as Marranos, and many of them rose to places of distinction and influence. Few of these conversions were real. While professing the religion of the Christians they privately observed their old faith and practised in secret the Jewish rites. On the

[1] Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 5

Sabbath, the feasts of the Passover, and other days commonly observed by their ancestral religion, those Marranos met in subterranean or secret synagogues and celebrated the appointed ordinances. Their wealth brought them a certain immunity, and purchased secrecy when suspected and sometimes pardon when convicted. The fires of persecution kept warm their love for their fathers' faith. Under the tortures of the Inquisition they often confessed that certain Christians had furnished them with such animals and flesh as they required for keeping the Jewish precepts and observing the law of Moses. After the institution of the Inquisition the treatment of the Jews was cruel in the extreme. If they committed a crime of any moment, they were burned at the stake. If the offence was slight, their property was taken ruthlessly from them. Sometimes they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and often to a penalty they feared worse than all, that of wearing the *sanbeneto*, a piece of yellow cloth hanging on the breast and back with a large red cross embroidered upon it. With their pretence of Christianity they must have drunk of the blood of revenge, for in despair over their wrongs, it is alleged, they resorted to murder. Many Marranos met at the home of one Luis de Santangel, whose house is still pointed out in the Mercado of Saragossa, and conspired to kill the chief Inquisitor, the Canon Pedro Arbués de Epila. On the morning of September 14, 1485, Pedro Arbués, being at matins in the Cathedral of La Seo in Saragossa, he was set upon by Juan de Esperandeu and a man in his employ by the name of Vidal Durango, a Frenchman, and left for dead at the altar. Arbués died of his wounds on the following day, and years afterward Charles V. obtained from Pope Paulus III. an order that a feast in remembrance of this event should be celebrated on September 15. It is possible that political motives likewise had a part in the organisation of this tumult, for Saragossa had more than once mutinied in defence of its privileges. The Queen, usually gentle and moderate, moved by this murder of Arbués, ordered that throughout Spain no mercy should be shown to Marranos and that their possessions should be confiscated to the State. Among these conspirators were Sancho de Paternoy, Chief Treasurer of Aragon; Alfonso de la Caballeria, Vice-Chancellor; Juan Pedro Sanchez, brother of Gabriel and Francesco

Sanchez; Garcia de Moros, Pedro Montfort, Juan de la Abadia, Mateo Ram, and many others. When the reader at the beginning of the twentieth century peruses the history of the Spaniards in America, he marvels at the ingenuity displayed by them in torturing the natives. The art, however, had long been practised in Spain, and the refinements of cruelty had been developed from off the scarred and bleeding bodies of the pale-faced Jew and the dusky Moor. In this particular instance the punishment fell with heavy hand. Juan de Esperandeu, the principal, was carried to the Plaza and made to look on while his aged and innocent father was burned at the stake. His own hands were then cut off when, with his apprentice, Vidal Durango, he was dragged through the streets to the market place and then quartered and then burned. Juan de la Abadia was drawn, quartered, and given to slow eating flames, and shortly afterward his sisters, together with Pedro Muñoz and Pedro Montfort, were thrown to the flames. All the conspirators were deprived of their property.

By far the most powerful and important of Marranos was the Santangel family. It had intermarried with the De la Caballeria, the Gurrea, the Sanchez, and other old Jewish houses. The Santangels converted, outwardly at least, to Christianity became prominent throughout Aragon, and particularly in Valencia and Saragossa. They were bright, intelligent, active, and persistent, and as teachers of the law and as advocates, as occupants of governmental positions and of places at Court, even as priests and ecclesiastics in the Romish Church, they were prominent above most of the Aragonese families. They paid for their prominence, and several of their members were among the first Jewish heretics burned at the stake. Martin de Santangel perished in this barbarous fashion on July 28, 1486, and on August 18, 1487, Mosen Luis de Santangel, father-in-law of the Treasurer, Gabriel Sanchez, travelled the same lurid pathway. The mother of Gabriel Gonçalo de Santangel was burned on July 10, 1489, and six years later Gabriel Gonçalo himself perished at the stake.[1] Luis de Santangel of the Columbian history was himself obliged on July 17, 1491, to parade the

[1] Llorente, in his *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, dwells on the number of important families represented at the *autos da fé*, but Dr. M. Kayserling has searched the original processes and thus discovered the names of the individuals suffering this punishment.

streets with the hated *sanbeneto* upon his breast. It was the supreme wisdom of the Writer of this great drama, the Divine Dramatist who creates situations and who moves human puppets across the stage of life, that in less than one year after his humiliation, this Jew, this faithful apostate, was to be one of the principal instruments in drawing back the curtain, which for ever had concealed the New World, and to reveal a stage on which were to be enacted some of the most interesting scenes in the history of the world.[1]

Luis de Santangel had been a party to this solicitation and had favoured the project. This man, a Jew, was Treasurer of Supplies for Aragon, and very close in his relations to both King and Queen. History records that Queen Isabella offered Luis de Santangel to pledge in advance her jewels[2] to secure the sum required for the expedition, but history also records the fact that this sacrifice was never made, and that Luis de Santangel replied that since the Queen had done him the honour to accept the project through his solicitation, having refused it to

[1] The last sound Columbus heard as he was preparing to sail from the Old World was the wailing of the Jews, as on August 2, 1492, the day set apart for mourning over the twofold destruction of Jerusalem, the ninth of the Jewish Ab, they began their exodus, an army of 300,000, from out of the land of Spain.

As the reader knows, there exists no authentic enumeration of the Jews in Spain. So far as we know, there has been no attempt to search the records of Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, and Cartagena on the Mediterranean coast, Laredo in the Bay of Biscay, and the port of Cadiz, whence so many families took their departure, or of the cities on the route to Portugal, and until that is done we can only follow modern writers who have not done much more than guessed at the number. The Curate of Los Palacios estimated the unbaptised Jewish families leaving Spain to have been some 36,000. Some writers have estimated that at the time of the edict compelling their exile, the Jews in Spain numbered 800,000 souls.

On the first voyage Columbus took with him two Spanish Jews,—Rodrigo de Jeres and a converted Jew who had lived with the Adelantado of Murcia, by the name of Luis de Torres. This latter had been chosen because he understood Hebrew, and the Chaldean and Arabic tongues, Columbus expecting that when they arrived at the Court of the Great Khan he could employ his services in establishing communication. When they arrived off the north coast of *Juana* (the island of Cuba), the Admiral sent these two men with two interpreters on land to discover if there was a king with whom they could converse.

[2] In the Cathedral at Granada the traveller is shown a costly jewel box, which is said to have contained the precious gems pledged by Queen Isabella as security for the sum advanced by her for the expedition.

We do not remember if the Cathedral at Valencia has a similar coffer, but the legend is that the jewels of the Queen were pledged to certain money-lenders of that last-named city, not for the expedition under Columbus, but as early as 1489 for the prosecution of the war against the Moors. It was said that the crown and coffer of pearls and jewels was worth some 60,000 florins.—Duro, *Las Joyas de Isabel la Católica* (Madrid, 1882).

others, he himself would gladly lend her the sum her Highness required.[1]

We may assume, then, that there was furnished for Queen Isabella and the Crown of Castile, through Luis de Santangel in his capacity of treasurer of the Sancta Hermandad, a sum of money which *with the interest* amounted to 1,140,000 maravedis. A certain Aragonese historian, B. L. de Argensola,[2] declared that he had found in the archives of the Treasury of Aragon documents which proved that it was the kingdom of Aragon which furnished this money, and that it was at the express order of King Ferdinand that the generous and helpful aid was extended Columbus.

"En el mes de Abril MCCCCLXXXXII estando los Reyes Católicos en la villa de Santa Fé, cerca de Granada, capitularon con Don Christóval Colón para el primer viaje . . . y para el gasto de la armada prestó Luis de Santangel, Escrivano de Raciones de Aragon, diez y siete mil florines."

"In the month of April, 1492, the Catholic Sovereigns being in the city of Santa Fé, before Granada, they made a capitulation with Don Christopher Columbus for the first voyage . . . and for the equipment of the fleet, Luis de Santangel, Treasurer of Supplies of Aragon, loaned seventeen thousand florins."

Juan de Mariana, whose *General History of Spain*, like the *History of the World* by Spain's great enemy, Sir Walter Raleigh, was composed during confinement in prison,—a seclusion

[1] "Alle quai parole la Catolica Reina, conoſcendo il buon deſiderio del Santo Angelo, riſpoſe, ringratiandolo del ſuo buon conſiglio, & diciendo, ch'era contenta di accettarlo con patro, che ſi differiſſe la eſſecutione, fin che riſpiraſſe alquãto da'trauagli di quelle guerre. Et, quãdo pure anco altro a lui pareſſe, contentaua, che ſopra le gioie della ſua camera ſi cercaſſe imprestito della quantità de' denari, neceſſaria per far detta armata. Ma Santo Angelo, veduto il fauore, fattogli dalla Reina in accettar per ſuo conſiglio quel, che per conſiglio di ogni altro hauea rifiutato, riſpoſe, che non facea mistiero d'impegnar le gioie, percioche egli farebbe lieue feruitio à ſua Altezza impreſtandole i ſuoi denari."—*Historie*, p. 37.

"To which words the Catholic Queen, recognising the good intentions of St. Angel, replied, thanking him for his good advice, and saying that she was pleased to accept it with the agreement that the execution of the project should be deferred until she had breathed a little after the labours of those wars. And, moreover, even though another war should appear before her, she was pleased that the quantity of money necessary to fit out that fleet should be borrowed upon the jewels of her Treasury. But St. Angel, having perceived the favour done to him by the Queen in accepting through his counsel what she had refused to the counsels of all others, replied that it was not necessary to pledge the jewels, since he would gladly serve her Highness by lending her his own money."

[2] *Primera Parte de los Anales de Aragon*, Saragossa, 1630, vol. i., p. 100.

more conducive to philosophical inquiry than historical accuracy, —says of the voyage of discovery:

> It is wonderful that so great an undertaking was begun with only 17,000 ducats, which the King was forced to borrow, his revenue was so far exhausted.

Harrisse, M. Manuel de Bofarull, and others have diligently sought these original Aragonese Treasury documents, but in vain. Their alleged purport, however, is not in accord with the original historical documents which *do* exist. The records do not show that the Crown of Aragon ever contributed a maravedi toward defraying the costs of the expedition. On the contrary, the records show that the enterprise was undertaken solely for the Crown of Castile. Seventeen thousand ducats would be equivalent to 6,375,000 maravedis. The florin of Genoa and of Florence was about equal in weight to the golden ducat of Spain. If the whole cost was 6,375,000 maravedis, Columbus would have been obliged to furnish, as his eighth, 796,875 maravedis. This is a very much larger sum than Las Casas alleges Columbus contributed, and is improbable.

The account at this stage of our inquiry, and depending on incomplete documentary evidence, would appear to stand thus:

Advanced the enterprise by the Crown of Castile.....	1,140,000	maravedis
Advanced the enterprise by Christopher Columbus...	500,000	"
Total.....	1,640,000	"

The little port of Palos had rendered itself liable to punishment for some disobedience or failure to comply with the will of the Government, and the sentence of keeping two vessels in readiness to serve the Sovereigns for twelve months at the expense of the town had been passed by the Royal Council. Two ships were to be provided at the expense of the town, but the cost and maintenance of those who went in them were chargeable to the Crown. The following orders, disclosing at first an inattention and then a willingness, will explain the relationship of the town of Palos to the enterprise:

> "D. Fernando é Doña Isabel, por la gracia de Dios, Rey é Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Secilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorcas, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de

Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, é de las Islas de Canaria: Condes de Barcelona; Señores de Vizcaya, é de Molina; Duques de Atenas, é de Neopatria; Condes de Rosellon, é de Cerdania; Marqueses de Oristan, é de Gociano. A vos Diego Rodriguez Prieto, é á todas las otras personas, vuestros compañeros é otros vecinos de la Villa de Palos, é á cada uno de vos, salud é gracia. Bien sabedes como por algunas cosas fechas é cometidas por vosotros en deservicio nuestro, por los del nuestro Consejo, fuisteis condenados á que fusédes obligados á Nos servir doce meses con dos carabelas armadas á vuestras proprias costas é espensas, cada é cuando, é do quier que por Nos os fuese mandado, so ciertas penas, segund que todos mas largamente en la dicha sentencia que contra vosotros fue dada se contiene; e agora por cuanto Nos habemos mandado a Cristóbal Colon que vaya con tres carabelas de armada, como nuestro Capitan de las dichas tres carabelas, para ciertas partes de la mar Océano, sobre algunas cosas que cumplen á nuestro servicio; é Nos queremos que lleve consigo las dichas dos carabelas, con que así nos habeis de servir: por ende Nos vos mandamos, que del dia que con esta nuestra Carta fuerédes requiridos fasta diez dias primeros siguientes, sin nos mas requerir ni consultar, ni esperar, ni haber otra nuestra Carta sobre ello, tengais adreszadas é puestas á punto las dichas dos carabelas armadas, como sois obligados, por vertud de la dicha sentencia para partir con el dicho Cristóbal Colon donde Nos le mandamos ir, é partireis con él del dicho termino en adelante cada é cuando por él vos fuere dicho é mandado de nuestra parte, que Nos le mandamos que vos pague luego sueldo por cuatro meses para la gente que fuere con las dichas carabelas al precio que pagaren á las otras gentes que fueren en las dichas tres carabelas, é en la otra carabela que Nos le mandamos llevar, que es el que comunmente se acostumbra pagar en esta costa á la gente que va de armada por la mar; é así partidos sigais la via donde él de nuestra parte vos mandare, é cumplades sus mandamientos, é vades á su mando é gobernacion, con tanto que vos, ni el dicho Cristóbal Colon, ni otros algunos de los que fueren en las dichas carabelas, no vayan á la Mina, ni al trato de ella que tiene el Serenisimo Rey de Portugal, nuestro Hermano, porque nuestra voluntad es de guardar é que se guarde lo que con el dicho Rey de Portugal, sobre esto tenemos asentado é capitulado, é trayendo vosotros fee firmada del dicho Capitan de como es contento de vuestro servicio con las dichas dos carabelas armadas, vos habemos por relevados de la dicha pena, que por los del nuestro Consejo, vos fue puesta; é desde agora para entonces, é de entonces para agora nos damos é tenemos por bien servidos de vosotros con las dichas carabelas, por el tiempo é segund é como por los del dicho nuestro Consejo vos fue mandado, con apercibimiento, que vos facemos, que si lo así no ficiéredes, ó en ella escusa ó dilacion pusiéredes, mandaremos ejecutar en vosotros é en cada uno de vos, é en vuestros bienes, las penas contenidas en la dicha sentencia que contra vosotros fue dada. E los unos ni los otros no fagades ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la nuestra merced, é de cada diez mil maravedis para la nuestra Cámara, so la cual dicha pena mandamos á cualquier Escribano público, que para esto fuere llamado, que de

ende al que vos la mostrare testimonio signado, porque Nos sepamos como se cumple nuestro mandado. Dada en la nuestra Cibdad de Granada á treinta dias de Abril, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Senor Jesucristo de mil cuatrocientos noventa y dos anos. *Yo el Rey. Yo la Reina.* (Está firmado.) Yo Joan de Coloma, Secretario del Rey é de la Reina nuestros Señores, la fice escrebir por su mandado. (Está firmado.) [En las espaldas esta sellado con cera colorado en papel, y tiene las notas siguientes: Acordada. Rodericus Doctor. (Está firmado.) Registrada. Sebastian de Olano. (Está firmado.) Francisco de Madrid, Chanciller. (Está firmado.) Derechos nihil. (Está rubricado.)]"

"En Miercoles veinte é tres de Mayo, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo de mil é cuatrocientos é noventa é dos años, estando en la Iglesia de S. Jorge desta Villa de Palos, estando ende presentes Fr. Juan Peres é Cristóbal Colon, é asimismo estando ente presentes Alvaro Alonso Cosio é Diego Rodriguez Prieto, Alcaldes mayores, é Francisco Negrete y Alonso Rodriguez Prieto y Alonso Gutierrez, Regidores; luego el dicho Cristóbal Colon dió é presentó á los sobre dichos esta Carta de sus Altesas, la cual fue leida por mi Francisco Fernandes, Escribano público desta dicha Villa á los dichos Alcaldes é Regidores, é les pidió la cumplan segund sus Altesas lo mandan, y pidiólo por testimonio. E luego los dichos Alcaldes é Regidores dijeron que obedecian la dicha Carta con la reverencia debida, como Carta de sus Altesas, é que estan prestos de la cumplir en todo y por todo, segund sus Altesas lo mandan, de que fueron testigos Lorenzo de Escarrana, Alcaide, é Garcia Fernandez Carnero, é Fernando del Salto, Procurador del Concejo, vesinos de esta Villa de Palos. Francisco Fernandes, Escribano público de Palos. Está firmado."

"Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of the Mallorcas, of Seville, of Cerdeña, of Cordova, of Corcega, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarbia, of Algecira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands: Counts of Barcelona; Lords of Vizcaya and of Molina; Dukes of Athens and of Neopatria; Counts of Rosellon and of Cerdania: Marquises of Oristan and of Gociano.

"To you Diego Rodriguez Prieto [Alcalde],[1] and to all the other persons, your companions and the other residents of the town of Palos, salutation and grace. You well know how on account of some things done and committed by you in default of our service, you were condemned by the members of our Council, that you should be obliged to serve us for twelve months with two caravels, equipped at your own cost and expense, whenever and wherever it should be commanded by us, under certain penalties, which is all contained more at length in the said sentence which was pronounced against you: And now, inasmuch as we have ordered Christopher Columbus to go with a fleet of three caravels, as our Captain of the said three caravels,

[1] It is a curious coincidence, even if arranged, that on October 12, 1892, on the occasion of the ceremonies attending the celebration at Palos of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World, the cablegram of congratulation sent to the President of the United States was signed by another *Prieto, Alcalde of Palos.*

through certain parts of the Ocean-sea, upon some matters which are in fulfilment of our service: and we wish to have him take with him the said two caravels, with which you are to serve us in this manner: Therefore we command you that within the first ten days following the date of this our letter, by which you are notified, without further asking us or consulting us or awaiting us or receiving another letter from us in regard to the matter, that you shall have the said two caravels prepared and placed in readiness, equipped, as you are under obligation to do in virtue of the said sentence, to go with the said Christopher Columbus wherever we order him to go, and you shall go with him from the said length of time henceforward, whenever and wherever you shall be told and commanded by him in our behalf, because we command him to then pay you wages for four months for the people who shall go with the said caravels, at the prices which shall be paid to the other people who shall go in the said three caravels, and in the other caravel which we command him to take, *which is what is commonly paid on this coast to people who go upon the sea* with fleets of vessels. And having thus departed, that you follow the way which he shall command you to take, in our behalf, and fulfil his commands, and go under his command and government, providing that neither you, nor the said Christopher Columbus, nor any others of the persons who shall go on the said caravels, shall go to the Mine nor interfere with the traffic of the Mine which is carried on by the Most Serene King of Portugal our Brother, because it is our will to observe and to have observed what we have agreed and capitulated with the said King of Portugal in regard to this matter: and upon being shown a signed declaration from the said Captain that he is satisfied with your service with the said two equipped caravels, we shall consider you as relieved from the said penalty which was imposed upon you by the members of our Council: and from the present for that time, and from that time for the present time, we consider and hold that we are well served by you with the said caravels, for the time and according to and in the manner which was commanded you by the members of our Council, with the warning which we give you, that if you do not do as we have commanded you or make any delay or excuse in the matter, that we shall order executed upon you and upon each one of you, and upon your property, the penalties contained in the said sentence which was pronounced against you. And none of you shall disobey it in any manner, under pain of our displeasure and a fine of 10,000 maravedis for each one of our Treasury, under which said penalty we command the Notary Public who is called in this matter, that in another manner which he shall show you, you shall give a signed deposition. Given in our city of Granada April 30, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1492. *I the King. I the Queen.* (Signed.) I Joan de Coloma, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused it to be written by their command. (Signed.) [On the back it is sealed with red wax on paper, and has the following notes: Agreed. Rodericus Doctor. (Signed.) Registered. Sebastian de Olano. (Signed.) Francisco de Madrid, Chancellor. (Signed.) Fees Nihil. (Signed.)]"

"Wednesday, May 23, the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ 1492, being in the church of St. George of this town of Palos, being there present Friar Juan Peres and Christopher Columbus, and also being there present Alvaro Alonso Cosio and Diego Rodriguez Prieto, Alcaldes mayores, and Francisco Negrete and Alonso Rodriguez Prieto and Alonso Gutierrez, Registers; then the said Christopher Columbus gave and presented to the aforesaid this Letter from their Highnesses, which was read by me, Francisco Fernandes, Notary Public of this said Town, to the said Alcaldes and Registers, and he begged them to comply with it according as their Highnesses command, and his request was witnessed. And then the said Alcaldes and Registers said that they would obey the said Letter with due reverence as a Letter from their Highnesses, and that they are ready to fulfil it in every respect and by every respect, according as their Highnesses command, of which Lorenzo de Escarrana, Alcalde, and Garcia Fernandez Carnero and Fernando del Salto, Procurer of the Council, citizens of this town of Palos, were witnesses. Francisco Fernandes, Notary Public of Palos. (Signed.)"

In a second warrant issued by the Sovereigns April 30, 1492, provision was made for suspending the operation of sentences or punishment of criminals who might go on the voyage with Columbus.[1] It is likely that some such delinquents took advantage of this clemency and sailed away with the expedition, but this is an inference and not a known fact.

The three ships[2] selected for this expedition were one large

[1] "E por la presente damos seguro á todas é cualesquier personas que fueren en las dichas carabelas con el dicho Cristóbal Colon, en el dicho viage que hace por nuestro mandado á la parte del dicho mar Océano, como dicho es, para que no les sea fecho mal ni daño, ni desiguisado alguno en sus personas ni bienes: ni en cosa alguna de lo suyo por razon de ningun delito que hayan fecho ni cometido fasta el dia de la fecha desta nuestra carta, é durante el tiempo que fueren é estovieren alla con la venida á sus casas, é dos meses despues. Porque vos mandamos á todos, é á cada uno de vos en vuestros logares, é juridiciones, que no conoscais de ninguna cabsa criminal, tocante á las personas que fueren con el dicho Cristóbal Colon en las dichas tres carabelas, durante el tiempo susodicho; porque nuestra merced é voluntad es que todo ello esté así suspendido."

"And by these presents we grant security to all and any persons who shall go in the said caravels with the said Christopher Columbus, on the said voyage which he is making by our command in the said Ocean-Sea, as has been expressed, in order that no evil or damage may be done them, nor any disturbance in their persons or property; nor in anything of theirs by reason of any crime they may have done or committed, from the day of the date of this, our letter, and during the time that they shall go and shall remain yonder, with the return to their houses, and two months afterward. For this reason we command you all, and each one of you in your place and jurisdictions, not to recognise any criminal cause relating to the persons who shall go with the said Christopher Columbus in the said three caravels, during the aforesaid time: because our will and pleasure is that all those matters be in this manner suspended.

[2] At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, held in the city of Chicago, to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery, an at-

vessel with a covered deck and two smaller merchant vessels called caravels. The large vessel was the flagship of Columbus, and was named the *Santa Maria*, or *Marigolante*. It belonged to Juan de la Cosa of Santoña, who commanded it, and the pilot was Sancho Ruiz. This vessel was not large even for those days, when there were specimens of one thousand and twelve hundred tons burden. Probably the dimensions generally assigned this vessel, ninety feet in length by twenty feet in width, are correct, but there is no authentic description of the *Santa Maria* which would enable us to establish its exact size. The next largest ship was called the *Pinta*, and was the swiftest of the three vessels. She belonged to Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, who were of her crew. Her commander was Martin Alonzo Pinzón, and a younger brother, Francesco Martinez Pinzón, was master. The third vessel was the *Niña*, and her captain, Vincente Yañez Pinzón, was destined to bring to his family the greatest glory. On this little vessel also, acting as pilot, was another person destined first to touch the real riches of the New World, Pedro Alonzo Niño.

Las Casas said of the number of souls on board:

"La gente que se allegó y metió en ellas, con marineros y hombres de tierra . . . fueron por todos noventa hombres."

"The people that assembled and took part in this expedition, both sailors and landsmen, were in all ninety men."

tempt was made to reproduce these three vessels. At the suggestion of Mr. W. E. Curtis, of Washington, to whose indefatigable labours the expedition owed not only the reproduction of *La Rabida*, but many other interesting and instructive features, the Secretary of the Navy directed an officer to go to Madrid and solicit the interest of the Spanish Government in constructing as nearly as possible duplicates of the three vessels composing the immortal fleet. Accordingly, a joint board of naval architects and archæologists prepared plans for the construction of each boat. The three ships were built in time to take part in the ceremony at Huelva, Spain, on October 12, 1892. On February 6, 1893, the new *Santa Maria* started from Cadiz, under command of Captain Concas, and thirteen days later, escorted by the flagship *Newark* and the man-of-war *Bennington* of the United States Navy, the two other vessels, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*, left the shores of the Old World, and arrived safely at Havana, whence they were towed successfully by Spanish men-of-war to Hampton Roads. The *Santa Maria*, as reproduced, was of about 120 tons burden, some 63 feet over all, 51 feet keel, with a draught of 10½ feet. Jal, in the *Archéologie Navale*, has given this vessel large dimensions, making her 91 feet long by 26½ feet broad, proportions not conducive to swift sailing. The *Santa Maria* is generally regarded more from the statement of Peter Martyr, who speaks as if he had seen the boat, than from any other authority, as the only vessel having a deck. She had three masts, square sails on the fore and main masts, and a lateen sail aft. At both bow and stern she had castles. The *Pinta* was estimated at 50 tons, and the *Niña*, the smallest of the three, at 40 tons.

Oviedo says there were 120 men, and some writers have assumed that there were 90 men on each ship, making 270 in all. The number given by Las Casas, who had the original *Journal* of Columbus before him as he wrote, is doubtless correct, and this is the number given by Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie*.

Those who went out in the *Santa Maria*, and returned in the *Niña:*

Christopher Columbus, captain-general.
Juan de la Cosa, of Santoña, master, and owner of the vessel.
Sancho Ruiz, pilot.
Maestre Alonso, of Moguer, physician.
Maestre Diego, boatswain (contramaestre).
Rodrigo Sanchez, of Segovia, inspector (veedor).
Terreros, steward (maestresala).
Rodrigo de Jerez, of Ayamonte.
Ruiz Garcia, of Santoña.
Rodrigo de Escobar.
Francisco de Huelva, of Huelva.
Rui Fernandez, of Huelva.
Pedro de Bilboa, or de Larrabezua.
Pedro de Villa, of Santoña.
Diego de Salcedo, servant of Columbus.
Pedro de Acevedo, cabin boy.
Luis de Torres, converted Jew, interpreter.

Those who went and returned in the *Pinta:*

Martin Alonzo Pinzón, of Palos, captain.
Francisco Martin Pinzón, of Palos, master.
Cristóbal Garcia Xalmiento, pilot.
Juan de Jerez, of Palos, mariner.
Bartolomé Garcia, of Palos, boatswain.
Juan Perez Vizcaino, of Palos, caulker.
Rodrigo de Triano, of Lepe.
Juan Rodriguez Bermejo, of Molinos.
Juan de Sevilla.
Garcia Hernández, of Palos, steward (despensero).
Garcia Alonso, of Palos.
Gomez Rascon, of Palos,
Cristóbal Quintero, of Palos. } owners of the vessel.

Juan Quintero, of Palos.
Diego Bermudez, of Palos.
Juan Bermudez, of Palos.
Francisco Garcia Gallego, of Moguer.
Francisco Garcia Vallejo, of Moguer.
Pedro de Arcos, of Palos.

Those who went and returned in the *Niña:*

Vincente Yañez Pinzón, of Palos, captain.
Juan Niño, of Moguer, master.
Pero Alonso Niño, of Moguer, pilot.
Bartolomé Roldan, of Palos, pilot.
Francisco Niño, of Moguer.
Gutierre Perez, of Palos.
Juan Ortiz, of Palos.
Alonso Gutierrez Querido, of Palos.

Those who[1] were left in Española and perished, most of them, if not all, murdered by the natives:

Diego de Arana, governor.
Pedro Gutierrez, lieutenant.
Rodrigo de Escobedo, lieutenant.
Alonso Velez de Mendoza, of Seville.
Alvar Perez Osorio, of Castrojeriz.
Antonio de Jaen, of Jaen.
El Bachiller Bernardino de Tapia, native of Ledesma.
Cristóbal del Alamo, native of Condado (de Niebla).
Castillo, platero, native of Seville.
Diego Garcia, of Jerez.
Diego de Tordoya, of Cabeza de Vaca.
Diego de Capilla, of Almaden.
Diego de Torpa.
Diego de Mambles, native of Mambles.
Diego de Mendoza, of Guadalajara.
Diego de Montalban, of Jaen.
Domingo de Bermeo.
Francisco Fernandez.

[1] "Muñoz has already noted in his copy that the lists vary in the number: some say that 37 persons remained in Española, others 38, and Muñoz himself in his history [Book III., 38] writes that there were 39. Forty are shown by this list, without counting Diego de Arana, who remained for Governor, or his Lieutenants, Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo."—Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 19.

Francisco de Godoy, native of Seville.
Francisco de Vergara, native of Seville.
Francisco de Aranda, of Aranda.
Francisco de Henao, of Avila.
Francisco Jimenez, of Seville.
Gabriel Baraona, of Belmonte.
Gonzalo Fernandez de Segovia, of Leon.
Gonzalo Fernandez, of Segovia.
Guillermo Ires, native of Galway, in Ireland.
Hernando de Porcuna.
Jorge Gonzales, native of Trigueros.
Juan de Urniga.
Juan Morcillo, of Villanueva de la Serena.
Juan de Cueva, of Castuera.
Juan Patiño, of La Serena.
Juan del Barco, of Barco de Avila.
Juan de Villar, of Villar.
Juan de Mendoza.
Martin de Lograsan, near Guadalupe.
Pedro Cabacho, of Caceres.
Pedro de Talavera.
Pedro de Foronda.
Sebastian de Mayorga, native of Mayorga.
Tallarte de Lajes, of England.
Tristan de San Jorge.

Thus we make the total number sailing on this expedition to consist of eighty-seven men, and the number left in the Fortress of La Navidad at Española and destroyed by the Indians, forty-three men. Of those who returned to Spain there were several whom we shall meet again in the course of the narrative. Some have identified the Irishman as William Harris of Galway, and the Englishman as Arthur Laws, or Larkins.

We must, then, add a third contributor, the municipality of Palos, which, not as a free-will offering, not as a partner in the great enterprise, but as a penalty of some municipal sin, was working out its punishment by furnishing two ships. These were the *Pinta*, the title to which seems to have resided in Gomez Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, both citizens of Palos, and the *Niña*, the smallest ship of the little fleet, belonging,

perhaps, to her captain, Vincente Yañez Pinzón. However this may be, the element of rent (*flete*) is not to be reckoned for these two vessels. Nor are we to credit the town of Palos or the owners of the vessels with a share in the adventure. The Crown paid out money for the use of the *Santa Maria* but not a maravedi for the *Pinta* and *Niña*. So far as we know from the records and from the statement of Las Casas, the Crown and Columbus were the only two contributors of actual money and their united contributions would *at first sight* appear to have been only 1,640,000 maravedis. If the total was 1,640,000 maravedis, one eighth would have been 205,000 maravedis. If the one eighth part contributed by Columbus was 500,000, the total would have been 4,000,000 maravedis. We shall show that probably neither of these sums was correct.

The reader will find in the important letter written September 5, 1493, by the Sovereigns to Don Juan de Fonseca, and inserted further on in our Work, a reference to the equipment of a fleet of vessels employed to return the Moorish Chieftain Muley Boabdil, the last King of Granada, and his followers from the coast of Granada to the coast of Africa. This fleet had been formed at Bermeo, in the Bay of Biscay, and in the summer of 1493 found itself at Cadiz. It had been destined by the Sovereigns to convey Columbus and his retinue back to Española, but in the first week of September the Sovereigns ordered it on this service to Africa. We have a detailed description of this fleet, of the equipment, and of the cost. The existence in the archives of the Indies of this statement of account leads us to hope that there may yet be found documents disclosing the actual expenses of the voyage of discovery. This fleet consisted of six ships. There was an immense vessel called a *carraca de porte* of 1250 tons burden, four others, the largest of 450 tons and the smallest of 150 tons, and one caravel. Iñigo de Artieta was Captain-General of the ships. From a document dated July, 1493, we have the salaries paid the officers, the wages paid the sailors and the soldiers, the cost of maintenance per diem for each man, and the rate of rent per month paid by the Government for each vessel, computed on its tonnage. From these papers we are enabled to present a table of the probable expense of equipping the little fleet of three ships which first crossed the Atlantic and found a New World.

Admiral [1]	Christopher Columbus	on *Santa Maria*.												
Captain [2]	Martin Alonzo Pinzón	on *Pinta*	30,000	mrs.	per	year.	2,500	mrs.	per	month	for	8	months.	20,000 maravedis
Captain	Vincente Yañez Pinzón	on *Niña*	30,000	"	"	"	2,500	"	"	"	"	8	"	20,000 "
Master [3]	Juan de la Cosa	on *Santa Maria*	30,000	"	"	"	2,500	"	"	"	"	8	"	20,000 "
Master	Francisco Martin Pinzón	on *Pinta*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Master	Juan Niño	on *Niña*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Pilot	Sancho Ruiz	on *Santa Maria*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Pilot	Cristobal Garcia Xalmiento	on *Pinta*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Pilot	Pedro Alonzo Niño	on *Niña*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Pilot	Bartolomé Roldan	on *Niña*	20,000	"	"	"	1,666⅔	"	"	"	"	8	"	13,333⅓ "
Alguazil mayor	Diego de Arana [4]		30,000	"	"	"	2,500	"	"	"	"	8	"	20,000 "
Lawyer	Bernardino de Tapia of Ledesma [5]		24,000	"	"	"	2,000	"	"	"	"	8	"	16,000 "
Physician	Maestre Alonzo [6]		24,000	"	"	"	2,000	"	"	"	"	8	"	16,000 "
Assayist	Castille		12,000	"	"	"	1,000	"	"	"	"	8	"	8,000 "
Officer of the Royal Household	Pedro Gutierrez		13,000	"	"	"	1,083⅓	"	"	"	"	8	"	8,666⅔ "
Inspector	Rodrigo Sanchez		13,000	"	"	"	1,083⅓	"	"	"	"	8	"	8,666⅔ "
	Rodrigo de Escobedo		12,000	"	"	"	1,000	"	"	"	"	8	"	8,000 "
Interpreter	Luis de Torres		10,000	"	"	"	833⅓	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,666⅔ "
Steward	Terreros		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "
Steward	Garcia Hernandez		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "
Boatswain	Maestre Diego		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "
Boatswain	Bartolomé Garcia		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "
Caulker	Juan Perez Viscaino		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "
Barber	Maestre Juan [7]		9,000	"	"	"	750	"	"	"	"	8	"	6,000 "

Salary List		268,000 "
Wages [8]		252,000 "
Maintenance [9]		319,680 "
Rent (Flete) *Santa Maria* [10]		172,800 "
Furniture, arms, powder, trading supplies		155,062 "
Actual total cash expense		1,167,542 "
The Crown of Castile contributed		1,000,000 "
Christopher Columbus "		167,542 "
Total Cash Contributions		1,167,542 "
Cash equipment of the fleet	1,167,542 maravedis	
Palos furnished the *Pinta*, 80 tons, estimated at 120 maravedis per month, per ton	115,200 "	
Palos furnished the *Niña*, 40 tons, estimated at 120 maravedis per month, per ton	57,600 "	
Total cost of equipment of fleet	1,340,342 "	
Commercial interest represented by Castile in the enterprise, being ⅞ of the whole		1,172,800 "
" " " " Columbus in the enterprise, being ⅛ of the whole		167,542 "
Total commercial interest represented in fleet		1,340,342 "

[1] For footnotes 1–10, see next page.

(FOOTNOTES COVERING PAGE 474)

[1] We allow Columbus no salary. He was a partner in the enterprise and received his pay in his thirds and eighths and tenths.

[2] By the document dated in the month of July, 1493, and preserved in the archives of the Indies, we ascertain that the amount of wages paid each of several captains of ships in the fleet going to Africa was 30,000 maravedis per year, while one captain received wages at the rate of 20,000 maravedis per year.

[3] To the masters, who acted as mates, and the pilots, we have given the same rate of wages, 20,000 maravedis per year, the amount set opposite the name of the lowest paid captain of the African fleet.

[4] We have allowed a comparatively large recompense to Diego de Arana, and while he never lived to collect it, we do not doubt it was paid his family at home.

[5] The rate allowed the lawyer, 24,000 maravedis per year, is based upon the pension granted Gil Garcia, the lawyer who accompanied the Admiral on the second voyage, when all looked prosperous. This was 20,000 maravedis in addition to his fixed salary. This Garcia was serving not only as a lawyer, but as Alcalde Mayor, and it is not likely that Bernardinus de Tapia received at the rate of more than 24,000 maravedis per year.

[6] We have given the physician in our calculations the same rate of pay as the lawyer. It must be understood that there was in those days a wide difference between a physician and a surgeon.

[7] Maestre Juan was the *Cirujano*, or surgeon of the little fleet. At that time a surgeon and a barber were one and the same. In the preparation of the African fleet it was provided that the *cirujano*, or surgeon, should receive at the rate of 9000 maravedis per year.

[8] The rate of wages paid to sailors has been fixed thus:

In the letter of the Sovereigns to the Alcalde of Palos, they say:

We command him [Columbus] to then pay you wages for four months for the people who shall go with the said caravels, at the prices which shall be paid to the other people who shall go in the said three caravels, and in the other caravel which we command him to take, which is what is commonly paid on this coast to people who go upon the sea with fleets of vessels.

Notwithstanding the peculiar character of the expedition, the rate of wages was to be the prevailing rate on the Spanish coast. We ascertain that rate by referring to the document of July, 1493, giving the expenses of the fleet to Africa, and which was then fitting out at Cadiz, on the Spanish coast.

". . . pagando la soldada é acostamiento de la gente á razon de los Marineros á seis mil por año é los hombres darmas á cinco mil. . . .

". . . to pay the usual wages fixed for persons who are sailors at the rate of six thousand [maravedis] per year, and the soldiers at the rate of five thousand . . . ."

We have authority then for this rate of wages paid to sailors.

[9] The fleet which went to Africa was provided with a supply of food reckoned at the rate of 360 maravedis per month for each man. We have taken this figure only for the common sailors and have doubled it for the twenty-four persons designated above.

[10] It was the custom to estimate the rental of a ship by its capacity below decks. The *Santa Maria* is believed to have been a vessel of 120 tons burden. The rate of rental prevailing in Spain at that time was 120 maravedis per ton per month. Although she, like the men left at La Navidad, never again saw the shores of Spain, the calculation of her rental would be the same. We allow her rental for one year, although had she returned to Spain the time of her service would not have been more than nine months.

In our calculations we call the *Pinta* a ship of 80 tons, although some writers are of the opinion that she did not exceed 50 tons. Her well-known speed indicates greater canvas, and that in turn larger displacement, than the *Niña*, and a difference of ten tons would scarcely allow for this.

The reader will observe that we have reckoned in the above estimate the rental of the two ships *Pinta* and *Niña*. They were furnished by the town of Palos as a penalty for some municipal sin, but this penalty was paid to the Crown of Castile. The Crown of Castile contributed these two ships, and it mattered not to the stockholders of the enterprise whether Castile paid 172,800 maravedis for the ships or not. They were worth that to the undertaking and they must be turned in at that rate to arrive at the portion which Columbus was required to pay. In other words, the rental value of the two Palos ships must be included in the seven eighths contributed by Castile. Otherwise Columbus would be buying into a partnership where more than twelve per cent. would be shared by him without his having contributed anything towards its furnishing. In fixing the amount contributed by Columbus, therefore, we have included in the sum-total of the capital the cost of the Palos ships. But the actual cash expended remains the same, 1,000,000 maravedis by Castile and 167,542 maravedis by Christopher Columbus. The item of 155,062 maravedis estimated for arms and trading supplies seems to us ample. We will see that common hawks' bells brought large returns of gold in exchange and that pieces of broken glass and small brass pins were esteemed among the Indians the equivalent for nuggets of the yellow metal.

The difference between 1,000,000 maravedis here allowed as representing the cash expended by the Sovereigns and the 1,140,000 returned by the Treasurer, Luis de Santangel, to the Hermandad we regard as interest. While a sovereign doubtless could take money by force from a corporation or treasury and return it without usury, interest in those days was commonly paid by king and merchant. The money was furnished by Castile early in the year 1492 and seems to have been returned late in the year 1493. If we reckon interest on the loan at eight per cent. for one year and nine months, it would account for the full amount which appears to be returned to the Brotherhood of the Santa Hermandad by the Crown of Castile.

That this sum of 1,167,542 maravedis was not insufficient appears probable from another document, a Royal Cedula issued by the Sovereigns from Granada and dated February 4, 1501, in which we find the cost of fitting out three vessels. It seems

that the Genoese banker and friend of Columbus, Francisco di Riberol, with Johannes Sanchez had despatched without the Royal licence two ships from the port of San Lucar to make explorations or to trade in the New World. The Sovereigns were indignant when they learned of this and directed that three ships, a caravel and two small vessels, should be fitted out at a cost of 200,000 maravedis, including rent and equipment, to go in search of these two ships.[1] The searcher must be prepared

[1] There has been lately published at Madrid, by the Duchess of Berwick and of Alba, of the illustrious house which traces its line back to Christopher Columbus, a volume entitled *Nuevos Autografos de Cristóbal Colón y Relaciones de Ultramar.* Among the documents relating to the Discoverer is one which may play an important part in determining the cost of the memorable first voyage. The Duchess several years before had acquired by purchase a somewhat mutilated collection of manuscript documents placed together within parchment covers, upon the outer and upper cover of which occurs the well-known monogram of Christopher Columbus. The purchase, according to the statement of the Duchess herself, was shrouded in mystery. The book was bought of a lady, through the agency of another person, and at the suggestion of a friend of the Duchess, the Marquis de Pidal. This lady declined to give her residence, and only affirmed that the book had belonged to her deceased husband, Rocamora, and that she was ignorant of the source whence he had it. It would appear from the description given by the Duchess that the contents of this book constituted a series of documents, some holograph and some in a clerical hand, with a line or signature or sign manual, to indicate its possession by the Admiral. The most important document is a holograph drawing of the northern coast of La Navidad, which will appear in our chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus." What now concerns us particularly in this collection is a document, incomplete, but which gives us a partial list of the people on the first voyage and the sums of money advanced them on account of their services. We give this document here. It will be noticed that the sums opposite the names of the officers and sailors differ materially from those given in our table, and which we have reached through necessarily uncertain calculation. Our calculation has been based on the rate of wages paid for similar services and the known cost of living at the time. Nevertheless, we do not feel justified in altering our figures, for the reason that the document distinctly affirms that the moneys paid the several persons on the expedition were not in full payment, but were "*over and above this which was advanced them before they went.*" It is reasonable to suppose that before leaving the shores of Spain each officer and seaman received some earnest money. In each instance the money paid the officers and men is less than the allowance in our reckoning, and the differences may well be the sums due each upon his return.

LIST OR REPORT

OF THE PEOPLE WHO WENT WITH CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS ON THE FIRST VOYAGE

Jhesus cum Maria sit nobis in via. [Autograph of Columbus.]

(Letter describing the manner in which His Lordship paid the people of Palos.)
[Not autograph of Columbus.]

13 ✠ Jhesus. 1498, November xvi, in Santo Domingo, on the island of Española.

At the time when the King and the Queen, my Lords, which was in the year 1491, resolved that I should go to discover the Indies, I arranged with their Highnesses that

to go where the thing sought may be, and as the ships of Riberol had gone to the New World, the three other ships were to be fitted out for a like long and perilous expedition. If 200,000

I should have the eighth part of all which should result from the fleet which I should have,—I contributing the eighth part of the expenses, as will appear more at length by the said contract; and in order that what I expended might appear, I resolved that it should be certified before a notary public in the village of Palos, where, by command of their Highnesses, I fitted out three vessels, a small ship and two caravels: and the account of the moneys which I gave and expended was drawn up before the aforesaid notary, who wrote with his hand all this contract and account of moneys.

Their Highnesses at the present time in this year 1498, when I was at their Royal Court, granted me the favour that I should not be obligated for the payment of the past expenditure up to the time of arriving here, which was in the said year 1498 on the 31st of August: nor yet for the expenses of the fleet which I brought over, as will appear by their Order which is with the others in Seville in the Monastery of Las Cuevas and the authorised copy of same which is here in a book with others.

Although their Highnesses may have granted me this favour and although this contract may have expired, let it be guarded very closely and let it be certified to by the same notary, first taking a copy of it here by means of a notary public who shall attest it, and let it be carried to Palos and afterwards placed with the other valuable contracts in Las Cuevas at Seville:

In case this contract should be lost, *there* is the list of the people who received the money from me, who will acknowledge it, and *there* is the account of the Lord Chief Auditors (accountants) who paid these people on the return from the Indies what was owing to them, besides this, which was advanced them before they went; and the remainder which they earned they received in Barcelona in May from their Highnesses.

As far as here the document is alleged to be the holograph of Columbus, and is found on the back of one of the leaves of the Report. The remainder of the document is in the hand of a clerk.

Report of the people who went with Columbus on the First Voyage

In the village of Palos, Saturday, the twenty-third of June, the year of the Lord 1492: on this day aforesaid the Señor Christopher Columbus, Captain of their Highnesses the King and Queen, our Lords, made an account of the wages to be given to the sailors and ships' boys and people going in the said fleet, who are the following:

SAILORS

First, to Sancho Ruiz de Gama, pilot, twenty ducats	7,000 m.
Juan de Moguer, sailor, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Gil Perez, sailor, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Alvaro, nephew of Gil Perez, sailor, four thousand maravedis: the said Gil Perez went security for him, and the one for the other	4,000
Pero Sanches de Montilla, sailor, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Pero Arraes, sailor, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them for him	4,000
Juan Ruiz de la Peña, Biscayan, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them	4,000
Juan Arraes, son of Pero Arraes, four thousand maravedis,—Vincente Yañez received them	4,000
Juan Martines de Açoque, citizen of Denia, four thousand maravedis. Vincente Yañez received them for him	4,000
Juan de la Plaça, citizen of this village, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Garcia Fernandes, sailor of Illana, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Juan Verde de Triana, four thousand maravedis, Martin Alonso Pinzón received them for him	4,000
Juan Romero, sailor from Pero Gonsales Ferrando, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Francisco Garcia Vallejos, citizen of Moguer, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Bartolomé Biues, citizen of this village, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Juan de Medina, tailor, citizen of Palos, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Cristobal Garcia Sarmiento, pilot, eight thousand and thirty maravedis	8,030

maravedis were sufficient to rent and equip three such vessels in the year 1501, 1,167,542 maravedis were ample to rent and equip one ship like the *Santa Maria* in the year 1492 and to arm

Juan Quintero, son of Argueta Arraes [?] eighteen ducats, six thousand seven hundred and fifty maravedis	6,750 m.
Juan Reynal, citizen of Huelva, twelve ducats, four thousand five hundred maravedis	4,500
Bartolomé Roldan, citizen of Moguer, sailor, received from Alonso Lopez, citizen of Moguer, four thousand maravedis: he gave as security some houses which are in the said village, which are next to the property of Gonçalo Alonso Maldonado, and on the other side . . . the King	4,000
Martin Alonso received for Juan Veçano four thousand maravedis	4,000
The said Martin Alonso Pinzón received further, for Anton Calabres, his servant, four thousand maravedis	4,000
Sancho de Rama, citizen of this village of Palos, four thousand maravedis. Martin Alonso Pinzón, son-in-law (*yr.°*) [?] of Pedro de Ayllon, went security for him	4,000

SHIPS' BOYS

Juan Arias, Portuguese, son of Lope Arias, citizen of Tauira, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis	2,666
Alonso, servant of Juan Rodrigues of Guinea, son of Francisco Chocero, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis: the said Juan Rodrigues of Guinea answered for him	2,666
Juan, servant of Juan Buen Año, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six. The said Juan Buen Año went security for him	2,666
Pedro Tegero, two thousand six hundred and sixty six. Juan de Moguer was his security	2,666
Fernando de Triana, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Vincente Yañez was his security	2,666
Juan Quadrado, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Juan Guerrero, son of Argueta Ma . . . [?] was his security	2,666

[A leaf missing].

Miguel de Soria, servant of Diego de Lepe, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. The said Diego de Lepe, his master, was his security. Eight doblas were given to him. 2,920	2,920 [*sic*]
Rodrigo Gallego, servant of Gonzalo Fuego, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. The said Martin, his master, was his security. Eight doblas were given to him. 2,920 [*sic*]	2,970
Bernal, servant of Alonso, sailor, from Juan de Mafra, eight doblas which are two thousand nine hundred and twenty maravedis. The said his master received them	2,920
Alonso of Palos, eight doblas, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis. Martin Alonso Pinzón went security for him	2,666
Andres de Yrueñes, seven ducats. Juan Reynal received them. He is to have two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis	2,666
Francisco Mendes, citizen of Huelva, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis	2,666
Martin Alonso Pinzón received for Fernando Mendes two thousand six hundred and sixty-six maravedis	2,666

[On a loose leaf, which has the corner, where the folio number is, torn]:

Diego de Arana, Alguacil of the fleet of their Highnesses, has received eight thousand maravedis	8,000
Francisco Martin Pinzón, Master of the *Pinta*, has received eight thousand maravedis	8,000
Martin Alonso Pinzón, Captain of the *Pinta*, received sixteen thousand maravedis	16,000
	32,000 m.

and furnish her and two other smaller vessels. We assume the cash cost of the expedition to have been:

Advanced the enterprise by the Crown of Castile....	1,000,000	maravedis
Advanced the enterprise by Christopher Columbus...	167,542	"
Total.....	1,167,542	"

CHAPTER LV

COST OF EQUIPMENT

WHILE it is perhaps easier to compute the relative values of ancient and modern weights than the relative values of volume and of lengths, the subject of comparing ancient and modern coins is full of difficulty. Given any particular coin in any country at the end of the fifteenth century and we will find its purchasing power differing almost from day to day. While fluctuations of values are common to all countries and to all times, the commercial activities following the inventions and discoveries at the passing of the Middle Ages caused sudden and frequent changes in the power of money, not merely its power to purchase the necessities of life, but its own availability as a medium of exchange of gold and silver and copper. These conditions and these results did not wait for gold and silver to come from the New World—they began and had their influences before Española or Mexico or Peru contributed to the mass of money metals. The same laws were governing then as now, for laws which are natural laws never change. Bad money will drive out good money. If the citizen holds in his hand two pieces of gold of equal size and stamped with the same effigy, one piece containing an alloy and the other pure, and if the State is willing to take either piece for the payment of a tax, the citizen will pay in that piece which has the alloy and will hide away the one which is pure. The utility of a piece of gold is not only that it can be exchanged for a large portion of food and for a large portion of labour or fuel or light, but that it can be exchanged for a number of pieces of some baser metal each of which can be exchanged for a smaller quantity of food or labour or fuel or light. We do not expect that a piece of gold

will always buy the same quantity of food or of other products of the field and machine, but we would like to see it as constantly as possible buy the same number of pieces of other money stamped from baser metals and employed for exchangeable purposes. This it will not invariably do, and it is this want of virtuous stability which makes our task of determining the relative value of coins so difficult. The Merchant of Venice would exchange his ducat on May 10, 1473, for 55½ pence of English money, and when he reached London three months later on August 11, 1473, that same ducat would have brought him only 50 pence. Then, as now, fortunes were made in the exchange of one metallic money for another.

It was the custom of Ferdinand Columbus to inscribe in his books when he bought them not only the time and place of purchase, not only the price paid, but the value of the ducat of gold in the common coin of the place or country in which he bought the book. In the year 1863 there was published at Madrid the results of an investigation by the late Bartolomé José Gallardo [1] into the condition of the Columbian Library collected by Ferdinand, and his memoranda disclose some interesting details as to the books, their prices, and, what is of interest to us in this inquiry, the relative value of the gold ducat with the various smaller coins of the countries in which the books were purchased. We do not think that Ferdinand Columbus in every instance made these purchases himself, as the times and places are not always consistent with his movements.

Sept.	28, 1520.	Rome.	The gold ducat was worth 420 quatrines.
Oct.	7, 1520.	Rome.	" " " " " 420 "
Nov.	14, 1520.	Bologna.	" " " " " 456 "
Dec.	10, 1520.	Placentia.	" " " " " 430 "
Jan.	14, 1521.	Turin.	" " " " " 212 quartos.[2]
Feb.	1521.	Milan.	" " " " " 490 quatrines.
March	2, 1521.	Milan.	" " " " " 440 quartos.
March	12, 1521.	Ferrara.	" " " " " 426 "
May	27, 1521.	Augsburg.	" " " " " 215 pfennigs.
June	17, 1521.	Bâle.	" " " " " 450 [3] "

[1] *Ensayo de una Bibliotéca Española, formado con los apuntamientos de D. Bartolomé José Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zargo del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayon, Madrid, 1863.*

The rest of the work of Gallardo remains in manuscript in the National Library at Madrid.

[2] This is probably an error for 312 quartos.

[3] This is doubtless an error for 450 quatrines.

July	7, 1521.	Spira.	The gold ducat was worth					215	pfennigs
July	27, 1521.	Antwerp.	"	"	"	"	"	220	negmits.
Dec.	1521.	Nuremberg.	"	"	"	"	"	86	craicers (kreutzer).
Jan.	15, 1522.	Frankfort.	"	"	"	"	"	288	pfennigs.
Feb.	1522.	Aix-la-Chapelle.	"	"	"	"	"	224	"
Feb.	1522.	Cologne.	"	"	"	"	"	296	"
June	1522.	London.	"	"	"	"	"	54	penins (pence).
June	25, 1523.	Fribourg.	"	"	"	"	"	450	pfennigs.
July	9, 1525.	Montpelier.	"	"	"	"	"	574	dineros.
July	14, 1525.	Montpelier.	"	"	"	"	"	564	"
Oct.	1525.	Leon.	"	"	"	"	"	570	"
May	11, 1526.	Avignon.	"	"	"	"	"	570	"
Sept.	4, 1530.	Perugia.	"	"	"	"	"	420	quatrines.
Nov.	13, 1530.	Bologna.	"	"	"	"	"	456	"
Nov.	28, 1530.	Modena.	"	"	"	"	"	468	"
Dec.	9, 1530.	Placentia.	"	"	"	"	"	480	"
Jan.	14, 1531.	Turin.	"	"	"	"	"	312	quartos.
Jan.	19, 1531.	Turin.	"	"	"	"	"	302	"
Feb.	4, 1531.	Italy.	"	"	"	"	"	443	quatrines.
April	4, 1531.	Padua.	"	"	"	"	"	280	beços.
June	1535.	Montpelier.	"	"	"	"	"	47	sueldos.
July	7, 1535.	Montpelier.	"	"	"	"	"	564	dineros.
July	12, 1535.	Montpelier.	"	"	"	"	"	47	seuldos.
Sept.	1535.	Leon.	"	"	"	"	"	570	dineros.

There are evidently errors in copying some of the figures. But the fact remains that we have an interesting table of exchange values between the gold ducat and various European coins, albeit of a period somewhat subsequent to that concerned in the present inquiry. It is, then, the value of the gold ducat, or the Excelente de Granada, at the end of the fifteenth century, as well as its equivalent value to-day which we have to ascertain.

In the oath taken in July, 1493, by the officers of the fleet of which we have just spoken as going to Africa, it is expressly stated that the cost of equipment and wages shall be reckoned on the basis of a gold ducat being worth 360 maravedis.[1] Clem-

[1] In our subsequent calculations we allow 375 maravedis to the gold ducat or Excelente de Granada, as this relative value was established by a Royal Cedula signed in 1497 at Medina del Campo.

encin in Spanish, and Peragallo in Italian, have written learnedly on the value of the maravedi in the time of the Catholic Sovereigns. The former, writing early in the nineteenth century and writing apparently for his countrymen rather than for the world, has often employed elements of comparison not familiar to students outside of Spain. But that his method is the most scientific hitherto used is at once apparent. He established the relation in the fifteenth century between gold and silver coinage; he showed the gradual increase of the proportion between them; the difference between their intrinsic or metallic price and the foreign or commercial price; their relative purchasing power in obtaining grain and food and the necessities of life; and finally, following the history of the coins with the things for which they were exchanged, he deduced the interesting fact that with a given quantity of fine silver in the fifteenth century one could have exchanged it for 6.40 times the quantity of grain or the necessities of life for which it could be exchanged in his day. If, now, Clemencin had used the universal *gramme* in his calculations the labours of the English student would be lessened to a simple translation of words instead of an uncertain translation of systems.

The copper maravedi, the measure of value in which monetary calculations were commonly made, does not seem to have been an actual coin in the year 1493.[1] It was a measure without substance. It would be as if we in the United States should, as indeed we do, legislate regarding the mill without actually minting it into a coin. We lay taxes in mills and yet no man ever saw one of these minute units of value. So in Spain in 1493, expenses were calculated in copper maravedis although they do not appear to have been at that time minted into coin. The small value of the maravedi did not operate against its coinage, as would be the case with the *mill* in the United States, for there existed a copper coin called the *blanca*, which was worth only half of a maravedi.[2] In Castile the mark of Cologne was

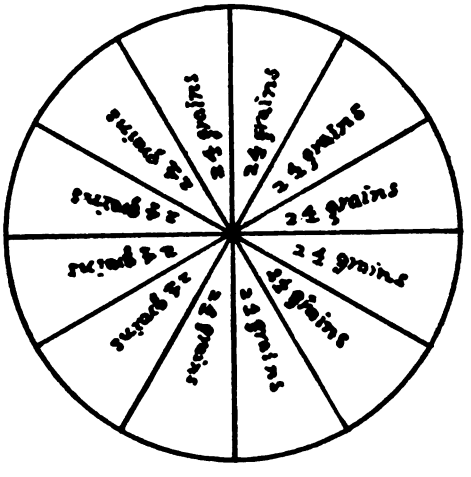
[1] There had been a gold coin known as a maravedi, a coin struck during the dynasty of the Almoravedis in Spain at the beginning of the twelfth century. This coin is said to have weighed sixty grains, but as we have no knowledge of its gold contents, of its fineness, we cannot determine its value.

[2] Coins smaller than the blanca were in use, as for instance the ceuti, or cepti, circulating in Portugal, and which in the fifteenth century was equal to one third of a blanca. In the *Journal* of Columbus, under date of October 13, 1492, we read: "*I saw 16 bales of cotton given for three ceotis of Portugal which are equal to one blanca.*"

adopted as early as the time of King Alfonso XI., in 1348, who declared that all weights of gold and silver should be measured with the German mark. There was, however, a discrepancy in the respective weights. A Cologne mark is said to have equalled 232.862 grammes and a mark of Castile 230.045 grammes.

Let us adopt the mark of Castile, weighing 230.045 grammes, as the basis of all our calculations. We have three different methods of arriving at the value of the maravedi of the fifteenth century in our money of to-day. The first method is based upon the value of the blanca.

June 13, 1497, a Royal Cedula was issued by the Sovereigns at Medina del Campo providing that from one mark of coin metal 192 blancas should be coined. The Spanish assayers used as a standard for all pieces of money the *dineral*, which was divided into 12 dineros of 24 grains each. There were, then, 12 times 24, or 288 grains in the whole piece. This dineral is perhaps best illustrated by the following diagram:



Now the coin metal to be used in coining the blancas was to be seven grains fine. That is to say, out of the total of 288 grains composing the mixture, 7 grains were to be fine silver. Reducing this to decimals for greater convenience and according to modern usage, we find that $\frac{7}{288}$, the proportion of silver, was equal to .0243, and $\frac{281}{288}$, the proportion of copper, was equal to .9757. The mark, as we have stated, weighed 230.045

grammes, and from a mark of this coin metal 192 blancas were to be coined. Dividing 230.045 by 192 we have as the total weight of each blanca, 1.19815 grammes. Now .0243 per cent. of this total weight was fine silver and .9757 per cent. was copper, therefore the total weight of the blanca, 1.19815 grammes, was made up of .02912 grammes fine silver and 1.16903 grammes copper. The reader should be careful not to confound the figures .0243 and .9757, representing *fineness* of the coin metal, with .02912 grammes and 1.16903 grammes, representing the *weight* of the blanca.

By the United States statute of 1837, the grades and fineness of gold and silver coins were established. The fineness for all coins of both metals was made .900 for the precious metal, the alloy of silver being copper and that of gold being silver and copper, of which silver should not exceed 50 per cent. This grade of fineness has never been modified. Under that law all gold coins were to weigh 25.8 grains for each dollar of value, that is to say 23.22 grains of fine gold for each dollar. Each silver coin was to weigh at the rate of 412.5 grains for each dollar of value, and of this 371.25 grains were to be fine silver.

By the statute of 1873, the standard silver dollar was abolished and a trade silver dollar of 420 grains was established and the weight of subsidiary silver coins was changed to a rate of 25 grammes, or 385.81 grains, of which 22.5 grammes or 347.23 grains were fine silver.

By the statute of 1878, the silver dollar of 1837, weighing 412.5 grains with 371.24 grains of fine silver, was re-established and has not been since modified.

The value of all coins is based upon that of the precious metal contained, the alloy and labour of coinage being contributed by the government. Thus if we take 232.2 grains of fine gold to the Mint, we will receive a ten-dollar gold-piece weighing 258 grains, of which the fineness is 232.2 grains.

The value of gold per ounce then is,

$$\frac{480}{23.22} = \frac{8000}{387} = \$20.6718.^{1}$$

[1] The fraction $\frac{8000}{387}$ is the fraction $\frac{480}{23.22}$ reduced to its lowest integral terms, and means in simple integers that 387 ounces of Troy of fine gold are worth $8000, and gold is thus worth at all times $20.67 an ounce.

The recognised value of silver per ounce is,

$$\frac{480}{371.25} = \frac{128}{99} = \$1.2929.^{1}$$

By the first method of computation we establish the weight and value of the Spanish coin, the blanca, in modern terms as follows:

The blanca was made up of copper and silver in the following proportions:

Silver in a blanca	.....	.02912 grammes
Copper " " "	.....	1.16903 "

The recognised value of an ounce, or 480 grains of silver, is $1.2929. The blanca, having .02912 grammes of silver, has 15.532 times that number of grains, or .44937 grains. We therefore multiply $\frac{.44937}{480}$ by $1.2929 (the value of 480 grains of silver) and find that the value of the silver in a blanca is $.001210.

The Director of the United States Mint has kindly given us the value of the 1.16903 grammes of copper in the blanca as equal to $.000318. Adding the value of the silver ($.001210) to the value of the copper ($.000318), we find that the blanca would be worth to-day $.001528. As there were two blancas in a maravedi, this last coin would to-day be worth $.003056.

Our second calculation is based upon the *real de plata* or silver real, a coin in common use in Spain at the time of the Catholic Sovereigns. Repeating our illustration, we again state that the dineral or standard used by the Spanish assayers was divided into 12 dineros of 24 grains each, there being 288 grains in the whole.

The coin metal used for the real de plata or silver real was 11 dineros and 4 grains fine. This was equal to $\frac{268}{288}$ of the total number, $\frac{288}{288}$, the remaining $\frac{20}{288}$ being alloy. Again reducing these numbers to decimals, we find that $\frac{268}{288}$ equals .93056, representing the fine silver in the mixture. The alloy is likewise represented by .06944.

Now the mark or standard of weight weighed 230.045 grammes and 67 reals were made from the mark at that time, so

[1] Here again the fraction $\frac{128}{99}$ is the lowest integral ratio of dollars and ounces of silver. In other words, 371.25 ounces of fine silver are equal to 23.22 ounces of fine gold, and the ratio is $\frac{371.25}{23.22}$, equals 15.9884, or 16 to 1 as we ordinarily speak of that ratio.

that, dividing 230.045 by 67, we have the weight of the silver real, 3.4335 grammes, and multiplying this total weight by .93056, representing the proportion of fine silver, we have 3.195078 grammes, the weight of fine silver in the real de plata. Now let us ascertain the value of the coin in our money of to-day, thereby arriving at the value of the maravedi. Silver is reckoned as $1.2929 per ounce in United States money. As one ounce Troy equals 31.10 grammes, we find that one gramme of silver is worth .04157. A silver real or real de plata, as we have just seen, contained 3.195078 grammes of fine silver, and multiplying this by .04157, the value of one gramme of silver to-day, we have $.132819 as the value of the silver real. Thirty-four maravedis are equal to one real de plata, therefore we divide $.132819 by 34 and obtain as a result $.003906 for the value of the maravedi in our money of to-day.

There still remains a third method for calculating the value of the maravedi and that is to base our calculation upon gold. In order to do this, we must make use of the coin known as Excelente de Granada, which was in use in Spain in the fifteenth century. In 1497 a Royal Cedula decreed that 65⅓ gold pieces called Excelente de Granada should be coined from a mark. Remembering that the mark weighed 230.045 grammes we divide 230.045 by 65⅓ and obtain as a result 3.52111 grammes, the weight of each Excelente. The fineness of this metal was 23¾ carats out of a total of 24 carats. Reducing this to decimals, we have .9896 as the figure representing the *fineness* of the metal. Now multiplying the weight of the Excelente, 3.52111 grammes, by .9896, we find that the weight of the Excelente in fine gold was 3.4845 grammes or 53.77388 grains. To arrive at the value of this coin in our money of to-day and thus at the value of the maravedi, we establish as a basis that 15.9884—practically 16 to 1—parts of silver are equal to one part of gold. Then if one ounce of silver is worth $1.2929, one ounce of gold would be worth 15.9884 times that, or $20.6714. Then dividing $20.6714, the value of an ounce of gold, by 31.10, which is the number of grammes in an ounce, we have $.66467 as the value of a gramme of gold. We have shown that each Excelente contained 3.4845 grammes of fine gold and at the value of $.66467 per gramme, the Excelente would be worth to-day $2.316042. Now 375 maravedis, or 11 reals and 1 maravedi, were equal to

one Excelente, or gold ducat, therefore if we divide $2.316042 by 375 we obtain the value of the maravedi as $.006117 reckoned on the basis of gold.

Again, as an ounce of gold is equal to $20.6714, we have $\frac{20.6714}{480}$ = $.04306 = value of a grain of gold.

As there are 53.7740 grains in an Excelente de Granada, we have 53.7740 × .04306 = $2.3155.

As there are 375 maravedis in an Excelente, we have $\frac{2.3155}{375}$ = $.00617 for the value of a maravedi.

This result is appreciably larger than the results obtained by our first two calculations, but this is to be accounted for by the difference in the ratio of gold and silver at the time the money was in use. We have used the ratio of 16 to 1 in our calculation, but the relative value of silver was far greater at the end of the fifteenth century. We will endeavour to establish the ratio at that time.

The real de plata, as we have seen, contained 3.195078 grammes of fine silver and 34 maravedis were equal to one real de plata. Dividing 3.195078 by 34, we have .093973 grammes of fine silver in the maravedi, and as 375 maravedis were equal to one gold ducat or Excelente, .093973 multiplied by 375 equals 35.2399 grammes of fine silver to the gold ducat. Then 35.2399 grammes of fine silver being equal to one Excelente and 3.4845 grammes of fine gold being also equal to one Excelente, it follows that 35.2399 grammes of fine silver equalled 3.4845 grammes of fine gold, and dividing 35.2399 by 3.4845, we have 10.113 as the ratio of silver to gold at the end of the fifteenth century.[1]

We now make our calculation on the basis of this ratio and find that one ounce of silver being worth $1.2929, one ounce of gold would be worth $13.07509. Dividing by 31.10, the number of grammes in an ounce, we find that one gramme of gold would be worth .4204 and 3.4845 grammes of gold, the weight of the Excelente, would be worth $1.46488. Then 375 maravedis being equal to one Excelente, we divide $1.46488 by 375 and we

[1] Some authorities say that the ratio between silver and gold averaged between the years 1500 and 1520, 10.75 to 1, and from the years 1520 to 1540 it averaged 11.25 to 1, the ratio having increased about half of a point in twenty years. If this increase held good, the ratio between the years 1480 and 1500 was 10.25 to 1. We might assume that the ratio in 1492 was 10.3 to 1. We have, however, followed the ratio adopted by the Italian writers, the difference between the two not being great.

have $.003906 as the value of the maravedi, or almost exactly the same result as that obtained by our other calculations.

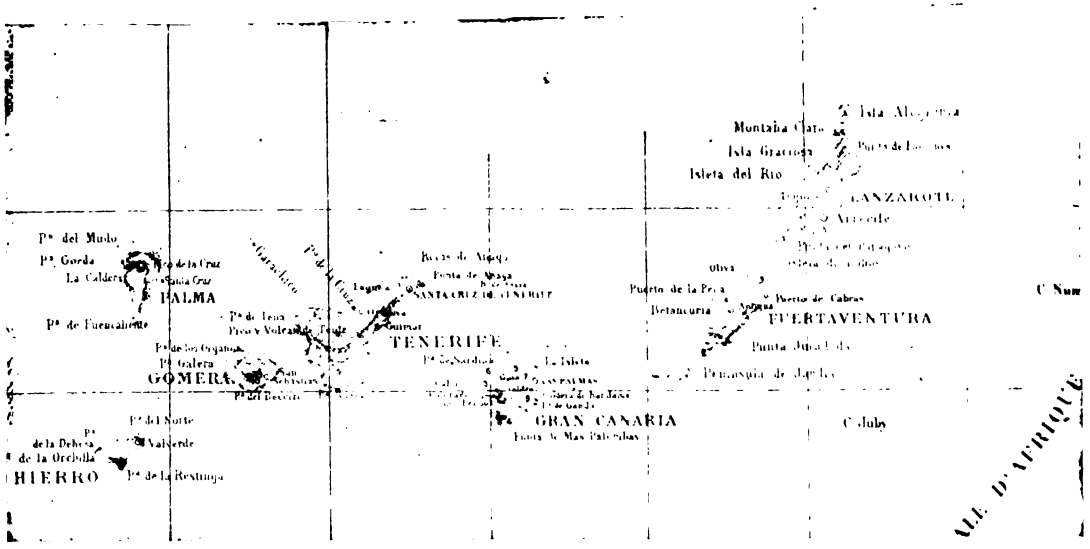
We have, then, given the reader two values to the maravedi, the one based on the present value of our silver coin, the other based on the present value of our gold coin. If he adopts the former the value of the maravedi is $.003906, if the latter it is $.00617. We have tried to show that if the same ratio of difference between gold and silver prevailed to-day which probably existed toward the close of the fifteenth century, the value of the maravedi would be $.003906.

The entire amount of money expended by the Crown and by Columbus in equipping the first expedition we estimate to have amounted to the sum of 1,167,542 maravedis. Thus if the value of the maravedi is reckoned on the silver basis, the expedition cost in our money of to-day $4,560.41, or about 942 English pounds sterling; if on the gold basis, it cost $7,203.73, or about 1488 pounds. We are inclined to believe that the most satisfactory method of arriving at the relative values of the maravedi and our modern coin is to consider the purchasing power of silver in relation to that of gold at the end of the fifteenth century and to compare that with the purchasing power of gold to-day. We therefore prefer to accept the value of the maravedi at $.00617. The sum seems small, but we must remember that the purchasing power of money was much greater four hundred years ago than it is to-day. Clemencin estimated the buying power of money in procuring food, labour, and the necessities of life at the close of the fifteenth century at 6.4 times greater than at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when he wrote. This proportion must be greater to-day. It is doubtful if $80,000 would to-day accomplish what was then done with the actual expenditure of a sum equal to $7,203.73 in our money. Under any circumstances, whether we consider the maravedis expended or the results achieved, we may regard it as the most fortunate outlay of money since gold and silver and copper were minted into coin.

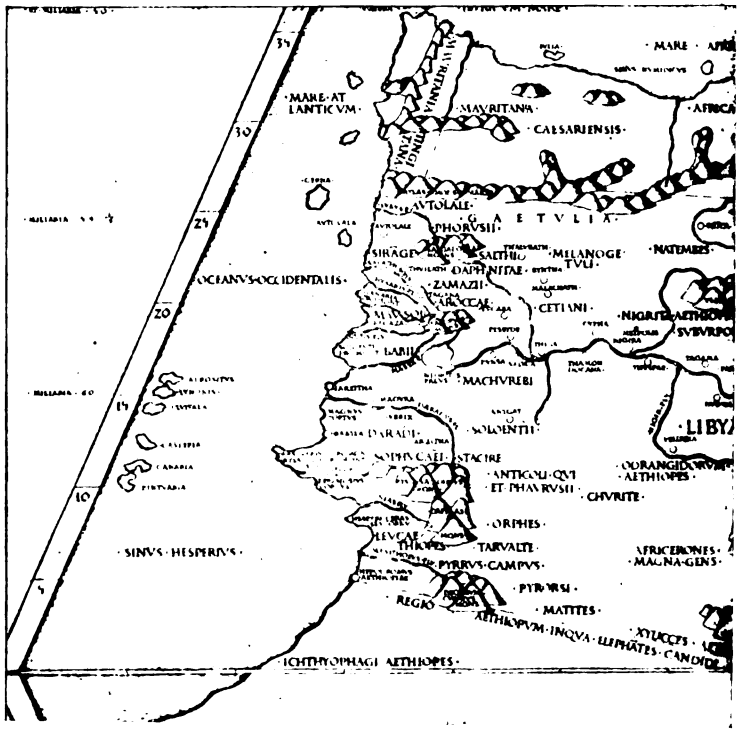
Thus equipped, Christopher Columbus, with his little fleet of three ships and eighty-seven men, set sail from the town of Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492. And thus, after years of waiting, was the purpose of his soul on its way to at least a partial fulfilment.

PART V

THE EVENT



Modern Map of the Canary Islands.



The Canary Islands as Given in the "Cosmographia" of Ptolemy, Printed at Rome in 1478.

The Canary Islands as Given in the Waldseemüller Map from the "Cosmographia" of Ptolemy, Printed at

CHAPTER LVI

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF THE CANARY ISLANDS

THE Canary Islands constitute so important a link in the chain of American discovery that they deserve to have related something of their history and of their European occupation. It was from their shores that the real transatlantic and unknown voyage was undertaken by Columbus, and it was in departing from Gomera that he began to count the days of his journey. Peter Martyr tells us that he had determined to halt at the Canaries to victual his fleet and replenish his ships with wood and water. Columbus went southward to these islands that he might make his start westward upon their parallel on his own initiative, thus modifying the advice of Toscanelli, the Florentine philosopher. The distance from Cadiz of three hundred leagues, as Peter Martyr estimates it, gave Columbus a trial of his men and to them it gave a preliminary taste of the discomfitures and dangers of the Western seas. Whosoever would follow the first adventurers across the deep must loose his anchor from the sands of Gomera and mark the days from off the calendar as he leaves the last hospitable shores of the Old World.

Not only Peter Martyr, but some later historians as well, have failed to distinguish between earliest occupation, the mediæval re-discovery, and the subsequent conquest of these islands. One naturally thinks of an island affording a home for man only after he has been crowded away from the mainland in the fight for existence, or driven away from continental land by quarrels and defeats. An island, an isolation, is not the first choice of any people. Ethnologists find in the Canaries

traces of man in the second half of the Palæolithic, or primitive Stone Age, and skulls have been found in those islands which they assign to the men dwelling in caves. The generic skull known as the Cromagnon is said to have been perpetuated in the Guanches, or natives of the Canary Islands. Prof. A. Retzius, of Stockholm, discovered a close resemblance between the skulls of the Guanches, of the Canaries, and the Caribs of America, and Professor Le Plongeon finds the sandals which cover the feet of the famous statue of Chacmool, in Yucatan, similar to those found among the Guanches. Thus perhaps the route followed by the Genoese navigator across the Atlantic seas at the end of the fifteenth century, yielding to the mysterious Western magnet, was the same highway [1] taken by primitive man with his dug-out canoe in the ages that lie back of our counting.

The Canaries were colonised by the Phœnicians and were known both to the Greeks and Romans. Their geographical situation, extending from north latitude 27° 40′ to 29° 25′, and from a west of Greenwich longitude of 13° 25′ to 18° 16′, made them easily accessible from the African coast.

Homer, who wrote of heroes and for heroes, placed the departed spirits of his warriors in the Elysian fields beyond the ocean which, like a circling river, he made to surround the earth. Hesiod, the poet of the helots, he who wrote of the man with the hoe and of the bearer of burdens, established the habitations of the blest in far-off islands, islands of his imagination without locality or determined precinct. Pindar, the Bœotian flute-player, sang of the Elysian regions, the islands of the blest, but could direct none of the living to their shores. The Latin poets are scarcely more decisive. Virgil would not have Elysium outside of the limits of Italy. Tibullus ushers his shade into Elysian regions and separates the blissful plains where the good hold ceaseless revel from the shores of the black lakes where the wicked drag their chains, in punishment for having revelled before their time. Horace mentions them in the sixteenth song of his *Epodes*, written to the Roman people after the civil wars. In this he sincerely counsels the free citizens

[1] It is more likely that the Western migration followed the natural stepping-stones of the Aleutian Islands. The ethnologists here again discover traces of the Cromagnon skull among the Eskimos.

to leave their country and flee *ad divites insulas*, to the happy lands, the islands of the blest, and there abide in that place selected by Jupiter only for the blest and pious. Horace contents himself with the vague Homeric description of their situation beyond the ocean stream.

Plutarch, in his *Life of Quintus Sertorius*, tells us that this great warrior was so entranced with an account of the Fortunate Islands that he proposed to sail thither and pass the remainder of his life in peace and solitude. Sertorius, during the wars of the Republic, after preparing for a naval conflict with the faction headed by Sylla, who was sending against him Caius Annius and a large fleet of vessels, found his own ships broken by a violent storm and himself forced to take refuge upon the shores of Spain, at a point a little to the north of where the Guadalquivir, the ancient Bætis, falls into the ocean. Here he fell in with some sailors who had but lately returned from certain islands in the Atlantic.

Hoc in loco nautae quidam Sertorio obviam fiunt: tunc forte redeuntes ex Atlanticis insulis quas beatas vocant. Duæ quidem hæ sunt parvo inter se divisae mari: Decem milibus stadiorum a Lybia Distantes.

The sailors gave a glowing account of these islands, their fertility, the graciousness of the climate, with soft dews and gentle showers to water the earth and make it abundant in fruits and vines. The rough Boreas and Aquilo have their anger subdued before they blow over these distant islands.

Two of these islands were separated from each other by a narrow channel. Here, says Plutarch, are the abodes of the blest described by Homer. "Hic igitur cum: audisset Sertorius micabilis eum cupido cæpit insulas eas adire incolere quæ & illic quiete vivere sine magistratibus & bellorum curis." Sertorius never realised his desire for retirement and was soon involved in new struggles.

The reader will observe that the lands described by the sailors are not yet called the Fortunate Islands, but are Homer's islands brought nearer for the immediate use of real men wearied with the exertions and vicissitudes of real wars. The distance given, if measured from the straits of Gades, and the description of two of the islands which well might be Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, are generally considered as identifying them with the

present Canary Islands. The visitation of the winds, Boreas from the north, and Aquilo from the east of north, seems to suggest land to the south of Europe.

Strabo, who wrote his books on geography in the first two decades of the first century, makes in his third book only a passing mention of the Fortunate Islands, called by him *Μακάρων νῆσοι*, the islands of the Blessed, and which he places "not far distant from the extremities of Mauritania over against Gades."

Pomponius Mela [1] is the first Latin author after Horace to mention these islands, and his reference is meagre in the extreme. In the chapter entitled "Atlantici Maris Ora et Insulæ," he speaks of them in the following words:

Contra fortunatæ insulæ abundant sua sponte genitis, & subinde aliis super aliis innascentibus nihil sollicitos alunt, Beatius quam aliæ urbes excultæ: una singulari duorum fontium ingenio maxime insignis, alterum qui gustavere risu solvuntur in mortem, ita affectis remedium est ex altero bibere.

Beyond the marvellous fertility of these islands and the antidotal character of certain of their waters, little information is obtained from this author. The important fact is that they were known as a group of accessible islands in the day of Pomponius Mela.

The elder Pliny, writing in the middle of the first century of our era, speaks of these islands and gives a relation of them as told by Juba,[2] one of the Kings of Mauritania, from which it

[1] We have followed modern scholars who place Mela in the early part of the first century under the Emperor Claudius. The text of Mela is filled with proper names of places and countries, but no historical events are recorded which would enable us to establish with exactness the period of his writing. An allusion to Britannia has by some been made to refer to a proposed visit to that northern island by Roman forces of the Emperor Claudius. The passage occurs in his third book under a division entitled *Hispanie et Septemtrionis Insulæ* and reads: *Britannia qualis sit quales que progeneret mox certiora & magis explorata dicentur.* That part of Africa called Mauritania was under Roman dominion during the reign of Claudius and a fleet was sent to Britannia to subdue that island. The character of his work indicates an earlier writing than that of Ptolemy. Other writers assign Pomponius Mela to the third century.

[2] This was Juba II., King of Mauritania in Africa. He was in Rome as a youth, having been captured when his father was defeated at Thapsus. Mauritania then became a Roman province, over which Sallust ruled as first Governor. As time went on, Juba so ingratiated himself with Augustus Cæsar by the graciousness of his manners that the Emperor gave him in marriage the hand of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antony and the Egyptian Queen, and returned him to his father's former possessions with the title of King. His literary abilities were considerable, and many writers quote from his works on history, the full texts of which are lost. He composed in poetry as well, and was the author of some dramatic writing.

appears that some of the islands had been inhabited. In this account, the name *Canaria* is given one of the islands because of the large number of immense dogs found upon it. In the description of another island, which has a mountain covered with perpetual snow, we easily recognised Tenerife,[1] whose mountain, a sleeping volcano, rears its peak 12,182 feet above the level of the sea.

" De Fortunatis inſulis. Lib. vi., cap. xxxii.

"Sunt qui ultra eas fortunatas putant eſſe: quaſdãq; alias: quarũ numero idem Seboſus etiã ſpatia cõplexus. Iuoniã abeſſe a gadibus. dccl.M.p. tradit. Ab ea tantundẽ ad occaſũ ueruſus pluuialiã caprariãq;. In pluuialia non eſſe aquam niſi ex hymbribus. ab iis.cc.l.M.p. Fortunatas contra leuam mauritãiæ. VIII.M.p.Oram ſolis uocari in conualle a conuexitate & planaſiam a ſpecie conuallis: circuitu.ccc.M.paſſuum. Arborum ibi proceritatem ad centũ quadrigĩta quattuor pedes adoleſcere. Iuba de fortunatis ita inquiſiuit: ut ſub meridiem poſitas eſſe ꝑpe occaſum a purpurariis.dcc.xxv.M. paſſuum: ſic ut cc.l. ſupra occaſum nauigetur. Deinde per ccc.lxxv.M.p. ortus petatur. Primam uocari ombrion nullis ædificiorũ ueſtigiis. habere ĩ montibus ſtagnũ. arbores ſimiles ferulæ: ex quibus aqua exprimaĩ ex nigris amara: ex candidioribus potui iucunda. Alteram inſulam iunoniã appellari. In ea ædiculam eſſe tantũ lapide extructam. Ab ea in uicino eodem nomĩe minorem. Deinde capariam: lacertis grandibus refertam. In conſpectu earum eſſe uĩguariam: quæ hoc nomen accæpit a perpetua niue nebuloſam. Proxima ei canariam uocari a multitudĩe canum ingentis magnitudinis. ex quibus perducti ſunt a Iuba duo: qui apparent ibi ueſtigia ædificiorum. Cum autem copia omnes pomorũ & auium omnis generis abundent: hanc & palmetis cariotas ferẽtibus ac nuce pinea abundare. Eſſe copiam quoq; mellis. Papyrum quoq; & ſiluros ĩ amnibus gigni. Infeſtari eas beluis quæ expellantur aſſidue putreſcentibus. At abunde orbe terrarũ extra intra indicato collecta in arctum menſura æquior uidetur." [2]

"There are some who think that beyond these[3] are the Fortunate

[1] Cadamosto on his voyage to Gomera in April, 1455, saw from a great distance this grand peak covered with ice and snow. He did not land on this island, but did land on Gomera and Ferro. He relates that at that time the islands of the Grand Canary, Palma and Tenerife, were in the possession of the Guanches, or natives.

It will also be remembered that Columbus himself saw the volcano in active operation on his first voyage on the night of August 24–25, 1492.

[2] This extract has been made from the edition printed in Treviso in 1479, and which is in the author's collection of incunabula. It was printed by Michael Manzoli and the corrector of the printing was the famous scholar, Jerome Benoni. This edition had also the careful emendations of Philippus Beroaldus.

[3] These first islands, referred to by Pliny, are the Madeira Islands, and Pliny refers to them as the islands of Mauritania and again as the Purpurariæ.

Islands and some think that they are elsewhere situated. Sebosus,[1] describing the number as well as the distances of these, relates that Junonia is an island seven hundred and fifty miles from Gades.[2] From these in going toward the west and at the same distance are Pluvialia and Capraria. In Pluvialia there is no water except that which comes from showers.[3] From these and opposite the left shore of Mauritania, toward the sun when in its eighth hour past noon, are the Fortunate Islands, one of which is called Planasia from its characteristics and another Convallis from the irregularities of the ground. The circumference of this is 300 miles. There are trees growing to the height of 144 feet. Juba has thus investigated concerning the Fortunate Islands: they are situated in the south almost west from the Purpurariæ[4] seven hundred and twenty-five miles[5] and then as one would navigate toward the west, two hundred and fifty miles. Thence one may direct his course toward the east by a journey of three hundred and seventy-five miles.[6] The first island is called Ombrios[7] with no traces of human habitations. Pools of water are formed from the mountains. There are trees like the giant-fennel from which a liquid exudes, bitter in taste from the black kind, but rather pleasant from the whiter sort.[8] Another island is called *Junonia:* in this is a small temple constructed of stone: from this and in the same neighbourhood is another called *Junonia the Lesser*: from thence one goes to *Capraria*, which is filled with large lizards: within sight of these is *Ninguaria*, which is foggy and derives

[1] Statius Sebosus was a Roman author who composed a book on the *Periplus* and another on the *Wonders of India*. Cicero speaks of him as the friend of Catullus, and thus we place him as flourishing about fifty years before the Christian era.

[2] The Cadiz of to-day.

[3] From *Ομβρος*. By some this island is thought to be the modern *Hiero*, or *Ferro*.

[4] These, as has been said above, are the Madeira Islands, and had their earliest name from Juba having established there a manufactory of purple dyes,—Gætulian purple, as we learn from Pliny in the preceding chapter.

[5] The translator from the Greek manuscripts of Pliny changed the measurements from the Greek stadium into the Roman passus. A passus was equal to five Roman feet, and a thousand passūs, or eight Greek stadia, made a Roman mile. A stadium would thus be equal to 125 passūs, or 625 Roman feet, or, in English measurement, 606 feet and 9 inches. The Greek stadium is arrived at by measuring the façade of the Parthenon at Athens, to which the architect is known to have given exactly 100 Greek feet. Thus a Greek foot is equal to $0^{m},308$, or 12.135 English inches.

[6] These sailing directions are puzzling, and one cannot hope to unravel the meaning of Pliny. Littré has sought to explain this by saying that in going from the Madeira Islands to the Fortunate Islands the course would be 250 miles westward, but in returning, because of the winds, it would require a course of 370 miles.

[7] This is the island of *Pluvialia*, or rainy island. Depending on this reading we interpret this island to be Ferro, which would then be the *first* island starting from the west for the homeward or eastward journey.

[8] This is probably the *Ferula glauca* of Linnæus. Pliny describes it more at length in his thirteenth book. Juvenal and Martial inform us that the Roman schoolmasters used its switches for the punishment of the scholars, and hence its name from *ferire*, to beat.

its name from the perpetual snow. Next to this is one called *Canaria* [1] from the multitude of dogs of gigantic size found there,—two of these were taken away by Juba. There they found traces of human habitations. But although all these islands abound in every kind of fruit and birds, this is full of date-bearing palms and the nuts of the pine. It also has plenty of honey. In the streams the papyrus-reed and fish [2] are found. These [islands] are infested with the carcasses of animals constantly thrown up by the sea. But having indicated with more than sufficient detail the places on the earth both within and without the lands, it would seem right to gather the distances into a narrow space.[3]

Solinus,[4] in the last chapter of his *Rerum Memorabilium Collectaneæ*, entitled "De Babylone & de Recursu ad Oceanum Atlanticum: in quo Insulæ Gorgades Hesperidesque atque Fortunatæ," closes his work with a description of the Fortunate Isles taken from Pliny, but with an enlargement of his text. The first island is called *Ombrion*, as Pliny has it, and the author says no vestiges of houses were found. Two kinds of ferulæ are mentioned, a black which exudes a bitter liquor, and a white kind more suitable for use. While there were no traces of habitations on the first island, Solinus says there were found on the

[1] The reader will find in the letter written by Guglielmo Coma to Syllacius, and reproduced in our present Work, that he speaks of Canarians to be found in the wild regions from Mount Atlas through the sands of Lybia, and that they were called Canarians because they seemed to eat as the dogs eat, fighting with them that they might share the carcass of some wild animal.

In one of the islands, Junonia Minor, a small temple of stone was found, but no figures of gods or objects of worship were seen except the figure of a man holding a ball in his hand, which was discovered by the expedition under Angiolino hereinafter related. The Egyptian god Anpu or Anubis, is always represented with the head of a dog or jackal, and was an object of universal worship among the Egyptians even into the Christian era. He performed the important office of presiding over the preparation of the mummy, and it was his duty to lead the embalmed body into the presence of the great Osiris. It may well have been that the dog-god was worshipped on these islands, but the explanation of Pliny that great dogs were actually found on the island and carried to King Juba seems definitely to fix the origin of the name of at least one of the islands and the subsequent designation of the entire group.

[2] Cuvier declares that this fish, the silurus, is not the sturgeon, as it was so long thought to be, but the *Silurus glanis*, called the "wels," or "schaid," by the Germans.

[3] It is difficult to say just what Pliny means by this, but it would seem that having virtually completed the geographical portion of his work and before turning to the description of living things, he proposed, in a sort of *résumé*, to give the distances of the places on the earth in relation to each other.

[4] Caius Julius Solinus was a Roman grammarian and poet who wrote in the first century, but after Pliny, since he seems to have borrowed most liberally from the *Natural History* of the latter. The edition of Solinus here used is that printed at Parma by Andres Portilia in 1480, the first edition having been printed at Venice in 1473 by Nicholas Jenson.

second island, *Junonia*,[1] little dwellings meanly built with pointed roofs. The third island[2], called by the same name, is bare of vegetation. The fourth island, *Capraria*, is filled with enormous lizards. In the zoölogy of these islands, while three varieties of lizards are at present found, nothing is recorded of any resembling the enormous specimens found in Africa and in India. The fifth island Solinus calls *Nivaria*, from the cloudy and cold atmosphere and because of its perpetual snow.[3]

Claudius Ptolemæus, writing about the middle of the second century of our era, is the first geographer to give a more definite location, however inexact, to the position of the Canaries. His work was translated from Greek into Latin and printed at Vicenza in Italy for the first time[4] in the year 1475. It is without maps, but it gives the latitude and longitude of all known places, countries, islands, towns, rivers, lakes, and mountains. Ptolemy began to count his degrees of longitude from the Canary Islands. At the end of the twelfth chapter of his first book he says:

Quare omnis longitudo terræ nobis cognitæ hoc est a meridiano

[1] Johannes Camers, who annotated some of the editions of Solinus, notably that printed at Vienna, Austria, in 1520, says the second island was so named after the goddess Juno. Camers consulted the early Greek manuscripts of Pliny's *Historia*, and scholars give weight to his notes and comments.

It is this edition which carries the famous map executed by Petrus Apianus, and which has the name *America* for the first time used in any engraved chart, unless recent alleged discoveries in Germany by Professor Fischer of the long lost Waldseemüller map shall deprive it of its honour.

[2] Camers says Martianus Capella asserts that the third island was called *Theoden*. Martianus lived in the second half of the fifth century, and was born in Africa. On the margin of a copy of Solinus in the author's collection of incunabula a cotemporaneous hand has inscribed the word *Nuda*, as if that were to identify the third island.

[3] Many of the early Pliny codices, says Camers, have the word written *Ningaria*, derived from *Ningendo*.

[4] The edition of *Ptolemy*, dated 1462, said to have been printed at Bologna, is spurious. The editor, Beroaldus, was only nine years of age in the year 1462. The printer, Dominicus de Lapis, is known not to have set up his press in that city until 1476. The geographical tables of Nicolaus Donis used in this edition were not prepared until 1468. Again, it has signatures, and this fact enables us to declare that it was not printed as early as 1462. The fact that the Vicenza edition of 1475 is without maps is of itself an argument against the issue of 1462. No printer, after maps had once been issued, would dare give to the public an edition without them. Moreover, the edition of 1478 alleges that Sweynheim, the engraver of the maps, was the *first* to exercise his art on copper plates, and these are found in the false edition. This last argument, however, is offset by the claim of the printer of the alleged 1462 edition, who in his Preface plumes himself on his engraved charts, and boasts of the discovery of engraving on copper as one boasted but a little time before of the invention of the art of printing. A complete collection of Ptolemies may be found in the Lenox Library, in the Ayers Library in Chicago and in the author's library.

designatio: seu terminante ab ultimo occasu insulas fortunatas usque ad seras: graduum centum ac Septuaginta & septem cum quarta [1] *annotatur.*

In the fourth book these islands and their geographical position are given as follows:

Et Fortunatæ Insulæ Sex Numero

	Long.	Lat.
Aprositus insula	1	16
Heræ hoc est Iunonis insula	1	15¼
Plutana insula	1	14¼
Casperia insula	1	12⅓
Canaria insula	1	12⅓
Pintuaria insula	1	10⅓

Nature has given the geographer an unchangeable circle girdling the earth from which he may count his degrees of latitude as he departs from it in going to the northward or to the southward. For his longitude he has had to fix for himself an arbitrary starting-place.

Ptolemy, then, in estimating distances eastward, fixed his starting-point in Ferro, that island of the Canary group situated farthest westward, out in the Atlantic Ocean. It was a purely arbitrary meridian or point of departure, and there being no land known to the westward, and all countries whose locations were to be established being to the eastward, it was a natural and wise selection for the time. For more than fifteen centuries this first terrestrial meridian selected by the Alexandrian geographer was accepted and used by most of the geographical writers. It was adopted by the Arabians [2] of the Middle Ages in their charts and maps. As late as 1634, Louis XIII. of

[1] Sometimes Ptolemy gives his degrees not only of longitude but of latitude in subdivisions of ⅓ and ⅙.

[2] All the Arabian maps have the west over on the right side. Accustomed to read from the right to the left, they completely changed the ordinary manner of reading a chart. The north is below; the south is at the top of the map; the east is found by looking to the left side, and the great unknown west stretched itself out on the right hand. The maps which have been preserved and which were made by Edrisi, Istakhri, Ibn Haoukal, and others, were all arranged in this manner, and, when presented in modern maps, they will invariably be found to have been reconstructed. In some of the later Arabian maps Mecca was the terrestrial centre for the faithful, as well as their spiritual centre, and from this position of that holy city there radiated geographical lines like the rays from a sun.

The Persian astronomer, Maschar, took Djamkout for his first meridian.

France ordered its exclusive use by French geographers.[1] To-day the French count degrees of longitude from their observatory in Paris. In the English-speaking world the calculations are made with the observatory at Greenwich as the starting point. In Russia the degrees are counted east and west of St. Petersburg. The Dutch, at one time, drew their first meridian through the very clouds around about the peak of Tenerife. The nations of the world would do well in the interest of unity to adopt a common meridian of longitude and there can be no better point of departure, counting always eastward until 360 degrees are accomplished, than that chosen by Ptolemy when he measured less than half the globe.

The reader will understand that the nomenclature given above and the latitude and longitude of these six islands are calculated by Ptolemy himself and not by the printer of the first edition, dated 1475, and that therefore they are to be referred to the second half of the second century and to measure the geographical knowledge of that early period.

Then for centuries the Fortunate Islands faded from the knowledge of men. Among the different nations were legends associating sometimes adventurous sailors and sometimes unfortunate mariners with strange islands out in the Atlantic. Sometime toward the middle of the eighth century, when all Spain was invaded by hordes from Africa, the *Seven Cities* became places of refuge for exiles from ancient Spain, who, with their families and possessions and presided over by seven bishops, or as the tale goes, by an archbishop and six other bishops, settled perhaps on these very islands and drew between themselves and the world the curtain of effacement.

The Arabian geographer, Edrisi, flourishing in the eleventh century, knew these islands as *Khalidat*, which in Latin found the phrase translated *Insulæ Perennes*, but the Arabic adjective is believed to be derived from *Khuld*, as applied to Paradise, and hence the equivalent of our term Fortunate Islands.

Another Arabian geographer, Yakouti, or, as he is often called, Bakoui, refers to these islands as *Dgialidat*, but his close description identifies them with the Fortunate Islands, or Canary Islands of to-day.

[1] Richelieu ordered that this meridian should pass through the *Punta de la Dehesa* on the island of Ferro at the north point of the extreme western wing.

In the twelfth century, while Lisbon was yet under the yoke of the Arabs, eight men of that nation known as the Almagrurins set sail to discover some island or islands in the Atlantic and swore they never would return until they found them. But they did return and reported that after thirty-five days' sailing to the south-west they came to an island to which they gave the name of *Sheep Island* (Dgezerat Alghanam), but they were unable, because of a bitter flavour, to eat the flesh of the animal for which the island was named. Journeying twelve days farther to the southward, they found an island whose inhabitants were of good size, whose skins were red, and whose hair was long, but thin. These characteristics seem to describe the native Guanches of the Canary Islands.

Another century passes and we find reference to a voyage made to the Canaries by a Genoese called Lanzarota Maroxello,[1] and to-day the most eastern island of the Canary group bears his name. It was more than a discovery. It was an occupation, for when Jean de Béthencourt first visited the island he found an old castle there said to have been built by Lanzarota. Francisco Petrarch, who was born in 1304, makes mention in his *De Vita Solitaria* of a Genoese expedition to the Fortunate Islands within the memory of man—*patrum memoria*. On the maps of the fourteenth century, particularly the *Portulano Mediceo*, dated 1351, and which is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, the island is called Lancerote and over it is a Genoese shield *D'Argent à la Croix de Gueules*. As the map was made for a Florentine possessor, it is evidence that the Republic of Genoa's claim of discovery or possession was admitted.

The passage from Petrarch, which we give below, will fix the date of the Genoese occupation at about the year 1275. We have taken it from an edition of the works of Petrarch printed at Bâle, by Johannes Amerbach, 1496. Moreover, this passage will fix for the student of Petrarch the exact date when the great poet found himself in Avignon.

De solitariis trans aquilonem montesq; Rhiphæos[2] *ac gentem-hyperboream & cæteras insulas existentes:* Lib. ii., tract. vi., cap. iii.

[1] The Genoese books on Nobility say that the family of Maroxello was of French extraction. From the commencement of the twelfth century the name occurs among the magistrates of the Republic, while at least three of the family,—Manfroy, Anthoine-Jude, and Charlot,—under Philippe de Valois, commanded the Genoese ships serving the King of France. [2] Riphæi, or Rhiphæi, lofty mountains in the north of Scythia.

"Concerning solitude beyond the north and the Riphean mountains and the northern people and certain other islands."

". . . Prætereo fortunatas inſulas: quæ extremo ſub occidẽte ut nobis & uicioreſ & notiores: ſic q̃ longiſſime uel ab Indis abſũt uel ab arcto terra ml'to: ſed imprimis Flacci lyrico carmine Nobilis cui? peruetuſta fama eſt & recẽs: Eo ſiquidem & patr̃ memoria Ianuẽſium armata claſſis penetrauit: Et nuper Clemens ſextus illi patriæ principem dedit: quem uidimus Hiſpanorũ & Gallorum regum mixto ſanguine: generoſum quendã uirum: Qui meminiſti enim dum eo die corona ac ſceptro per urbem ſpectandus incederet: repẽte tantus coelo imber effluxit: atq̃ ita domum madidus redijt: ut omen eſſet incubuiſſe illi ueræ pluuialis & aquoſæ patriæ principatum. Cui quidem in dominio extra orbem ſito: qualiter ſucceſſerit non noui: Scio tamen q̃ multa ſcribunt̃ & ferunt̃ propter quæ non plene fortunatarũ cognomini terrarũ fortuna conueniat. Cæterum gentem illam præ cũctis ferme mortalib? ſolitudine gaudere: moribus tamen incultam: adeoq̃ non abſimilem bæluis: ut naturæ magis inſtinctu: q̃ electiõe ſic agentem: nõ tam ſolitariæ uiuere: q̃ in ſolitudinibus errare: ſeu cum feris ſeu cum gregibus ſuis dicas. Sed iam ſatis curioſitate hac longe lateq̃ diſiũctos mũdi angulos ꝑuagatus ſum: Quorũ omniũ nõ apud me: qui lecta uel audita refero: ſed apud auctores rerum primarios fides erit. Ego autem his decurſis ad clariora & nobis notiora ꝑgredior."

"I pass on to the Fortunate Islands, at the farthest point in the west and which are both nearer and better known to us. They are the farthest distant from the Indies, as well as from the extreme north. A land, the report concerning which is very old in the writings of many authors and among the earliest from the lyric song of the illustrious Flaccus and our latest report thereof is from an armed Genoese fleet which within the memory of our fathers went as far as those islands and lately Clement VI gave that country a Prince whom we ourselves have seen, a personage with the mixed blood of Spanish and French Kings and of certain other noble men: whom you will remember as having on that very day gone strutting through the city, displaying his crown and sceptre. A shower from Heaven suddenly descended and so, wet to the skin, he returned to his house, and thus an omen seemed to weigh down upon him as if he was to be ruler of a damp and rainy land. I do not know if he has succeeded in establishing himself in his principality in the distant region, but I do know that much has been written and related showing that the Goddess Fortune has not suited circumstances to the name of the Fortunate Islands. Now the people who dwell there delight in solitude beyond almost all mankind; yet they are uncivilised in their mode of life; so much so that they are almost like wild beasts, living in this manner more by the instinct of their nature than by choice. You may say that they live not so much solitary lives as that they wander about in the wilderness [in solitary places] with wild beasts or with their own flocks. But I have now, led by curiosity, wandered enough, far and wide, about these remote corners of the world,

—not in all of them in person,—I only repeat what I have read and heard; but confidence may be placed in the authorities. Now from these digressions I proceed to things which are more important and more familiar."

In the year 1285 a Genoese expedition of two ships, under Tedisio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldo, started, as some say, with the hope of reaching the Indies by way of the west. Whether or not this expedition, which was unfortunate in its results, touched at the Canaries is not certain, but when in 1341 King Alfonso IV. of Portugal resolved to send an expedition to explore the islands, he already had knowledge of them and their relative situations obtained from previous expeditions by other nations. This last expedition was under a Florentine captain, Angiolino del Tegghia de Corbizzi, and consisted of three caravels. It set out from Lisbon on November 15, 1341, and made directly for the Canaries. They examined the whole of the archipelago and brought away four of the natives, some goat skins, tallow, oil, and dyewood.[1] When Clement VI. was Pope, by a Bull dated December 17, 1344, and issued from the See at Avignon, he bestowed the Canary Islands with the title of Prince of Fortune upon Don Luis de la Cerda, a descendant of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile and the grand-nephew of Saint-Louis, of France. The Pope required that Don Luis should annually give to the Church four hundred golden florins, pure and of the weight of Florentine coins. The islands named in the Bull were Canaria, Ningraria, Pluviaria, Capraria, Junonia, Embronea, Atlantica, Hesperida, Cernent, Gorgonas, and Gauleta. These islands include most of the ocean lands known to antiquity and described by poet as well as geographer. Clement VI. wrote to the Sovereigns of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Sicily, to the Dauphin of Vienna, and to the Doge of Genoa, announcing his

[1] When the expedition returned, one of its pilots, probably Nicoloso de Recco, a Genoese, wrote down the results, and this found its way into the hands of Giovanni Boccacio, who introduced it into a sort of memorial, the holograph manuscript of which was not discovered until 1827, when it was published by Sebastian Ciampi, in Florence. Its title sounds quite Columbian, *De Canaria et de Insulis Reliquis ultra Hispaniam in Oceano Noviter Repertis.* This account is found in the *Natural History of the Canaries*, by Barker & Webb.

On the island of Canary, Pliny's and Ptolemy's Canaria, they found a temple in which was a stone statue of a man with a ball in his hand, which they carried away to Lisbon.

The dyewood was the orchil, a lichen which yields a splendid purple dye, still imported from the Canaries as well as from the Cape Verde and other Atlantic islands.

gift to Don Luis. On February 12, 1345, Alfonso, the King of Portugal, replied that he had already sent expeditions to the Canaries and that it was his purpose to conquer and colonise them. The King referred evidently to the expedition under Angiolino. Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, relates that when the English Ambassadors at the Holy See learned of this gift of islands, they hastened to send the news to Edward III. of England, believing, as Heylin quaintly says, "some transport had been made of the British Islands, than which they thought that none could better deserve the name of the Fortunate Islands." The title of Don Luis de la Cerda, whose ignominious parade in the streets of Avignon is related by Petrarch, never was perfected by the occupation of the islands or by the payment of a single Florentine coin to the treasury of the Pope. King Edward III., and his son, the Black Prince, soon after invaded France, on the pretext that the King was the nearest male heir to the late King Charles IV. of France, and that the kingdom was his by right. Philip VI., the reigning King of France, had need of all his valiant subjects, and Don Luis de la Cerda was recalled from Avignon to the North for duty in the King's army.

There was published at Paris, in 1842, a manuscript by a native of the Canaries, Don Pedro del Castillo, in which there is an account of a voyage to the islands by Francisco Lopez, whose expedition sailing from Seville and bound for Galicia was driven out of its course by a storm and was forced to take refuge on the island of Grand Canary. The date of this landing is June 5, 1382, and the date is confirmed by a later expedition. Lopez and his companions numbered thirteen, and for seven years they lived on the islands in apparent peace, teaching the natives that form of knowledge which corrupts as it civilises and foreshadowing the inevitable conflict between the control of their own affairs by a native population and the supremacy of even a handful of European adventurers. The conflict came and the thirteen Europeans were killed by the islanders. While some believe that an element of retributive justice entered into this execution, there are those who count the unfortunates as among the saints and martyrs of the world. Five of these thirteen victims are said to have been priests, and the members of the Franciscan brotherhood in the island have erected to

their memory two chapels and accorded them the honours due the Christian martyr who dies for his faith. It is natural to suppose that during these seven years no other expedition had visited the islands or the Europeans would have escaped. Navarrete gives an account of another expedition sailing from Seville between the years 1393 and 1399.[1]

In that part of old Normandy whose ancient capital was Caudebec are the ruins of an old château. The estate was once called Grainville-la-Teinturière, but only a few stones from which roses greet one and an old door covered with the ivy tell the traveller where to look for what was once a great castle, whose owners for generations had been great lords and holders of important fiefs. The old chapel which had once adorned the estate was gone, but in its place at some time in the eighteenth century a pious hand had erected a wooden church. Here one day a young priest[2] scarcely passed from the seminary was

[1] "The expedition to the Canaries, which some refer to the year 1393 and others to the year 1399, is of the greatest importance to our subject. Some Andalusians and other adventurers of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, who were associated in Seville, with permission of Henry III. prepared a squadron of five ships, with which they examined a part of the coasts of Africa and those of Fuerteventura, Canaria, Hierro, Gomera, and Tenerife, and, falling upon Lanzarote, they plundered its inhabitants, captured the king, the queen, and 170 islanders; and with the skins, animals, and wax, from which they derived great profit, they returned to Seville, informing the King of the facility of the conquest and exciting in others the greed to undertake such lucrative expeditions.

When Jean de Béthencourt made a conquest of these islands a few years later, through the knowledge he had received of them from certain French adventurers who had visited them in company with the Spaniard, Alvaro Becerra, it is shown that he rendered homage to the King, Henry III. of Castile, begging from him protection, aid, and provisions. King Henry having died, he repeated the oath and vassalage to King John II. and Queen Catherine, mother and guardian of the King, in Valladolid, June 25, 1412, for the lordship of the Canaries, conquered and to be conquered; and certainly without such powerful assistance, Béthencourt would not have been able to overcome the resistance of the islanders or quiet the disturbances and quarrels of his companions and countrymen. It is most notable that the coasts of Africa, previously visited by the Norman adventurers as far as the Cape of Sierra Leona, fixed the attention of Béthencourt even before concluding the conquest of the islands; and with a frigate and fifteen men he went from Cape Cantin [Cabo-Cantin] as far as the river Oro, which farther on is called Bojador, making some captives, acquiring information in regard to the ports, and projecting the construction of some fortresses in order to put the country under contribution, which excited the zeal of the King of Fez to the point of preparing an armament to invade the islands. The Castillians did not cease to frequent the route to these islands, and in this manner they acquired great knowledge and certain possessions on the coast of Africa."—Navarrete, vol. i., pp. xxiv.–xxvi.

[2] This was the Abbé Cochet, who was afterwards named Superintendent of Historic Monuments for La Seine-Inférieure, and whose first office was to erect in the

making a pilgrimage and gratifying a taste for study and research. An ancient dame guided his steps down the little church and told him that here lay a lord of high degree, and that yonder monument covered the remains of the lady of the manor, and there were effigies of many lords and of many ladies. Finally his eyes fell on a broken stone, a piece that had once been a tablet, but from which an inscription, all save a few letters, had been effaced by time. "And this," said the priest, "and this, what may it be?" "Ah, Monsieur," replied the dame, "I know not, save that it was once the tablet and the tomb of the King." "King," cried the priest, "surely, no King ever was buried here." "I cannot tell," she answered, "only always have I heard say that a great King lies somewhere here, a King who ruled some distant islands these four hundred years and more ago, and that this stone came from off his tomb." Then the young student knew that he was in the burial-place of Jean IV., Sire de Béthencourt and first King of the Canary Islands. Genoa, Portugal, Spain, and France each had sent expeditions to the Canaries and each had established claims to its islands, but it was destined for a Frenchman, with French followers, although under sovereignty to another country, first to attempt the conquest of the islands, to establish colonies and to open and to maintain intercourse with continental lands. Jean de Béthencourt, like Columbus, was drawn by the mysterious influences which had their home in the distant West. Unlike Columbus, he knew whither he was going and pointed his astrolabe over no uncertain sea.[1] Like Columbus, he had no thought of pillage, of enslaving natives, of exterminating a people. Unlike Columbus, he was a man of high birth and of a rich patrimony. Like Columbus, he entertained the hope of

little chapel of Grainville a monument of black marble, bearing these words in letters of gold:

"Á la Mémoire
de Jehan
De Béthencourt,
Navigateur Célèbre
Et Roi des Canaries
inhmué dans le Chœur
de cette Église,
En 1425.
Priez Dieu Pour Lui."

[1] In the Muséum of Antiquities of Rouen, what is believed to be the actual astrolabe used by this navigator is pointed out to the curious traveller.

converting a heathen people to the Christian faith and of erecting new booths in the guild-hall of the world's commerce. The occupation and conquest of the Canary Islands was one step, taken at the very beginning of the marvellous fifteenth century, which led at the close of that century to the discovery of the New World. The work of Jean de Béthencourt was a preliminary movement in the great action culminating in the American discovery. Separated by nearly a century in time, they were both working on the same loom and with the same threads.

On the first day of May, in the year 1402, there departed from the port of La Rochelle this famous expedition headed by Jean de Béthencourt and his lieutenant, Gadiffer de la Salle, and counting in all some eighty persons. The unities of the drama of discovery and conquest demanded that Spanish land should furnish the shore of departure for such an expedition, and so contrary winds drove them to Vivero, in the Bay of Biscay, where they tarried eight days and thence made their way to Cadiz. The sailors and merchants in Cadiz and in Seville greatly discouraged the crew and the hearts of seven and twenty failed them so that they abandoned the expedition. The valiant ones departed from Cadiz, putting boldly out to sea,[1] spending three days in waiting for the wind and then five more in reaching the northern part of the island of Lanzarote. On this island they built a fortress called Rubicon and then, while Béthencourt returned to Spain for assistance, Gadiffer de la Salle made the tour of the other islands. No ordinary nobleman was strong enough of himself to hold land in sovereignty and again, like Columbus, Jean de Béthencourt, was obliged to apply not to the sovereign of his own land,[2] but to a foreign Prince for aid and protection. To Henry III., of Castile then, Béthencourt gave his islands and received them again to hold under the sovereignty of the Spanish Crown. When Henry died, his Queen, Catherine of Lancaster, acting for her infant son, John II., confirmed Béthencourt in his possession

[1] The expression in the old manuscript is "se myrent en haute mer." It shows that the Normans were accustomed at that epoch to head their vessels for the west and south in open sea and not to follow the coasts and sides of the African continent.

[2] Charles VI. of France was in such a mental condition, and his realm was so disturbed by political factions and foreign attack, that no help could be expected from him.

and created him King of the Canary Islands. Numbered among the members of Béthencourt's first expedition were two priests of Normandy, Frère Pierre Bontier of Saint Jouin de Marnes and Frère Jean le Vernier. Together they kept a journal of the expedition, of the first landing on the islands, and of their subsequent conquest and settlement. The manuscript was printed for the first time in the early part of the seventeenth century, and subsequently by Richard Henry Major [1] in English, and in French by Gabriel Gravier.[2] The original manuscript [3] is still preserved by the descendants of Béthencourt in Normandy.

The islands appear under modern names for the first time on any engraved map in the *Ptolemy* of 1513.[4] Instead of representing them as running in a straight line from north to south, as in the earlier engraved maps, an attempt has been made to place them in their true relative positions. In the text and in the older map of the African continent the nomenclature given by Pliny and Ptolemy is retained, but in the large map entitled *Tabula Moderna Prime Patris Aphricæ* the islands are named, counting from the east to the west, Lansaroto, Forteventura, Chanaria, Tanariffa, Gomera, de Palma, and de Ferro. These last two islands are separated on the map by the Tropic of Cancer.

As the islands are of volcanic origin, so they are subject to physical changes and doubtless the face of each since they were first discovered has been much altered by time and the elements. There have been periods when famine and pestilence have almost depopulated one or more of these islands, and many will agree with Petrarch that fortune has not fully maintained the richness of their poetical name.

The story of the conquest is the inevitable story of progress:

[1] Printed by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1872.

[2] Printed at Rouen in 1874.

[3] Gravier describes this precious manuscript, which, while it is called an original, was probably a copy made about 1482 from the holograph journal of the Fathers Bontier and Vernier. It is a volume thirty centimetres high by twenty wide, is written on paper, the binding being somewhat worn. The relation of the conquest fills eighty-three leaves, and after this is an account of the family of Béthencourt made at a subsequent date. Each chapter begins with a large letter made in red colour. For the most part the heads of the chapters have vignettes made with pen in ink. These figures and pictures are intended to describe the inhabitants of the island and the scenes incident to the conquest.

[4] This is the celebrated edition of *Ptolemy* which has the Admiral's map, and which is known as the Waldseemüller map.

See Author's *Continent of America*.

assault and resistance; courage and weakness; loyalty and treachery; benevolence and robbery; the propagation of the faith and brutal inhumanity; the cross a symbol of hope and yet appearing to the despairing native like a four-pointed sword; then the triumph of the stronger and the subjection, wasting, extinction of a people and of a race.

The sovereignty of Spain is over the islands of Canary to-day as it was when Jean de Béthencourt planted the banner of Castile, almost the last as they were the earliest colonial possessions of the proud and imperious Spaniard.

CHAPTER LVII

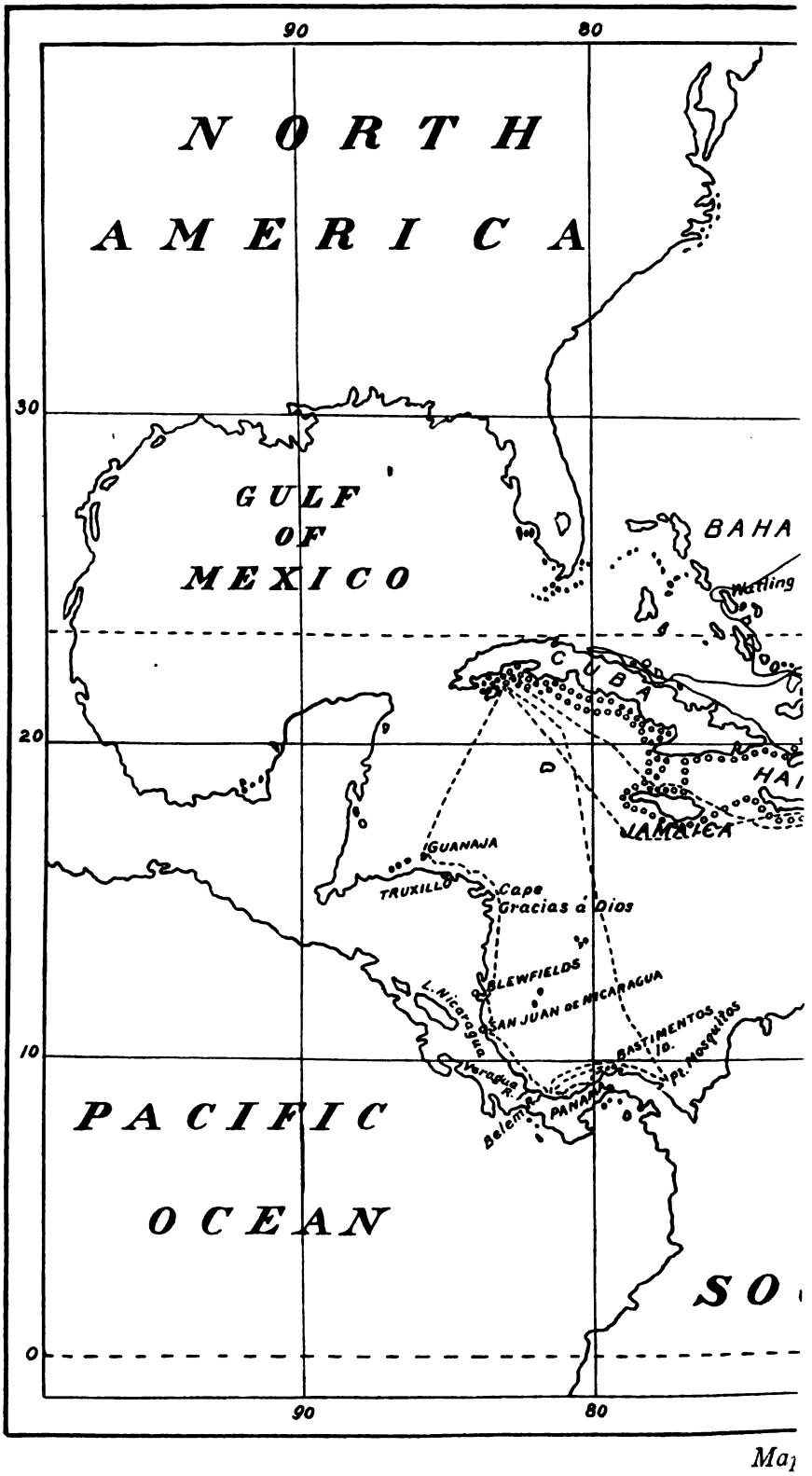
THE JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE

It is intended that the narration of the first voyage shall flow from the account of the voyage and of the discovery written by Columbus himself. We find the expedition starting from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492, and immediately the prudent navigator, realising that he was to compile the most momentous log-book ever touched by hand of sailor, began to enter the object of his voyage, the lofty purpose of his Sovereigns, their distinguished favour to himself, and to record, day by day and almost hour by hour, the occurrences and events which met him on his way.

Friar Bartolomé de las Casas had in his possession, among many other of Christopher Columbus's papers, his original holograph *Journal*. Regarding it as more or less discursive and voluminous, he made an abridged copy of this *Journal*, sometimes quoting the exact words of Columbus, but for the most part describing the daily events in the third person. It is this abridged *Journal*, consisting of seventy-six closely written folios, which Martin Fernandez de Navarrete published in 1825, and which was imperfectly translated into English and published in Boston in 1827. But when Las Casas wrote his *Historia* he frequently incorporated more matter from the original *Journal* than appears in the abridged *Journal*. In some instances the fuller account is of grave importance. We have followed the abridged *Journal* and when Las Casas has inserted added matter, we have placed it in a note.[1]

[1] "Having perfected all his preparations, Thursday, August 2, 1492, Christopher Columbus ordered all his people to embark, and the next day, Friday, which was the 3rd of the same month of August, half an hour before sunrise, he ordered the sails raised and went out of the harbour and bar which is called Saltes, because that river of Palos is so named."—*Historia*, chapter xxxv.

This is followed by the prologue.


90
80
NORTH
AMERICA
30
GULF
OF
MEXICO
BAHA
Watling
CUBA
HA
JAMAICA
20
GUANAJA
TRUXILLO
Cape
Gracias à Dios
BLEWFIELDS
L. Nicaragua
SAN JUAN de NICARAGUA
BASTIMENTOS
10.
Pt. MOSQUITOS
Nicaragua R.
PANAMA
Belem
10
PACIFIC
OCEAN
SO
0
90
80

Ma

THIS IS THE FIRST VOYAGE

and the courses and route which the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus followed, when he discovered the Indies; summarily arranged,[1] except as to the Prologue which he addressed to the Sovereigns and which literally commences in this manner:

IN NOMINE D. N. JESU CHRISTI

(Literally Translated)

Because, Most Christian and very exalted and very excellent and very powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains and of the Islands of the Sea, our Lords, in this present year of 1492 after your Highnesses had made an end to the war of the Moors, who were reigning in Europe, and having finished the war in the very great city of Granada, where in this present year on the 2nd day of the month of January, I saw the Royal banners of your Highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of the said City: and I saw the Moorish King come out to the gates of the City and kiss the Royal hands of your Highnesses, and the hands of the Prince, my Lord: and then in that present month, because of the information which I had given your Highnesses about the lands of India, and about a Prince who is called Great Khan, which means in our Romance language, King of Kings,—how he and his predecessors had many times sent to Rome to beg for men learned in our Holy Faith that they might[2] be instructed therein, and that the Holy

[1] Bartolomé de las Casas incorporated in chapter xxxv. of his *Historia* the Prologue to the *Journal* of Christopher Columbus. The original *Journal*, every word of which was in the Admiral's proper hand, was before the author of the *Historia*. This holograph *Journal* is now lost. It was undoubtedly voluminous and discursive. Into it Columbus poured his thoughts, his feelings, his knowledge, and his dreams. To the mind of the historian it sadly needed editing. Las Casas was, perhaps, as well fitted for this work as any man. He was familiar with every phase of the discoveries, the early exploration, and the settlements of the New World. He knew the Discoverer himself: he knew his brothers and his sons. He was fearless and independent, and, so far as his temperament permitted him, he was impartial. But we wish the *Journal* had been incorporated in his work just as it came from the Admiral's hand. Instead of this, we have passages taken from the *Journal* word by word, other passages abridged by Las Casas and given in his own language, and still other passages in which the reader must determine for himself whether the historian is quoting the sentiments of the Admiral or his own. The short Prologue with which Columbus opens his *Journal* is given verbatim by Las Casas.

[2] It is important for the reader to remember that this information about the Great Khan was communicated by Paolo Toscanelli to Fernam Martins, a Canon of Lisbon, in a letter written him from Florence, June 25, 1474, a copy of which was sent some years afterward by this Florentine philosopher to Columbus, who was then in Lisbon. The purport of this letter was that the lands of India could be reached by sailing due west from Portugal, and he uses the very expressions employed by Columbus in relation to the *prince called Great Khan which means in our language the King of Kings*. Attention is here called to this matter because, as we have already

Father had never furnished them, and so, many peoples believing in idolatries and receiving among themselves sects of perdition, were lost;—your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes, loving the Holy Christian faith and the spreading of it, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet and of all idolatries and heresies, decided to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said regions of India, to see the said Princes and the peoples and lands, and learn of their disposition, and of everything, and the measures which could be taken for their conversion to our Holy Faith: and you ordered that I should not go to the east by land, by which it is customary to go, but by way of the west, whence until to-day we do not know certainly that any one has gone.[1] So that, after having banished all the Jews from all your Kingdoms and realms, in the same month of January, your Highnesses ordered me to go with a sufficient fleet to the said regions of India[2]: and for that purpose granted me great favours and ennobled me, that from then henceforward I might entitle myself *Don* and should be High Admiral of the Ocean-Sea and Viceroy and perpetual Governor of all the islands and continental land which I might discover and acquire, and which from now henceforward might be discovered and acquired in the Ocean-Sea, and that my eldest son should succeed in the same manner, and thus from generation to generation for ever after: and I started from the city of Granada on Saturday, the 12th day of the month of May in the same year 1492: I came to the village of Palos, which is a sea-port, where I fitted out three vessels, very suitable for a similar undertaking: and I left the said port, well supplied with a large quantity of provisions and with many seamen, on the 3rd day of the month of August in the said year on a Friday[3] at the half hour before sunrise, and took my way to the

seen, some writers have tried to show that the Toscanelli correspondence was a fabrication, the result of a conspiracy after the death of Columbus on the part of Bartholomew Columbus, Ferdinand Columbus, and Las Casas, all interested in destroying the force of the so-called Pilot story (which story made Columbus simply a follower of some unknown sailor driven to the Western lands by hostile winds, and who, dying in the house of Columbus, left the latter his charts with carefully plotted courses) and substituting for this legend a correspondence with a scientist, whose sagacious theories coincided with those of Columbus and confirmed him in his practical views. This passage indicates that Columbus had Toscanelli's letter in mind when he wrote this Prologue.

[1] Here we have an assertion by Columbus that no one (and, therefore, no shipwrecked or storm-tossed pilot) had ever gone that way before.

The reader will store this passage in his memory because it is the testimony of the most important witness in the case of Toscanelli *versus* the Huelva Pilot.

[2] Navarrete notices the apparent disagreement of dates since the decree of the Spanish Sovereigns banishing the Jews was issued, March 30, 1492, and the Capitulation with Columbus was executed April 17. 1492; and the order for equipping the expedition was issued April 30, 1492. Nevertheless, it was in the very first days of January that Columbus was promised help, a virtual agreement existing, and it is certain that the expulsion of the Jews was determined long before the actual decree was promulgated.

[3] Friday, the sixth day of the week, the day of our Lord's crucifixion, has long been regarded as an unlucky day. Soames, in his *Anglo-Saxon Church*, repeats the tradition that Adam and Eve ate of the forbidden fruit on a Friday and died on a

Canary Islands of your Highnesses, which are in the said Ocean-Sea, in order to set out on my voyage from there and sail until I arrived at the Indies,[1] and make known the message of your Highnesses to those Princes, and fulfil the commands which had thus been given me: and for this purpose, I decided to write everything I might do and see and which might take place on this voyage, very punctually from day to day, as will be seen henceforth. Also, Lords and Princes, besides describing each night what takes place during the day, and during the day, the sailings of the night, I propose to make a new chart for navigation, on which I will locate all the sea and the lands of the Ocean-Sea, in their proper places, under their winds; and further, to compose a book and show everything by means of drawing, by the latitude from the equator and by longitude from the west, and above all, it is fitting that I forget sleep, and study the navigation diligently, in order to thus fulfil these duties, which will be a great labour.—

Friday, August 3.

Friday, August 3, 1492, at 8 o'clock we started from the bar of Saltes[2]:

Friday. But Friday is peculiarly an American day. Columbus sailed from Palos on Friday, August 3, 1492; discovered land in the New World on Friday, October 12, 1492; departed from the island of Española to return to Spain, Friday, January 4, 1493; and on Friday, March 14, 1493, the successful adventurer anchored the *Niña* in the river before Palos.

[1] In the controversy over Columbus and his project, this passage is of momentous importance. While in the Capitulation,—the agreement between Christopher Columbus and the Sovereigns,—dated April 17 and April 30, 1492, reference is made only to the prospective discovery of islands and mainlands in the Ocean-Sea, the entry in the *Journal* discloses that the expedition was equipped for a voyage to the Indies, to whose Princes, upon his arrival, Columbus was to make known the messages of his Sovereigns. The omission of this final purpose in the Capitulation was because of its irrelevancy, and because it was fully included and incorporated in other papers and documents.

That he hoped and expected to find lands *en route*, justifying the formal Capitulation, is evident from the entry a few lines farther on in the Prologue, where he says he will "make a new chart for navigation on which I will locate all the sea and the lands of the Ocean-Sea."

[2] *Saltes.* An island formed by two arms of the river Odiel, in front of the village of Huelva. It was populated at least since the twelfth century, continuing its identity to the year 1267, in which year the King, Don Alonso the Wise, divided the territory of the village of Saltes from that of Huelva. It is unknown when it was depopulated, since, although in the *Suma de Geografia* of Martin Fernandez de Enciso, printed in 1519, mention is made of that village, it is known that at that time the church which was adjudged to the people of Huelva alone remained, which denotes that there was no longer a population. A very long time could not have passed before the church was ruined, since to preserve its memory a hermitage was founded in Huelva with the title of Nuestra Señora de Saltes, in which a cross is preserved, a relic of the parochial church. Vestiges of the village yet exist upon the island, and its territory is divided into cultivated fields, pasture lands, and mountains reserved for small game. It is the property of the Marquises of Ayamonte, who hold it with the title of Counts of Saltes. (Opinion of Don Josef Ceballos at the beginning of *Huelva Illustrada*, by the Licentiate Don Juan de Mora, printed in Seville in the year 1762.)

we went with a strong sea-breeze 60 miles, which are 15 leagues,[1] toward the south, until sunset: afterwards to the south-west and to the south, quarter south-west, which was the way to the Canaries.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4.

We went to the south-west, quarter south.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 5.

We went on our way, more than 40 leagues between day and night.

MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

The helm[2] of the caravel *Pinta*, upon which was Martin Alonso Pinzón, broke or became disjointed: this was believed and suspected to have been caused by ones Gomes Rascon and Cristobal Quintero, who owned the caravel, because that voyage was displeasing to them. The Admiral says that before he left, they had discovered the aforesaid men concerned in certain plots and intrigues, as they say. The Admiral was greatly disturbed there, on account of not being able to aid the said caravel without endangering himself [his own vessel] and says that he became less anxious from knowing that Martin Alonso Pinzón was a brave and intelligent person: finally, between day and night they went 29 leagues.[3]

TUESDAY, AUGUST 7.

The helm of the *Pinta* again became disjointed and they repaired it and went in search of the island of Lanzarote, which is one of the Canary Islands, and they went 25 leagues between day and night.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8.

The pilots of the three caravels differed in opinions as to where they were, and the Admiral came nearest to the truth and wished to go to the Grand Canary to leave the caravel *Pinta*, as she was getting into bad con-

[1] Columbus used Roman or Italian miles, which are of lesser length than Spanish miles, reckoning four Italian miles to a league.

[2] The word used here is "gobernario," which means the rudder or helm.

[3] August 6.—Under this date Las Casas describes the accident to the *Pinta* in the same terms and continues:

"They arrived in sight of the Grand Canary in a matter of seven days, on the coast of which he ordered the caravel *Pinta* to remain, because she was leaking badly, and on this account it was extremely necessary to beach her on the Canary. Christopher Columbus, with the other caravel, went to Gomera and after many delays and struggles returned to Canary to the port of Gaudo, which is good, to repair the *Pinta*, where by night and day with great solicitude and inestimable labours he did so and returned with her to Gomera, Sept. 2. Christopher Columbus says here that one night when he was going near Tenerife, so much fire came out of the peak of the mountain, which as has been said is one of the highest known in the world, that it was a very wonderful thing. The people under all these labours and inconveniences which were offered them, did not cease to murmur and show reluctance about the journey and commence to feel greater difficulties."

dition on account of the helm and was leaking and he wished to obtain another caravel there, if one could be found. They could not make the Grand Canary that day.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 9.

The Admiral was not able to reach Gomera until Sunday in the night, and Martin Alonso remained on that coast of the Grand Canary by order of the Admiral, because he was not able to navigate. Afterwards the Admiral reached Canaria (or Tenerife) and they repaired the *Pinta* very well, with much labour and great efforts on the part of the Admiral, Martin Alonso and the others: and finally they came to Gomera. They saw a great fire issue from the mountains of the island of Tenerife of which the greater part is very high.[1] They made the sails of the *Pinta* round, as they were lateen sails.[2] He returned to Gomera, Sunday, Sept 2, with the *Pinta* repaired.

The Admiral says that many honourable Spaniards, inhabitants of the island of Hierro, swore that they were on Gomera with Doña Inez Peraza, mother of Guillen Peraza, who was afterward the first Count of Gomera, and that each year they saw land to the west of the Canaries [which is to the west] and others from Gomera affirmed the same thing under oath. The Admiral says here that he remembers that being in Portugal in the

[1] Humboldt remarks that Columbus is the first voyager to fix the date of an eruption of this volcano. Alvise de la Cadamosto, half a century before this, had seen the peak of Tenerife in going to Gomera, but it does not then appear to have been in active eruption. The exact date at which this eruption was observed by Columbus is not to be determined from the abridged *Journal*. Ferdinand Columbus, who, of course, had his father's papers, gives the exact date as August 23, 1492. It is from his account that we learn of the efforts of Columbus to replace the *Pinta* with a more serviceable vessel. If we may believe this account, Columbus arrived off the Canaries on August 9, 1492, but because of contrary winds he could not land on the Grand Canary until three days later. He left there Martin Alonzo Pinzón, with orders to seek a caravel to take the place of the *Pinta*, and he himself went on to Gomera, at which he arrived, August 12, with the same purpose in view in case Pinzón failed in his efforts. At this port he was told that Beatrix de Bobadiglia, the Governess of the Island, was expected back from the Grand Canary, and that she had a vessel of forty tons equipped for a long voyage which he might obtain. After waiting two days, finding that a boat was setting out for the Grand Canary, he sent a messenger to tell Pinzón to repair the caravel and that he would shortly join him. Some days having passed without any word having come from Pinzón, on August 23, 1492, Columbus started to discover what had become of him. On the way he met with the boat on board of which was his messenger, and which had not been able to reach its destination because of the stormy weather. He took off his messenger and passed that night near the High Rock of Tenerife. Humboldt adopts this date as the time of his observations of the eruption; but the fiery top of the peak of Teyde, 12,182 feet above the sea, must have been visible from almost any position in which Columbus found himself since August 9. The sight of this mountain in flames, according to Ferdinand, aroused the fears of the crew, but it is extremely unlikely that sailors who had seen Ætna and Vesuvius would have regarded this spectacle as at all supernatural.

[2] Lateen sails—*vela latina*—were broad and triangular in shape.

year 1484, a man came from the island of Madeira to the King to beg him for a caravel in order to go to this land [1] which he saw, which he swore he saw each year and always in the same manner: and he also says he remembers that the same was said in the Azores Islands, and that all were agreed as to the route, the appearance and size.[2] Having then taken water and wood and meat, and the other things which the men had, whom the Admiral left on Gomera when he went to the Island of Canaria to repair the caravel *Pinta*, he finally set sail from the said island of Gomera with his three caravels on Thursday, Sept 6.[3]

[1] May not this be the original of the Pilot story so far as it relates to Columbus? The date, 1484, is that given by the Inca, Garcilasso, for the occurrence.

[2] "On the death of Fernan Peraza in 1452, the dominion of the Canaries remained to his daughter, Doña Inez, married to Diego de Herrera. The possession was confirmed to her by the King, Don Henry IV., September 28, 1454. Already, at that time, according to what the Admiral says, the inhabitants of Gomera and Hierro every year saw a country to the West, which it has been pretended was the imaginary isle of San Borondon. After this time the illusions and imaginings of the common people continued, in spite of the expeditions and vessels which were despatched to find it and investigate it, without the most skilful sailors which could be employed for that purpose being able to accomplish its discovery. Viera, in his *Historia de Canarias*, relates circumstantially all these events with sincerity and good judgment (tom. i., lib. i., § xxviii., pág. 78 and following); and Féijóo refutes these visions as the imagination of the common people (*Teat. Crit.*, tom. iv., disc. x., § 10).

"M. Pedro de Medina, in his *Grandezas de España* (cap. lii., pág. 47), says that not far distant from the island of Madeira there was another which was called *Antilia*, which was then no longer seen and which was found depicted on a very ancient chart of navigation; and Viera (tom. i., pág. 90) relates that some Portuguese and inhabitants of Madeira saw some countries to the west which they never could find, although they attempted it, and that this was the beginning of their representation on the Charts, because then some new islands in our seas were delineated, especially *Antilia* and *San Borondon*. The latter is found on the globe or mappemonde which Martin de Behaim constructed in Nuremberg in the year 1492, situated to the south-west of the island of Hierro, although the Cape Verde Islands interposed.

"From these imaginings, well established throughout the space of about four centuries, and which were most dominant in the epoch of discoveries at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, and from the malignant emulation with which, after the first voyage, it was sought to belittle the merit of the great Columbus, must have arisen the reports that the new continent and its islands had been previously discovered, perhaps by Alonso Sanchez de Huelva or by some other Portuguese or Biscayan navigator, according to what various Spaniards wrote, perhaps by Martin de Behaim, as some foreigners have pretended, although with moderation; but Oviedo, a cotemporary author, assures us that no one could affirm that *story* with truth, that it went throughout the world thus *among the common people*, and that he considered it false. Don Christopher Cladera, in his *Investigaciones Históricas*, refuted with very weighty and well-founded reasons these pretensions of natives and foreigners, defending the merit and the glory of the first Admiral of the Indies."—Navarrete.

[3] "During these days Christopher Columbus was advised that three caravels armed by the King of Portugal were going among those islands in order to take him, because as the King of Portugal knew that he had made arrangements with the Sovereigns of Castile, it weighed greatly upon his mind, and he commenced to see and fear the fortune which God had taken from his hands, on which account he [the King] ordered that on the islands of Madeira, and of Puerto Sancto, and of the Azores, and

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

He started on that day in the morning from the harbour of Gomera and took his course to go on his voyage: and the Admiral learned from a caravel which came from the island of Hierro, that three caravels from Portugal were sailing about there, in order to capture him: it must have been through the envy felt by the King of Portugal, because of the Admiral's going to Castile: and he sailed all that day and night in a calm and in the morning found himself between Gomera and Tenerife.[1]

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

He was becalmed all Friday and Saturday until 3 o'clock at night.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

On Saturday at 3 o'clock in the night, the north-east wind commenced to blow, and he took his course and route to the west: he had a heavy head sea, which obstructed his way; and he sailed that day and night about 9 leagues.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

He went 19 leagues that day and resolved to reckon less than he had gone, so that if the voyage should be a long one, his people would not be frightened and discouraged.[2] During the night he went 120 miles which are 30 leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour. The sailors steered badly, falling off to the north-east quarter and even half of the quarter [*a la media partida*] about which the Admiral many times reprimanded them.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

During that day and night he went 60 leagues, at the rate of 10 miles an hour, which are 2½ leagues: but he computed only 48 leagues, in order not to frighten the people if the voyage should be lengthy.

in the regions and harbours where there were Portuguese, on his going or coming he should be taken; as afterward appeared by the trick which was played him [Columbus] on his return, at the Azores Islands, but this time he [Columbus] did not encounter the three caravels."—*Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

[1] September 6. "Having taken water and wood and meat and all refreshments and the other things which he saw to be necessary for his journey, in Gomera, he ordered the three vessels to make sail, and immediately started from the port of Gomera in the morning."—*Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

[2] Here, at the very beginning of the voyage, we find the resolve of Columbus to falsify the reckoning and we also find his motive. At this time Columbus was not posing as the scientist, giving exact knowledge to the world. Indeed, to the end of his days, we find him exceeding chary in publishing his marine routes. But now he is the wary commander, dealing with followers who were ignorant, superstitious, and not over-friendly. It was a time for prudence.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

That day they sailed on their way, which was to the west, and went 20 leagues and more, and they saw a large piece of a mast belonging to a ship of 120 tons burden, and they were not able to take it. That night—about 20 leagues, but he did not count more than 16 for the said reason.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

This day, pursuing his course, they went 33 leagues during the night and day, computing less for the said reason.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13.

This day and night, going on their way which was to the west, they went 33 leagues and computed 3 or 4 less. The currents were against them. On this day at the beginning of the night, the needles declined to the north-west, and in the morning they declined a trifle.[1]

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

During that day and night they sailed on their way to the west and went 20 leagues: he computed something less. Here the persons on the caravel *Niña* said they had seen a jay (*garjao*) and a ring-tail (*rabo de junco*) and these birds never go more than 25 leagues from land at most.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

He sailed that day and night 27 leagues upon his course to the west and somewhat more, and at the beginning of this night they saw a marvellous branch of fire fall from the heavens into the sea, 4 or 5 leagues distant from them.[2]

[1] Columbus now, for the first time on his voyage, sees the needle turning toward the west. Therefore, it was at some time during the day that the vessels crossed the line of no variation, and Humboldt calculates that the navigator was then in latitude 28° north and longitude 30° 30′ west of Paris, or about 3° west of the Isle of Flores, the most western of the Azores. The pilots did not appear to notice this variation in the needle until Monday, September 17, when they "took the position of the North Star." Here, also, on September 16, Columbus found himself in the Sargasso Sea. and speaks particularly of the character of the air. The combination of the line of no variation, the discovery of the grass-covered sea indicating the outer court to land, and the change in temperature, has led some writers, and Humboldt first of all, to find the suggestion of a natural line of demarcation "one hundred leagues west of the Azores" in the observations of Columbus himself.

Mariners long had known that the magnetic needle did not point to the true north, but to the east of north. Here was given Columbus a great discovery,—the declination of the needle to the west of north after having passed the true north, or the point at which no variation was noticeable.

[2] September 15. Las Casas describes the falling of the branch of fire, and adds that, "All these things disturbed and saddened the sailors, and they commenced to think that they were signs they had not started upon a good course."

The phenomenon of "falling stars" must have been known to Columbus, and it was something out of the ordinary that would cause him to characterise such a display as "marvellous."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16.

They sailed that day and night on their course to the west: they went 39 leagues but he computed only 36: there were some clouds that day and it rained slightly. The Admiral says here, that now and always from this time forward the air was extremely temperate, and that it was a great pleasure to enjoy the mornings and that nothing was lacking except to hear nightingales. He says that the weather was like April in Andalusia. Here they began to see many tufts of very green grass, which according to appearance had not long been detached from the land, on which account every one judged they were near some island: but not the continental land, according to the Admiral, who says, "because I make the continental land farther onward."[1]

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

He sailed on his way to the west, and they went 50 leagues and more during the day and night. He did not register more than 47. The current helped them. They frequently saw a great deal of grass and it was grass from rocks, and it came from the west. They judged that they were near land. The pilots took the position of the North Star, marking it, and they found that the needles declined to the north-west a good quarter, and the sailors were afraid and were troubled, and did not say for what reason. The Admiral knew it and ordered them to take the position of the North Star again at dawn and they found that the needles were good. This was because the star which appears, moves, and the needles do not. At dawn that Monday they saw much more grass, which appeared to be grass from rivers, in which they found a live craw-fish which the Admiral kept, and he says that those were sure indications of land because they are not found 80 leagues from land. They found the water of the sea less salt since they left the Canaries, the breezes always milder.[2] They all became

[1] September 16. Las Casas says "38 leagues." After describing the finding of the grasses, he adds:

"Most of it inclined to a yellow colour; and as the journey already seemed long to them and distant from shelter and they had commenced to murmur about the voyage, and about him who had placed them there, on seeing the pools [*balsas*] of grass, very distant and which were very large, they [the crew] commenced to fear that they were rocks or submerged lands, on which account they were moved to greater impatience and stronger murmurs against Christopher Columbus, who was guiding them: but having seen that the vessels passed amongst the pools of grass, they then lost their fear to some degree, but not entirely."

[2] Sept. 17. Under this date Las Casas adds:

"They had gone 370 leagues up to this point, which leagues were from the island of Hierro, the most western of the Canaries."

Then he tells of the marking of the North Star, and adds:

"All the sailors feared greatly and all became very sad, and began to murmur under their breaths again, without making it known altogether to Christopher Columbus, seeing such a new thing, and one they had never seen or experienced, and therefore they feared they were in another world."

He then describes the other things they saw and the explanation of Columbus about the star, and says the people became joyful and again contented

very joyful and the fastest ships went onward in order to be first to see land. They saw many tunny-fish [*toninas*] and the people on the *Niña* killed one. The Admiral says here that those indications came from the west, "where I hope in that exalted God in whose hands are all victories that land will very soon appear." This morning he says he saw a white bird which is called ring-tail [*rabo de junco*] which is not accustomed to sleep on the sea.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

He sailed that day and night, and they went more than 55 leagues, but he only noted 48. All these days the sea was very calm, as in the River of Seville. This day Martin Alonso with the *Pinta*, which was a fast sailor, did not wait for the others because he said to the Admiral from his caravel, that he had seen a great number of birds go toward the west, and that night he hoped to see land, and for that reason he was sailing so fast. A large dark cloud appeared to the north, which is a sign that land is near.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

He sailed on his way and during the day and night went 25 leagues, because it was very calm: he wrote 22 leagues. This day at 10 o'clock a pelican came to the ship and another came in the afternoon. These birds are not accustomed to go 20 leagues from land. There were slight rains without wind, which is a certain indication of land. The Admiral did not wish to delay, beating about in order to find out if there was land, but he was sure that toward the north and toward the south there were some islands, as in fact there were, and he was going between them: because it was his desire to go forward toward the Indies and the weather is pleasant; as, God pleasing, in returning, everything would be seen. These are his words . . . Here the pilots discovered their location. The *Niña's* pilot found himself 440 leagues from the Canaries. The *Pinta's* 420 leagues, and the pilot of the vessel, upon which was the Admiral, exactly [1] 400.[2]

[1] "He consulted with and satisfied them all, always taking the lowest number, that they might not become discouraged, as the farther distant they saw themselves from Spain the greater anguish and perturbation they felt; and each hour their murmurs increased and the more they considered each of the signs they saw, notwithstanding those they had seen of those birds immediately gave them hope; but as the land never appeared they presently believed nothing, concluding from those signs since they failed, that they were going through another world whence they would never return."—Las Casas, *Historia*, chap. xxxvi.

[2] "The distance which the Admiral marked is exact."—Navarrete.

If, on the 17th, he had run 370 leagues, the distance was *not* exact, since on the 18th he had made 55 leagues and on the 19th 25 more, a total of 450 leagues.

The reader will remember that this meridian of 370 leagues west of Hierro very nearly marks the place of no variation of the needle, as well as the place where the Sargasso Sea was first entered. It may have been mentioned by Columbus as a possible dividing line between Spain and Portugal. At all events, the fact that in the treaty of Tordesillas, made June 7, 1494, the line of demarcation was drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands—although these are several degrees east of Hierro—seems significant. Columbus himself, however, never recognised this line.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

He sailed this day to the west, quarter north-west and half the quarter [*á la media partida*] because the winds changed many times with the calm: they went as much as 7 or 8 leagues. Two pelicans came to the ship, and afterwards another which was an indication that land was near: and they saw a great deal of grass, although the previous day they had not seen any. They took a bird with their hands which was like a jay: it was a river-bird and not a sea-bird and had feet like a gull. At dawn two or three small land birds came singing to the ships: and afterwards disappeared before sunrise. Afterwards a pelican came from the west-north-west and went to the south-east, which was an indication that it left land to the west-north-west, because these birds sleep on land and in the morning they go to the sea in search of food, and do not go 20 leagues from land.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 21.

Most of that day it was calm, and afterwards there was some wind. They went on their way and during both the day and night did not make as much as 13 leagues. At dawn they found so much grass that the sea appeared to be coagulated with it and it came from the west. They saw a pelican. The sea was very calm like a river and the breezes the best in the world. They saw a whale which is an indication that they were near land, because they always remain near it.[1]

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

They sailed west-north-west, more or less, inclining to one side and the other. They went about 30 leagues. They saw almost no grass. They saw some petrels [*pardelas*] and another bird. The Admiral says here: "This contrary wind was very necessary to me, because my people were becoming very much excited, as they thought that on those seas no winds blew in order to return to Spain." For a part of the day there was no grass, afterwards it was very thick.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23.

He sailed to the north-west and at times to the north quarter and at times on his course, which was to the west, and they went as much as 22 leagues. They saw a turtle dove and a pelican, and another small river-bird and other white birds. There was a great deal of grass and they found craw-fish in it, and as the sea was calm and quiet the people murmured, saying that, since there was not much sea in that region, the wind would never blow for the return to Spain: but afterwards the sea

[1] September 21. Las Casas says, in addition:

"This grass sometimes cheered them [the crew], believing that they would soon see land, sometimes made them almost despair, fearing to strike upon some rock in it, and sometimes those who were steering the ship turned in order not to enter it, because it was so thick that it appeared to retard the vessels."

rose greatly and without wind, which terrified them, because of which the Admiral says here: "So that the high sea was very necessary to me, as it came to pass once before in the time when the Jews went out of Egypt with Moses, who took them from captivity."

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24.

He sailed on his course to the west day and night, and they went about 14½ leagues. He noted 12. A pelican came to the ship and they saw many petrels.[1]

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

It was very calm this day and afterwards the wind blew: and they went on their course to the west until night. The Admiral talked with Martin Alonso Pinzón, Captain of the other caravel *Pinta*, in regard to a chart which he had sent to Martin Alonso on his caravel three days before, where, as it appears, the Admiral had drawn certain islands in that sea,[2]

[1] Las Casas adds, under this date of September 24:

"The more God showed them manifest signs of its being impossible that they were far from land, the more their impatience and inconstancy increased, and the more indignant they became against Christopher Columbus. In all the day and night, those who were awake and were able to get together never ceased to talk with each other in circles, murmuring and considering that they would not be able to return. For this they said that it was a great madness and homicidal on their part, to venture their lives in following out the madness of a foreigner, who, to make himself a great Lord had risked his life, and now saw himself and all of them in great exigency and was deceiving so many people: especially as his proposition or dream had been contradicted by so many great and lettered men, and considered as vain and foolish: and that it was enough to excuse themselves from whatever might be done in the matter, that they had arrived where men had never dared to navigate, and that they were not obliged to go to the end of the world, especially as, if they delayed more, they would not be able to have provisions to return. Some went farther, saying, that if he persisted in going onward, that the best thing of all was to throw him into the sea some night, publishing that he had fallen in taking the position of the star with his quadrant or astrolabe, and that as he was a foreigner, little or no account would be asked of the matter, but rather there would be a great many to affirm that God had given him his deserts on account of his rashness. In these and similar occupations they spent the time, day and night, and the Pinzóns, who were the captains and at the head of all the people, had to give place to them; and as all the other sailors were natives and citizens of Palos and Moguel, they all went to them [the Pinzóns] and made cause with them. Of these Pinzóns Christopher Columbus complained greatly and of the trouble they had given him."

Las Casas then tells how Columbus cheered the sailors and encouraged them, "laughing with them while he was weeping at heart."

[2] September 25. Las Casas describes the sending of the chart in the same terms, and continues:

"This chart is the one which Paul, the Florentine physician, sent, which I have in my possession with other things belonging to the Admiral himself, who discovered these Indies, and writings in his own hand which fell to my possession; on it [the chart] he painted for him many islands and the main-land, which were the beginning of India, and in that vicinity the dominions of the Great Khan, telling him of the riches and felicity of gold and pearls and precious stones of those realms, . . . and by the credit which Christopher Columbus gave to the said Paul, the physician, he offered to the said Sovereigns to discover the realms of the Great Khan, and the riches, gold, and precious stones and spices which there were in them."

There seems to us no doubt that the chart was one constructed by Columbus, resembling and perhaps based upon the chart sent him by Paolo Toscanelli, the Florentine savant. Las Casas tells us that Columbus himself had drawn upon the chart

and Martin Alonso said that they were in that region, and the Admiral replied that it appeared so to him: but since they had not encountered them, it must have been caused by the currents which had continually forced the ships to the north-east and because they had not gone as far as the pilots said: and then having arrived at this conclusion the Admiral told Martin Alonso to send him the said chart and it being sent by a cord the Admiral began to mark out places upon it with his pilot and sailors. At sunset Martin Alonso mounted in the stern of his ship and with great joy called to the Admiral, begging a reward from him as he saw land: and when the Admiral heard him affirm this, he says that he commenced on his knees to give thanks to Our Lord, and Martin Alonso said *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* with his people: the Admiral's people did the same and the people on the *Niña* all ascended the mast and rigging: and all affirmed that it was land and it appeared so to the Admiral, and that it might be 25 leagues away. They all affirmed until night that it was land. The Admiral ordered that the course, which was to the west, should be changed and that they should all go to the south-west, where the land had appeared. That day they went to the west about 4½ leagues; and during the night 17 leagues to the south-east which makes 21 leagues; although he told the people 13 leagues, because he always pretended to the people that he was making little headway, that the journey might not appear long to them. So that he wrote two courses for that voyage, the shorter was the false course and the longer the true one. The sea was very calm for which reason many sailors began to swim. They saw many dorados and other fish.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26.

He sailed on his course to the west, until after mid-day. Then they went to the south-west until they learned that what they had said was land was only the sky. They went 31 leagues during the day and night and he computed for the people 24. The sea was like a river, the breezes pleasant and very mild.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

He sailed on his course to the west, and went during the day and night 24 leagues: he told the people 20 leagues: they saw many dorados, killed one and saw a ring-tail.

certain islands, therefore it was not simply a reproduction of the Toscanelli map. The attempt, renewed in these latter days, to show that Columbus had this knowledge of the Western Sea from a ship-wrecked pilot, insists that this chart was in fact the pilot's chart. But how could a pilot, driven helplessly by wind and wave, have located even approximately upon a map the position of the islands to which he was driven? He could not, even if skilled in the art of navigation, have taken accurate observations. Under date of October 3 he says in his *Journal* that he had "information about certain islands in that region," and that he believed they lay behind him: in other words, he had already passed them. Now, if the pilot story was true and the islands on the chart were the ones he marked, is it likely Columbus would have permitted himself to pass beyond? The pilot could have known of no lands

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went in a calm, 14 leagues during the day and night. He computed 13. They found little grass. They took two dorados and more were taken on the other ships.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went 24 leagues and he told the people 21. Because of calms which befell them they went only a short distance during the day and night. They saw a bird which is called a frigate-pelican which makes the pelicans yield up what they have eaten in order to eat it himself, and obtains his sustenance in that manner only. It is a sea-bird but does not rest on the sea nor go 20 leagues from land. There are many of these birds on the Cape Verde Islands. Afterwards they saw two pelicans. The breezes were very pleasing and delightful and he says that only the song of the nightingale was lacking: and the sea was smooth as a river. In three times afterwards three pelicans appeared and a frigate-pelican. They saw a great deal of grass.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

He sailed on his course to the west, and went 14 leagues during the day and night on account of the calms. He counted 11. Four ring-tails came to the ship, which is a great indication of land, because so many birds of one kind together is a sign that they are not astray or lost. They saw four pelicans in two different times and much grass. Nota : that "the stars which are called the guards when night falls are near the arm in the west, and at dawn they are on the line below the arm to the north-east, as it appears that during all the night they do not go more than three lines, which are nine hours, and this each night." The Admiral says this here. Also at nightfall the needles declîne to the north-west one quarter, and at dawn they are exactly in the direction of the North Star: by which it appears that the North Star moves the same as the other stars and the needles always indicate the truth.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1.

He sailed on his course to the west. They went 25 leagues and he computed to the people 20 leagues. They had a great shower. To-day the pilot of the Admiral at the coming of day feared that they had gone from the island of Hierro, 578 leagues westward to this place. The lesser account which the Admiral showed to the people was 584 leagues; but the true account, which the Admiral judged to be correct and kept secret, was 707 leagues.

westward of the islands he is reported to have visited, and therefore Columbus, if he was cheerfully passing beyond these islands, was in search of something which could not have been revealed to him by any pilot.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2.

He sailed on his way to the west 39 leagues during the day and night, and told the people about 30 leagues; with the sea continually calm and favourable. *Many thanks be given God*, said the Admiral here. Grass came from the east to the west, contrary to what had happened before. Many fish appeared: one was killed, They saw a white bird which appeared to be a gull.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3.

He sailed on his customary route and they went 47 leagues. He told the people 40 leagues. Petrels appeared, a great quantity of grass, some very old and some very fresh, and it bore a kind of fruit, and they saw no birds. The Admiral believed that the islands he had drawn on his chart lay back of them. The Admiral says here, that he did not wish to remain beating about, the past week and those days when there were so many signs of land, although he had information about certain islands in that region,[1]—in order not to be delayed, as his object was to reach the Indies: and if he had delayed, he says it would not have been good judgment.[2]

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4.

He sailed on his way to the west and they went during the day and night 63 leagues. He told the people 46 leagues. More than 40 petrels came to the ship together, and two pelicans, and a youth on board the caravel hit one with a stone. A frigate-pelican came to the vessel and a white bird like a gull.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5.

He sailed on his course, going about 11 miles an hour. They went about 57 leagues during the day and night, as the wind abated somewhat at night. He counted to his people 45 leagues. The sea was pleasant and

[1] This passage might be quoted by the advocates of the Pilot's story to uphold their contention, but, unfortunately, in the same sentence Columbus declares his object was to reach the Indies, and, consequently, the "certain islands" were not his goal. To be of any force, the Pilot story requires Columbus to have a secret knowledge of these islands, but the reader will notice from our next note that all the pilots on this expedition believed certain islands lay near there. They were the islands of tradition, of speculative knowledge. And of these even the common people had knowledge, as much knowledge as Columbus or as Toscanelli before him, or as the mythical Pilot of Huelva.

[2] October 3. Las Casas here adds:

"As he did not wish to beat about on all sides in search of the islands which the pilots believed lay near there, more especially Martin Alonso, on account of the chart which Columbus had sent to his caravel for him to see,—they all commenced to mutiny: and the disagreement would have gone farther if God had not put out His hand as usual, showing them immediately new signs of being near land, because neither the bland words, nor prayers nor prudent reasons of Christopher Columbus were any longer enough to quiet them and persuade them to persevere."

calm. Many thanks, he says, be given to God. The breeze was very soft and temperate. No grass, many petrels. Many flying-fish flew on to the ship.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6.

He sailed on his course to the west and they went 40 leagues during the day and night. He told the people 33 leagues. This night, Martin Alonso said that it would be well to sail to the south-west, quarter west [*á la cuarta del Oueste, á la parte del Sudueste*]. And it appeared to the Admiral that Martin Alonso did not say this in order to go to the island of Cipango. And the Admiral saw that if they missed their way, they would not be able to find land so quickly, and that it was better to go to the continental land at once, and afterwards to the islands.[1]

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7.

He sailed on his way to the west. They went 12 miles per hour for two hours, and afterwards 8 miles per hour, and they went 23 leagues up to one hour after sunrise: he told the people 18.[2] On this day at sunrise, as they were all sailing as fast as possible in order to see land first and enjoy the reward which the Sovereigns had promised to whomever should first see land, the caravel *Niña* which was ahead on account of being a fast sailor, raised a banner on top of the mast and fired a lombard as a signal that they saw land, because the Admiral had ordered this to be done. He had also ordered that the vessels should all unite at sunrise and sunset, because these two times are more suitable for seeing a long distance on account of the disappearance of the mists. As in the afternoon the people on the *Niña* did not see land, which they thought they had seen and as a great multitude of birds passed from the north to the south-west, for which cause it was reasonable to believe that they were going to sleep on land or were perhaps flying from winter which must be approaching in the countries from whence they came, as the Admiral knew that the Portuguese discovered the greater part of the islands in their possession by the birds:— For these reasons the Admiral resolved to change his course from the west, and turn his prow to the west-south-west, with the determination of pursuing that course for two days. He began this course one hour before sunset. During all the night they went about 5 leagues, and 23 during the day: they went in all 28 leagues during the night and day.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8.

He sailed to the west-south-west and they went about 11½ or 12 leagues

[1] October 6. Las Casas tells of Martin Alonso's wishing to change the course, and that the Admiral would not, and adds:

". . . which had vexed them all and Columbus not doing what they wished, they then murmured."

[2] October 7. " . . . as in the afternoon the land which the people on the *Niña* reported was not seen, and there had been light, swift-moving clouds, from which those who were always distrustful became discouraged and dismayed anew."

and from time to time it appears that they went 15 miles per hour during the night, if the account is not mendacious.[1] The sea was like the River of Seville, thanks to God, says the Admiral. The breezes were very soft as at Seville in April and it is a pleasure to be there, they are so fragrant. The grass appeared very fresh. There were many small land-birds and they took one which was flying to the south-west. There were jays, ducks, and a pelican.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.

He sailed to the south-west and went five leagues. The wind changed and he ran to the west, quarter north-west and went four leagues. Afterwards in all he went 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by day and night. He told the people 17 leagues. All night they heard birds passing.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10.

He sailed to the west-south-west and they went at the rate of 10 miles per hour and at times 12, and sometimes 7, and during the day and night they made 59 leagues. He told the people 44 leagues and no more. Here the people could no longer suffer the journey. They complained of the long voyage: but the Admiral encouraged them as well as he was able, giving them good hope of the benefits they would receive, and adding that for the rest it was useless to complain since he had come in search of the Indies, and thus he must pursue his journey until he found them, with the aid of our Lord.[2]

[1] October 8. Las Casas, in his *Historia*, gives the same account, relating how the sailors rejoiced in the sight of the birds, and adds:

"And as they [the birds] were all going to the south-west and it did not appear they would go very far to rest: they [the crew] followed that course which the birds were taking with more good-will and cheerfulness."

Las Casas does not insert in the *Historia*, in speaking of the speed of the vessels, the words, "if the account is not mendacious."

[2] October 10. The *Historia* agrees in regard to the distances, directions, etc., and then adds:

"When the crew saw that the signs of the birds amounted to nothing . . . they all commenced to reiterate their importunities and distrustful quarrels, and to insist upon their bold petitions, crying out for a shameful turning about and entirely relinquishing the pleasure and joy which God had prepared for them within the space of thirty hours. . . . But the minister whom God was directing for this affair did not yield to such miserable cowardice, but with renewed will, with greater freedom of spirit, with a keener hope, with softer and more pleasing words, exhortations and greater offers, encouraged them and animated them to go forward, and to persevere, adding also that for the rest it was useless to complain, since his object and that of the Sovereigns *had been* and *was* to come and discover in that Western Ocean, the Indies, and they [the crew] had been willing to accompany him for that purpose, and that therefore he intended to keep on in his voyage with the aid of our Lord until he found them, and that he was certain they were nearer them [the Indies] than they thought."

Here is the foundation and the only foundation for the story of the mutiny. The people murmured, as they had done before, and as sailors on unknown expeditions always have murmured. But between discontent and mutiny there is a vast gulf. The mutiny story requires for its action a crew in revolt against its commander, and a commander capitulating with a mutinous crew, and agreeing to return if within

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11.

He sailed to the west-south-west. They had a much higher sea than they had had in all the voyage. They saw petrels and a green branch near the ship. Those on the caravel *Pinta* saw a reed and a stick and they took another small stick formed as it appeared with iron, and a piece of a reed and other grass which grows on land, and a small board. Those on the caravel *Niña* also saw other indications of land and a little branch full of dog-roses. With these signs every one breathed and rejoiced. They went 27 leagues during this day up to sunset.

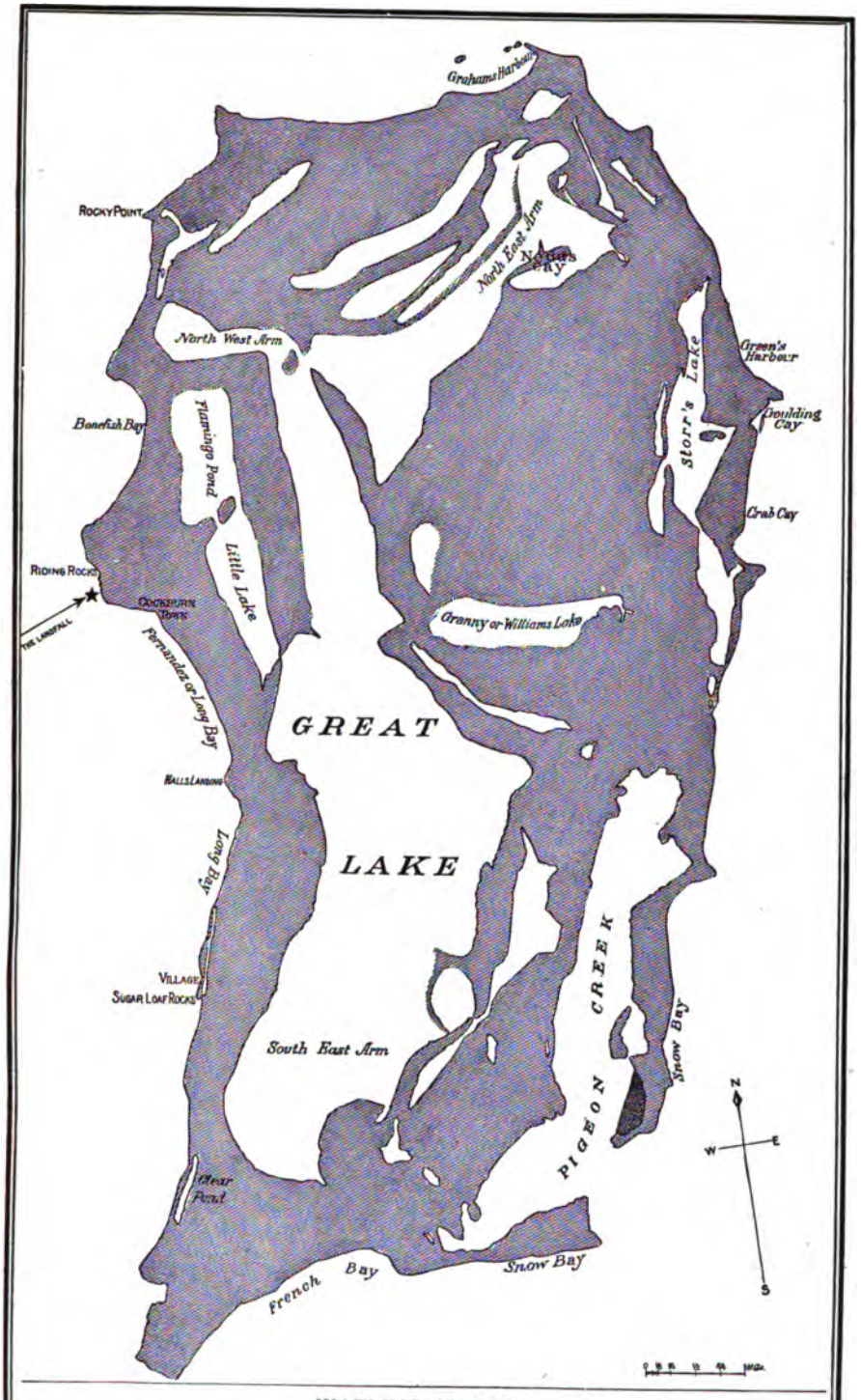
After sunset he sailed on his first course to the west. They went 12 miles each hour and up to two hours after midnight they went about 90 miles which are 22½ leagues. And because the caravel *Pinta* was the best sailor and was going ahead of the Admiral, land was discovered by her people and the signs which the Admiral had ordered were made. A sailor called Rodrigo de Traina saw this land first, although the Admiral at 10 o'clock at night being in the stern forecastle [*castillo de popa*] saw a light,[1] but it was so concealed that he would not declare it to be land: but he called Pero Gutierrez Groom of the Chamber of the King, and said to him that it appeared to be a light, and asked him to look at it: and he did so and saw it. He also told Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, whom the King and Queen sent with the fleet as Inspector, who saw nothing because he was not where he could see it. After the Admiral told it, it was seen once or twice, and it was like a small wax candle which rose and fell, which hardly appeared to be an indication of land. But the Admiral was certain that they were near land. For this reason, when they said the *Salve* which all the sailors are in the habit of saying and singing in their way and they

three days he does not find land. The *Journal* itself disposes of this story. Three days before land was seen, October 8, there is no mention of any unusual discontent, the vessels were flying through the water faster than ever, the air was fragrant and soft as that of Seville, the sea was like the water of the Guadalquivir, ducks and other land-birds were passing over their heads and the crew amused themselves in catching them. On the day of the murmuring, October 10, Columbus simply told the men that he would go on in his voyage until he found the object of his search. This is not the language of an intimidated commander parleying with a mutinous crew. Neither Las Casas nor Ferdinand Columbus mentions this story. Oviedo first gives it, and his authority is not reliable.

Nevertheless, as the reader knows, Columbus was, and had been from the time of their departure from the Canaries, perpetually harassed by his crew, by their natural fears and by artificial fears which be believed were suggested and encouraged by the Pinzóns. Perhaps no fleet's commander ever suffered more from long-continued murmurings of discontent, but there is no evidence that actual mutiny occurred.

[1] Some have explained the light as a torch waved by some native woman on the shore guiding her husband's fishing-boat as he was making his way homeward late at night.

In the instructions given by the Admiral to Antonio de Torres, January 30, 1494, on his return after the second voyage, in speaking of the danger from fire, Columbus intimates that the Indians were constantly going about at night with burning pieces of wood. However this may be, Columbus claimed and obtained the reward of 10,000 maravedis—about $61 in our money—for having first discovered land.



WATLING ISLAND.

SHOWING THE LANDING-PLACE OF COLUMBUS.

were all assembled together, the Admiral implored and admonished them to guard the stern forecastle well and search diligently for land and said that to whomever should first see land he would then give a silk doublet, besides the other gifts which the Sovereigns had promised them, which was an annuity of 10,000 maravedis to whomever should first see land. At two hours after midnight the land appeared, from which they were about two leagues distant. They lowered all the sails and remained with the cross-jack-sail,[1] which is the great sail without bonnets, and lay to, standing off and on until the day, Friday, when they reached a small island of the Lucayas, which is called in the language of the Indians, *Guanahani*.[2]

[1] "This was a sail which was used only in stormy weather."—Navarrete.

It was evidently the purpose of Columbus to keep close to the place where he believed he himself had seen land, and to this end he was standing off and on and carrying scarcely any sail, the sea being the highest he had experienced on the entire voyage. The latter fact is important as bearing on the subject of the landing-place. It would have been practically impossible for him to have landed on the eastern side of any island with such a sea.

[2] Here, to make the reading clear, the events should now be understood to come under the date of October 12, although the *Journal* includes them under the previous date.

We believe this island to be Watling Island, one of the Bahamas, in latitude 24° 06′ north, and in longitude 74° 06′ west of Greenwich. The reader will find in an accompanying chapter the reasons for this identification.

The Columbian landfall occurred on Friday, October 12 [old style], 1492. To make the recurrence of this date correspond with the true or astronomical date, we must drop nine days from our calendar. This makes the anniversary of the discovery fall on October 21.

The *Historia* describes, under date of October 11, the finding of sticks, dog-rose, and birds, as in the *Journal*, and adds:

"Christopher Columbus knew that he must then be very near land, for one reason, because of the manifest signs, and, for the other reason, because of the distance he knew he had gone from the Canaries to these regions; because he always had it in mind, through whatever occasion or conjecture it might have become his opinion, that having navigated from the island of Hierro through this Ocean-Sea 750 leagues, a little more or less, he must find land. After night-fall, at the time they said the *Salve*, according to the sailors' custom, he gave a talk to all the people and sailors,—very merry and pleasant,—bringing to their attention the favours which God had shown him and all of them on that journey, in giving them so calm a sea, such soft and good winds, such tranquillity of weather without tempests or anxieties, such as commonly befall those who navigate in the sea: and as he hoped in the mercy of God that before many hours land must be seen, he begged them earnestly to keep a very good guard that night in the forward forecastle [*castilla de proa*], watching and being very much on guard, in order to look for land more closely than they had done [since he gave to each Captain of each vessel on leaving the Canaries instructions—that is to say—that having navigated 700 leagues to the west without having discovered land, they should not go on under sail after midnight, which rule of sailing until then they had not observed, and he had dissimulated to them so as not to disturb them on account of the anxiety they felt to see land], because he had great confidence in our Lord that that night they must be very near land, or perhaps would see it: and he told each one to be diligent in watching so as to see it first, because, besides the grant of 10,000 maravedis which the Queen had conceded to the first who should see it, he promised to give him at once a silk doublet. This night, after sunset, he navigated to the West, the way he had always followed from the Canaries, and went 12 miles an hour, and until two o'clock after midnight, they went about 90 miles, which were twenty-two leagues and a half. Christopher Columbus being in the stern forecastle, with his eyes fixed more keenly ahead than any other, as being the one who felt most anxiety to see land, because it was most incumbent upon him,—saw a light, although so shut in and dim that he did not wish to affirm that it was land, but he

Then they saw naked people and the Admiral landed in the armed boat with Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vincente Yañez, his brother, who was captain of the *Niña*. The Admiral took the royal banner and the two captains had two banners of the Verde Cruz, which the Admiral carried on all the ships as a sign, with an F. and a Y. The crown of the Sovereigns surmounted each letter and one was one side of the ✠ and the other the other side. Having landed they saw very green trees and much water and many fruits of different kinds. The Admiral called the two captains and the others who landed and Rodrigo Descoredo, Notary of all the Fleet, and Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and told them to bear him witness and testify that he, in the presence of them all, was taking, as in fact he took possession of the said isle, for the King and for the Queen, his Lords, making the protestations which were required, as contained more at length in the depositions which were made there in writing.[1] Then many of the people of the island gathered there. The following is in the exact words

secretly called Pero Gutierrez, Groom of the Chamber ['*repostero de estrados*'], of the King, and told him that it appeared to be a light and that he should look and see what he thought, and he saw it and said that it appeared to him to be a light; he also called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, to whom the Sovereigns had given the charge of Inspector [Veedor] of all the fleet, but he was not able to see it. After having seen it once or twice, and he says that it was like a small candle which was raised and lowered, Christopher Columbus did not doubt but what it was really a light, and consequently believed he was near land, and so it was. And what I think in regard to it is that the Indians of those islands as they are temperate without any cold, go out or went out at night from their straw huts which were called 'bohios,' to comply with their natural necessities, and they take a half burned stick in the hand or a little candlewood, or a pine branch, or some other very dry and resinous wood which burns like candlewood, when the night is dark, and with it they return, and in this manner it might have been the light which Christopher Columbus and the others saw three or four times. Christopher Columbus then watched very closely to see land, and advised the others who were at the prow of the ship not to be careless, and as the caravel *Pinta* upon which was Martin Alonso Pinzón, went ahead of the others as she was a faster sailer, land was seen from her which might have been about two leagues distant, at two hours after midnight, and then she made signals that it was seen, according to the instructions, which were to fire a lombard and raise the banners, and thus it appears that as land was seen two hours after midnight on Thursday, this discovery must be attributed to Friday, and consequently it was the 12th of October.

"A sailor who was called Rodrigo de Triana saw the land first, but the Sovereigns decreed that Christopher Columbus should have the 10,000 maravedis annuity, deciding that, since he had first seen the light, he had been the first to see the land. . . .

"He received this 10,000 maravedis annuity always during all his life, and if I have not forgotten, one day, in talking with the Vice-reine of the Indies, the daughter-in-law of the same Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, the wife of his first successor, in regard to the matters relating to that voyage, she told me that it had been reserved for him from the slaughter-houses of the city of Seville, where it was always paid to him."

[1] In the *Tablas Chronologicas*, compiled by Vicente Joseph Miguel and printed at Valencia in 1689, is the following prayer said to have been uttered by Columbus on taking possession of the first land found by him in the New World:

"*Domine Deus Æternæ, & Omnipotens sacro Tuo verbo cælum, & terram, & mare creasti; benedicatur, & glorificetur nomen Tuum, laudetur Tua Maiestas, quæ dignata est per humilem servum Tuum, ut eius sacrum nomen agnoscatur, & prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte.*"

"O Lord, Eternal and Almighty God, by Thy sacred word Thou hast created the heavens, the earth, and the sea; blessed and glorified be Thy name, and praised be Thy Majesty, who hath deigned to use Thy humble servant to make Thy sacred name known and proclaimed in this other part of the world."

of the Admiral in his book of his first voyage and discovery of these Indies:

"That they might feel great friendship for us [he says] and because I knew they were a people who would better be freed and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force,—I gave them some red caps and some glass beads which they placed around their necks, and many other things of small value with which they were greatly pleased, and were so friendly to us that it was wonderful. They afterwards came swimming to the two ships where we were, and bringing us parrots and cotton thread wound in balls and spears and many other things, and they traded them with us for other things which we gave them, such as small glass beads and hawk's bells. Finally they took everything and willingly gave what things they had. Further, it appeared to me that they were a very poor people, in everything. They all go naked as their mothers gave them birth, and the women also, although I only saw one of the latter who was very young, and all those whom I saw were young men, none more than thirty years of age. They were very well built with very handsome bodies, and very good faces. Their hair was almost as coarse as horses' tails and short, and they wear it over the eyebrows, except a small quantity behind, which they wear long and never cut. Some paint themselves blackish, and they are of the colour of the inhabitants of the Canaries, neither black nor white, and some paint themselves white, some red, some whatever colour they find: and some paint their faces, some all the body, some only the eyes, and some only the nose. They do not carry arms nor know what they are, because I showed them swords and they took them by the edge and ignorantly cut themselves. They have no iron: their spears are sticks without iron, and some of them have a fish's tooth at the end and others have other things. They are all generally of good height, of pleasing appearance and well built: I saw some who had indications of wounds on their bodies, and I asked them by signs if it was that, and they showed me that other people came there from other islands near by and wished to capture them and they defended themselves: and I believed and believe, that they come here from the continental land to take them captive. They must be good servants and intelligent, as I see that they very quickly say all that is said to them, and I believe that they would easily become Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no sect. If it please our Lord, at the time of my departure, I will take six[1] of them from here to your Highnesses that

[1] As this is the first suggestion of taking away the natives, it is well to look at the motive governing the Admiral,—for henceforth he is the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea. There is no talk of slavery or involuntary servitude. The Indians are to be taken to Spain to the Sovereigns that they may learn to speak the Castilian tongue. Before he has spoken of taking them away, he has declared his belief that the natives would easily become Christians. It is true that he says they would make good servants, but how would it be possible for native inhabitants and Spaniards to associate at all unless the former were dominated by the latter? The natives were not to be sold into slavery. They were not even to be left in Spain. They were to be taken *to the Sovereigns* for their further disposition. Would it not be expected of an ex-

they may learn to speak. I saw no beast of any kind except parrots on this island." All are the words of the Admiral.[1]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

"At dawn many of these men came to the shore, all young men as I have said and all of good height, a very handsome people. Their hair is not curly but hanging and coarse like horsehair, and all the forehead and head is very wide, more than any other race seen until now, and their eyes are very handsome and not small. And none of them are blackish but the colour of the inhabitants of the Canaries; nor should anything else be expected since this place is on a line east and west with the island of Hierro [2] in the Canaries. Their legs are in general very straight and they are not corpulent, but very well formed. They came to the ship with canoes, which are made from the trunk of a tree, like a long boat and all in one piece, and very wonderfully fashioned for the country, and large enough

plorer to-day if in some remote corner of the earth he found a strange race of beings, that he should bring back with him specimens, particularly if the condition suggested a return to those regions and the establishment therein of colonies? We shall shortly see that the Indians were not unwilling captives.

[1] Las Casas, in chapter xl., proceeds to tell about the new land, saying that he is about to speak of Christopher Columbus in another manner and add to his name the dignity of Admiral, which he had so justly won. He then gives a short description of the island under the name of *Guanahani*, and tells of the landing of the Admiral and the others with the banners of the "verde cruz." He says they sprang on land and all fell on their knees, some shedding tears, and gave thanks to the All-Powerful God, who had brought them to safety and shown them some of the fruits which they had been struggling and toiling for and desiring. Las Casas then says:

"Who will be able to express and value the rejoicing and jubilation of all, full of incomparable delight and inestimable joy, in the midst of the confusion in which they found themselves, because they had not believed, but had rather resisted and injured the constant and patient Columbus? Who will signify the reverence they paid to him? The pardon they begged of him with tears? The offers to serve him all their lives which they made him? And finally the caresses, honours, and favours, which they gave him, the obedience and subjection which they promised him? They were almost beside themselves to content him, placate him and congratulate him: and he, with tears embraced them, pardoned them, and told them to refer everything to God: there all the people who were with him received him as Admiral and Viceroy and Governor of the Sovereigns of Castile, and they gave him obedience, as being a person who represented royalty, with so much rejoicing and merriment, that it will be better to leave the estimation of it to the discretion of the prudent reader, than to desire to manifest it by insufficient words."

We have some reason to believe that at least during his first voyage Christopher Columbus wore a beard. In the *Historia*, Las Casas, quoting from the original *Journal*, thus describes the action of the natives of Guanahani when first brought into contact with the Europeans:

"The Indians, who were present in large numbers looking at the Christians, were astonished at all these actions and frightened by their beards, by their whiteness and by their clothing. They went to the bearded men, especially to the Admiral, as by the eminence and authority of his person and also by his being clothed in fine, scarlet cloth, they judged him to be the principal, and they reached out to their beards with their hands, wondering at them as they [the Indians] never have them, and viewing very attentively the whiteness of their hands and faces."

[2] Hierro, or Ferro, is in latitude 27° 45′ north. Therefore the Admiral was out something over three degrees in his calculations.

so that 40 or 45 men came in some of them, and others were smaller, some so small that only one man came in them. They rowed with a paddle [*como de fornero*] and go wonderfully well; and if they upset, then they all commence to swim and bail them out with gourds, which they carry. They brought balls of spun cotton and parrots and spears and other small things which it would be tedious to write about, and gave everything for whatever might be given them. And I was attentive and sought to learn whether they had gold [1] and I saw that some of them wore a small piece suspended from a hole they have in the nose: and I was able to understand by signs that, going to the south or going around the island to the south, there was a King who had large vessels of gold and who had a great deal of it. I tried to have them go there and afterward saw that they were not interested in going. I determined to wait until afternoon of the next day and then leave for the south-west, for according to what many of them showed me, they said that there was land to the south and to the south-west and to the north-west: and that these people from the north-west came to fight them many times and thus to go to the south-west in search of gold and precious stones.[2] This island is very large and very level and

[1] Here occurs for the first time that magic word *gold*, for which henceforth the Admiral is to search with keen eye and tireless energy: gold, every grain of which is to be dug with wickedness and cruelty, and whose face is to shine through the tears and woes of humanity.

[2] At this point in the *Historia*, Las Casas, writing fifty years afterward and in all the heat which burned in his soul over the cruelties practised on the Indians by the Spaniards, explains the eagerness with which the Admiral continued to search for riches. Even in his anger he is just toward Columbus and acquits him of being other than the unconscious agent of evil. Las Casas hated with a righteous hatred all things, animate and inanimate, kings and creatures, stocks and stones, which had directly or indirectly anything to do with human slavery.

"It must here be said as future events are considered, and as the Admiral is seen to have suffered in the Court such great and such vehement opposition, and as finally the Queen, against the opinion and judgment of the members of her Council and of all the Court, determined to spend the little which she spent [although it then appeared a great deal as told above], that these persons were always thenceforward his stubborn and powerful adversaries, depreciating and injuring his affairs, refusing to believe that these countries had gold or anything else profitable, and especially after seeing that the Sovereigns were spending a large sum of money on the other voyages and that they received no profit, they persuaded their Highnesses to relinquish the prosecution of this undertaking, because, according to what they understood, they would be obliged to waste and expend money in it. So that the Admiral suffered many more trials and tribulations and more powerful oppositions, without comparison, afterwards in the prosecution of the affair, even than he suffered before the Sovereigns determined to favour and aid him, as will appear henceforward. For this cause the Admiral never thought, never watched, never laboured in anything else than trying to bring about the receipt of profits and revenues for the Sovereigns, fearing always that such a great enterprise would be prevented, because he saw that if the sovereigns became tired of making expenditures, or became displeased, they would not carry it to an end. On this account the said Admiral made more haste than he should in bringing it about that the Sovereigns should prematurely begin to have revenues and royal profits, being a man despised and a foreigner [as he many times complained to the Catholic Sovereigns themselves in his letters], and as he had terrible adversaries near the ears of the Royal persons, who always opposed him: but not having much perspicacity and foresight of the evils which might follow, as, indeed, they did follow, for the prevention of which all the prosecution and preservation of the affair should have been risked, going little by little and fearing more from it than temporal loss ought to be feared; and ignoring also what he should not have ignored

has very green trees and many waters and a very large lake in the centre, without any mountain, and all so green that it is a pleasure to behold it. The people are very mild and on account of desiring our things, believing that they will not be given them without they give something, and they have nothing,—they take what they can, and then throw themselves into the water and swim. But they give all they have for whatever thing may be given them. They traded for even pieces of pitchers and broken glasses so that I saw 16 balls of cotton given for three *ceotis* [1] of Portugal which are worth one blanca of Castile, and in the balls there would be more than an arroba of spun cotton. I forbade this and would not allow anything to be taken unless I should order everything taken for your Highnesses if there is a quantity. It [cotton] grows here on this island, but on account of brevity of time I could not give an account of everything: and also the gold which they wear hanging at the nose is found here. But in order not to lose time I wish to go and see if I can encounter the island of Cipango.[2] Now, as it was night, all went to land with their canoes."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 14.

"At dawn, I ordered the ship's small boat prepared and the boats belonging to the caravels and went along the island toward the north-northeast to see the other part of it, which was the opposite part from the east [3] and also to see the villages: and I saw then two or three, and the people all came to the shore calling us and giving thanks to God; some brought

concerning divine and natural justice, and the upright judgment of reason,—he introduced and commenced to establish such beginnings, and sowed such seeds from which originated and grew such deadly and pestilential herbs producing from themselves such deep roots, that it has been enough to destroy and devastate all these Indies, without human power being enough to prevent or overcome such supreme and irreparable injuries.

"I do not doubt that if the Admiral had believed that such pernicious harm would follow as did follow, and had known as much of the simple conclusions of natural and divine right as he knew of cosmography and other human sciences, that he would never have dared to introduce nor begin a thing which must occasion such calamitous injuries, because *no one will be able to deny his being a good and Christian man:* but the judgments of God are most profound, and no man can or should wish to understand them."

[1] "The *ceuti*, or *cepti*, was a coin of Ceuta employed in Portugal."—Navarrete.

[2] According to M. Chalumeau de Verneuil, the French translator of Navarrete, there were two kinds of blancas used in Castile: the one worth half a maravedi, and therefore requiring 272 to make the value of the present Spanish dollar: the other worth five deniers, or a little less than two farthings.

[3] The danger of explaining something one does not understand is here beautifully illustrated. The only previous English translation of the *Journal* was made by Samuel Kettell and published at Boston in 1827. Under this date he translates this passage: "In the morning I ordered the boats to be got ready and coasted along the Island toward the N.N.E. to examine that part of it, we having landed first at the Eastern part." Sixty-five years afterward, an enterprising American newspaper having read this paragraph, erected a monument on what was intended to be as nearly as possible the exact place of landing, not knowing that the phrase, "we having landed first at the Eastern part," was entirely gratuitous, and that it would have been an impossible landfall, in view of the previous sentence of the Admiral, that the sea was heavier than any they had experienced in all the voyage.

us water, others brought other things to eat. Others when they saw that I did not care to land threw themselves into the sea and came swimming and we understood that they asked us if we came from heaven. An old man came in to the boat and the others called loudly to all the men and women: *Come and see the men who came from heaven*[1]*: bring them something to eat and to drink.* Many came and many women, each one with something, giving thinks to God, throwing themselves on the ground and lifting their hands toward heaven, and afterwards they called loudly to us to go to land; but I was afraid because of seeing a great reef of rocks which encircles all that island and the water is deep within and forms a port for as many ships as there are in Christendom: and the entrance to it is very tortuous. It is true there are some shoals in it, but the sea does not move any more than in a well. And I went this morning in order to see all this, that I might be able to give an account of everything to your Highnesses and also to see where I might be able to build a fortress, and I saw a piece of land formed like an island, although it is not one, on which there were six houses, but which could be made an island in two days.[2] Although I do not believe it to be necessary, because this people are very simple in matters of arms, as your Highnesses will see by the *seven which I took captive to be carried along and learn our speech and then be returned to their country.*[3] But when your Highnesses order it, all can be taken, and carried to Castile

[1] The first thought of the Indians on seeing the Europeans was that they came from heaven, and therefore were immortal. The natives of Española soon learned that the white men were subject to pain, disease, and death, like themselves. But the first conception and its subsequent dissipation were common to each introduction of the white men in the several islands.

Charlevoix relates that the Indians of Puerto Rico, when the Spaniards first attempted the colonisation of that island, assured themselves concerning the immortality of their unwelcome visitors in the following positive manner: A young Spaniard by the name of Salzedo having tarried for a few days in the home of a native cacique called Brayau, was persuaded on his departure to accept the services of some of his young men as guides and burden-bearers. When they came to a certain river, one of the guides, instructed by Brayau, offered himself as a vehicle to bear the youth across the stream. Arrived in the middle, his porter let him slip from his shoulders, and, with the aid of his companions, held the head of the Spaniard beneath the water until he breathed no more. Then the Indians carried the body to the shore and began to investigate the question of the white man's immortality. They bowed before him and inquired how he did. They prostrated themselves before him and begged his pardon for having perhaps inconvenienced him by leaving his head so long under the water. Then they proceeded to weep and to wail as men greatly afflicted. They turned the body over and over, demanding some sign of life. For three days they yielded to a curiosity which was only satisfied by the unmistakable signs that the Spaniard had been a mortal like themselves. When the report was made to Brayau and he had himself examined the corpse, he and his brother caciques discovering that the immortality of their conquerors was not real but pretended, resolved to deliver themselves from their enemies, and they duly massacred no less than a hundred of the Castilians.

[2] The peculiar formation described above is one of the features by which, as we shall see in the following chapter, Watling Island is identified as the landfall.

[3] The reader will observe that the Indians taken by the Admiral were to be re-

or held captives on the island itself, because with 50 men all can be subjugated and made to do everything which is desired. Then, near the said small island, there were orchards of trees, the most beautiful that I saw, and as green and with leaves like those of Castile in the months of April and May, and there was much water. I saw all that harbour and afterward I returned to the ship and made sail and saw so many islands that I could not decide which to visit first, and those men whom I had taken, told me by signs, that there were many, and so many that they could not be numbered, and they enumerated by their names more than one hundred. Therefore I looked for the largest and determined to go to it, and this I am doing. It may be five leagues distant from this island of San Salvador, and some of the others are farther from it, some not as far. All are very level without mountains and very fertile and all inhabited, and the inhabitants make war against each other although they are very simple and fine looking men." [1]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15.

"I had been standing off and on this night for fear of not reaching land to anchor before morning, not knowing whether the coast was free from shoals or not, and so as to be able to hoist the sails at dawn. And as the island might be more than five leagues distant, rather it was about seven leagues, and the tide detained me, it was about mid-day when I reached the said island; and I found that the side which is toward San Salvador runs north and south a distance of five leagues, and the other side which I followed extended east and west a distance of more than ten leagues. And

turned to their own country. If there is a suggestion of slavery in the succeeding sentence, the act would be that of the Sovereigns and not of Columbus.

In the *Historia* Las Casas charges the Admiral with wrong-doing in taking away the Indians, but the reader must remember the great Apostle of the Indians is speaking in the light of many years' experience of the evils of slavery and the cruelty of the Spaniards. He says:

"It will be well to point out two things here: one, how manifest appears the disposition and natural promptitude which those people possessed to receive our Holy Faith, and to be endowed and imbued with the Christian religion and with all virtuous customs, if they were treated with love and charity and meekness, and how great would have been the fruit which God would have gathered from them; the second, how far the Admiral was from rightly conjecturing the mark and point of divine and natural justice, and that which, according to this justice, the Sovereigns and he were obliged to do with these people, since he so lightly determined to say, that the Sovereigns could take all the Indians, who were inhabitants *of* and natural dwellers *upon* those islands, to Castile, or keep them captives in the country itself, etc. Certainly he was very distant from the object which God and His Church intended on his voyage, to which, the discovery of all this sphere and whatever there may be in it and near it, to be disposed of, must be ordered and directed. . . .

"From those Indians who entered the boats with so much confidence, as to see and adore people from heaven, the Admiral detained seven, and came away to the ship with them. By what appeared afterward, as when they were able to flee, they fled, it shows that he detained them against their will, and if these Indians were married and had wives and children to maintain, and other necessities, how could this violence be excused?"

[1] As we shall follow closely the steps of the Admiral in our chapter on "The Landfall," we do not make reference here to the special stages of his course.

as from this island I saw another larger one to the west, I hoisted the sails in order to go all that day until night, because I would not have been able to go even as far as the point at the west: to this island I gave the name of the *Isla de Santa Maria de la Concepcion*, and almost at sunset I anchored near the said Cape to learn if there was gold there, because the natives whom I had caused to be taken on the island of San Salvador told me that the people there wore very large golden bracelets on the legs and arms. I quite believe that everything they said was a hoax in order to flee. Nevertheless my intention was, not to pass by any island of which I did not take possession, although having taken one, it could not be said that all were taken: and I anchored and remained there until to-day, Tuesday,[1] when at dawn I went to land with the boats armed and I landed, and those people, who were many and as naked and of the same condition as those of the other island of San Salvador, allowed us to go on the island and gave us what we asked of them. And because the wind blew across strongly from the south-east, I would not remain there and left for the ship, and there was a large canoe beside the caravel *Niña* and one of the men from the island of San Salvador who was on board the caravel threw himself into the sea and went away in the canoe, and the night before at midnight, the other[2] having thrown [blank in original] and went after the canoe, which fled [*a medio echado el otro . . . y fue atras la almadia, la qual fugtió* so that there never was a boat which could overtake it, although we followed it a long way. Nevertheless he gained the land and they left the canoe, and some of my company went on land after them and all scattered like chickens, and we took the canoe which they had left, alongside the caravel *Niña*, where already there was coming from another point another small canoe with a man who came to barter a ball of cotton; and some sailors threw themselves into the sea and took him, because he would not enter the caravel: and I, being on the poop of the ship, saw everything and sent for him and gave him a red bonnet and some small beads of green glass which I put on his arm and two hawk's bells, which I put in his ears, and I ordered his canoe, which also was in the boat, to be returned to him and I sent him to land: and I made sail then in order to go to the other large island which I saw to the west, and I ordered the other canoe, which the caravel *Niña* was towing at the stern, to be loosened and I afterwards watched the shore at the time of the landing of the other Indian to whom I had given the aforesaid things and from whom I did not take the ball of cotton, although he wished to give it to me: and all the others went to him and he wondered greatly and it appeared to him that we were very good people and that the other Indian who had fled had done us some injury, and that we were taking him on this account: and it was for this purpose that I pursued this conduct with him and ordered him set at liberty and gave him the said things, in order that they should hold us in this esteem and that another time when your Highnesses send here again they may

[1] Sailors reckoned a day from midnight to midnight.

[2] Las Casas in the *Historia* cites this incident as a proof that the Indians were held against their will.

not receive your people badly: and all that I gave them was not worth four maravedis. And thus I departed, which might be at 10 o'clock, with the wind south-east and inclining toward south, in order to go to this other island which is very large and where all these men whom I am bringing from the island of San Salvador make signs that there is a great deal of gold and that they wear bracelets of it on their arms and on their legs and in their ears and in their noses and on their breasts. And it was nine leagues from this island of *Santa Maria* to this other island east to west, and all this part of the island runs north-west to south-east. And it appears that there might well be more than 28 leagues of this coast on this side. And it is very level without any mountain, the same as the coasts of the islands of *San Salvador* and *Santa Maria* and *all* the coasts are free from rocks, except that all have some rocks under water near the land, on account of which it is necessary to keep the eyes open when desirous of anchoring, and not to anchor very near land, although the waters are always very clear and the bottom can be seen. And at a distance of two lombard shots from all those islands the water is so deep that the bottom cannot be reached. These islands are very green and fertile and the breezes are very soft and there may be many things which I do not know, because I did not wish to stop, in order to discover and search many islands to find gold. And since these people make signs thus, that they wear gold on their arms and legs,—and it is gold, because I showed them some pieces which I have,—I cannot fail with the aid of our Lord, in finding it where it is native. And being in the middle of the gulf between these two islands, that is to say, the island of *Santa Maria* and this large one, which I named *Fernandina*, I found a man alone in a canoe who was going from the island of *Santa Maria* to *Fernandina*, and was carrying a little of his bread which might have been about as large as the fist, and a gourd of water, and a piece of reddish earth reduced to dust and afterwards kneaded, and some dry leaves [1] which must be a thing very much appreciated among them, because they had already brought me some of them as a present at *San Salvador:* and he was carrying a small basket of their kind, in which he had a string of small glass beads and two blancas, by which I knew that he came from the island of *San Salvador*, and had gone from there to *Santa Maria* and was going to *Fernandina*. He came to the ship: I caused him to enter it, as he asked to do so, and I had his canoe placed on the ship and had everything which he was carrying guarded: and I ordered that bread and honey be given him to eat and something to drink. And I will go to *Fernandina* thus and will give him everything which belongs to him, that he may give good reports of us. So that, when your Highnesses send here, our Lord pleasing, those who come may receive honour and the Indians will give them of everything which they have."

[1] This is the first reference to *tobacco*, although not quite so plain as the one under date of November 5, 1492, when the natives in Cuba were seen smoking the weed. This present passage indicates that while still on Watling Island the Admiral had observed the use of this weed.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

"I started from the islands of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* when it was already about noon, for the island of *Fernandina*, which appears to be very large and is to the west, and I navigated all that day in a calm: I was not able to arrive in time to see the bottom in order to anchor in a clear place, because it is necessary to take great pains about this so as not to lose the anchors: and so I stood off and on all this night until day when I came to a village, where I anchored, and at which that man whom I found yesterday in the canoe in the middle of the gulf had arrived. He had given such good reports of us that all this night there was no lack of canoes alongside the ship, as the Indians brought us water and everything which they had. I ordered something given to each one of them, that is to say some little beads, 10 or 12 of them of glass on a thread, and some brass timbrels of the kind which are worth a maravedi each in Castile, and some leather straps, all of which they consider of the greatest excellence, and also ordered molasses to be given them that they might eat when they came on the ship: and then at the hour of *tercia* [1] I sent the ship's small vessel on land for water, and they very willingly showed my people where the water was, and they themselves brought the barrels full to the vessel, and were very greatly rejoiced to give us pleasure. This island is very large and I have determined to sail around it, because according to what I can understand, in it or near it there are mines of gold. This island is eight leagues distant from the island of *Santa Maria*, almost east by west: and this point to which I came and all this coast extends north-north-west by south-south-east and I saw fully 20 leagues of it, but it did not end there. Now while writing this, I made sail with the wind [from the] south in order to endeavour to sail around all the island, and work until I find *Samaot*, which is the island or city where the gold is, as all those Indians who come here on the ship, say: and as those Indians from the island of San Salvador and Santa Maria told us. The people of *Fernandina* are similar to those of the said islands, and have the same language and customs, except that these appear to me to be somewhat more domestic, of better manners and more subtle, because I see that they have brought cotton here to the ship and other little things for which they know better how to exact payment than the others: and also on this island I saw cotton cloths made like head-dresses [mantillas] and the people are better disposed and the women wear in front a little piece of cotton which barely covers their genital parts. This island is very green and level and fertile, and I have no doubt that panic-grass [*panizo*] may be sown and harvested all the year, and also all other things: and I saw many trees very different from ours and among them many which had branches of many kinds and all from one trunk, and one little branch is of one kind and another of another kind and so different that it is the greatest wonder in the world, how great is the difference between one kind and another. For example,

[1] Nine o'clock in the morning.

one branch had leaves like canes, and another like mastich-trees: and thus, on one tree alone, there are five or six of these kinds, and all are different: neither are they grafted, that it may be said that grafting does it; moreover are they found upon the mountains. Neither do these people take any care of them. They do not know any sect and I believe that they would very soon become Christians because they possess very good intelligence. There are fish here so different from ours that it is wonderful. There are some formed like cocks of the finest colours in the world, blue, yellow, red and of all colours, and others tinted in a thousand manners: and the colours are so fine that there is not a man who does not wonder at them, and who does not take great pleasure in seeing them. Also there are whales. I saw no beasts on land of any kind except parrots and lizards. A boy told me that he saw a large snake. I did not see sheep nor goats, nor any other beast; although I have been here a very short time, as it is mid-day, still if there had been any, I could not have missed seeing some. I will write about the circuit of this island after I have sailed around it."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 17.

"At noon I started from the village where I was anchored and where I took water, in order to go and sail around this island of Fernandina, and the wind was south-west and south: and as my wish would be to follow this coast of this island where I was, to the south-east, because it extends thus all north-north-west and south-south-east: and I wished to follow the said course of the south and south-east, because,—in that region, according to these Indians I am bringing and another from whom I had indications,—in that region of the south is the island which they call *Samoet*, where gold is found. And Martin Alonzo Pinzón, captain of the caravel *Pinta*, upon which I sent three of these Indians, came to me and told me that one of them had very positively given him to understand that he would more quickly sail around the island in the direction of the north-north-west. I saw that the wind was not helping me on the course I wished to follow and was favourable for the other. I made sail to the north-north-west and when I was near the point of the island, at a distance of two leagues, I found a very wonderful harbour with one mouth: although it can be called two mouths because it has an island in the centre. And these mouths are both very narrow and the harbour is wide enough within for 100 ships, if it were clear and deep, and deep enough at the entrance. It appeared to me right to examine it well and sound it, and thus I anchored outside of it and entered it with all the boats belonging to the ships and we saw that it was not deep. And because I thought when I saw it that it was the mouth of some river, I had ordered barrels brought in order to take water, and on land I found some eight or ten men who immediately came to us and showed us the village near there, where I sent the people for water, one part with arms, others with barrels, and so they took it: and because it was at a little distance, I was detained for the space of two hours.

During this time I walked among those trees, which was a more beautiful thing to see than any other I had ever seen: seeing so much verdure in such condition as it is in the month of May in Andalusia, and the trees were all as different from ours as day from night and also the fruits and grasses and the stones and all the things. It is true that some trees were of the same nature as those which are in Castile, although there was a very great difference, and there were so many other trees of other kinds that there is no one who can identify them or compare them to those in Castile. All the people were the same as the others already spoken of, of the same condition, naked in the same manner and of the same stature and they gave what they had for whatever thing we might give them: and here I saw that some of the ship's boys bartered spears for some worthless little pieces of broken porringers and glass, and the others who went for the water told me how they had been in the houses of the Indians and that they were very well swept and clean within, and their beds and coverings were of things which are like nets of cotton.[1] Their houses are all like tents and are very high with good chimneys[2]: but I did not see any village among many which I saw, which had more than 12 to 15 houses. Here they found that the married women wore breech-cloths of cotton and the young girls none, except some who were already eighteen years of age. And there were dogs here, mastiffs[3] and lap-dogs [*blanchetes*] and they found an Indian here who had a piece of gold in his nose, which might be as large as half a castellano, *on which they saw letters*.[4] I scolded them because they did not trade with him for it, and give him whatever he demanded in order to see what it was, and whose money it was: and they replied to me that he did not dare to exchange it with them. After having taken the water, I returned to the ship and made sail and went to the north-west,

[1] These were hammocks, and we find them represented in the early sketches illustrating native customs.

[2] These chimneys had no shafts. They were openings in the form of a crown [*coronillas*] rising from the roof of the native houses, the latter constructed of straw. Columbus speaks of them as chimneys simply because they leave these openings above for the issue of the smoke.

[3] Las Casas quotes in regard to these dogs:

"There were dogs, says the Admiral, mastiffs and lap-dogs, but as he learned of them by the story of the sailors who went for water, on that account he called them mastiffs. If he had seen them, he would not have called them so, as they appeared more like hounds. These and the small ones never bark, but they make a certain grunt in the throat. Finally they are like the dogs in Spain, only they differ in not barking."

[4] This passage, so interesting to the antiquarian, must not be read as if the gold plate actually bore the letters or characters of some Old World language and which would indicate prior communication. It may have been a piece of gold from Mexico or Yucatan. Columbus seems to imagine it might be a piece of European money.

In the *Historia* Las Casas refers to the Christians seeing the Indian with the piece of gold in his nose which appeared to have letters on it, and says the Admiral scolded them that they did not barter for it, and they said it was through fear. He adds:

"But they deceived themselves believing that any marks the piece of gold might have had were letters, as they were accustomed to mark them in their fashion, but never in all these Indies was there a sign found of there being gold money, or silver money or money of any other metal."

so far that I discovered all that part of the island as far as the coast which extends east and west, and then all these Indians said again that this island was smaller than the island of *Samoet*, and that it would be well to return backward in order to reach it more quickly. There the wind calmed and then commenced to blow west-north-west, which was contrary for our return to the place whence we had come, and so I returned and navigated all the past night to the east-south-east and sometimes to the east altogether and sometimes to the south-east. And I did this in order to get away from the land because it was very dark and cloudy and the weather was very threatening. The wind was light and did not allow me to reach land in order to anchor. Therefore this night it rained very hard from midnight almost until day, and it is yet cloudy and ready to rain: and we are at the point of the island on the south-eastern side where I hoped to anchor until the weather clears, in order to see the other islands to which I must go: and so it has rained a little or a great deal every day since I have been in *these Indies*. Your Highnesses may believe that this land is most fertile and temperate and level and the best there is in the world."

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18.

"After the weather cleared I followed the wind and went around the island when I was able, and anchored when the weather was not suitable to navigate: but I did not land, and at dawn I made sail."

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19.

"At dawn I weighed the anchors and sent the caravel *Pinta* to the east and south-east and the caravel *Niña* to the south-south-east, and I, with the ship went to the south-east, having given orders that both should follow that course until mid-day, and then that both should change their courses and seek me: and then, before three hours had passed, we saw an island to the east towards which we directed ourselves, and all three ships reached it at the northern point before mid-day, where there is a rocky islet and a reef outside of it to the north, and another between it and the large island: The men from *San Salvador* whom I am carrying, named this island *Saomete*, and I named it *Isabella*. The wind was north and the said rocky islet was in the course of the island of *Fernandina*, from whence I had sailed east by west. And the coast of *Isabella* then extended from the rocky islet to the west 12 leagues, as far as a cape which I called the *Cabo Hermoso*, which is on the western side: and thus it is beautiful, round and very prominent with no shoals outside of it and at the point it is rocky and low, and farther inland there is a sandy beach, as is almost all the said coast: and I anchored here this night, Friday, until morning. All this coast and the part of the island which I saw, is almost all a beach and the island is the most beautiful thing I ever saw: for if the others are very beautiful, this is more so: it has many very green and very large trees: and the land is higher than that of the other islands which have been

found. And on it there are some hillocks which cannot be called mountains, but which beautify the rest, and there appear to be many waters yonder in the centre of the island. From this side to the north-east there is a large point and there are many large thick groves. I wished to go and anchor at this point in order to land and see such a beautiful place: but the water was shallow and I could not anchor except quite a way from land, and the wind was very favourable for me to come to this cape, where I now anchored, and which I named *Cabo Hermoso* [Cape Beautiful] for such it is: and so I did not anchor at that point and also because I saw this cape from yonder, so green and so beautiful like all the other things and lands of these islands, so that I do not know where to go first: neither do my eyes weary of seeing such beautiful verdure so different from ours, and also I believe that there are here many herbs and trees, which are of great value in Spain for dyeing, for medicines and for spices, but I do not know them, which troubles me greatly. And on reaching this cape there came such a soft, sweet smell of flowers or trees from the land, that it was the sweetest thing in the world. In the morning before leaving here I will go on land to see what is here at this cape. There is no village except farther inland where these men I am bringing with me, say the King is and that he wears a great deal of gold. And in the morning I wish to go far enough to find the village and see or talk with the King, for according to the signs made by these Indians, he rules all these neighbouring islands and is clothed and wears a great deal of gold upon his person; although I do not put much faith in their sayings, as much because I do not understand them well, as because of knowing them to be so poor in gold that whatever small quantity this King wears it appears a great deal to them. This cape which I call *Cabo Fermoso*,[1] I believe is an island apart from *Saometo*, and even that there is another small one midway between. I do not care to see so much thus in detail, because I could not do that in 50 years, and because I wish to go and discover the most that I can, in order to return to your Highnesses, God willing, in April. It is true that if I find where there is a quantity of gold or spices, it will detain me until I obtain as much as possible of them: and on this account I am not doing other than to go in search of them."

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20.

"To-day at sunrise, I weighed anchors from where I was anchored with the ship at this island of *Saometo* at the south-west cape which I named the *Cabo de la laguna*, as I had named the island *Isabella*, to navigate to the north-east and to the east from the south-eastern and southern part [of the island], where, as I heard from these men I have with me, there was a village and also the King of the island: and I found all the water so shallow that I could not enter or sail to it, and I saw that by following the south-

[1] The letter *F* and the letter *H* were once used indifferently in Spain, so one wrote HERNANDEZ or FERNANDEZ and so Columbus wrote both HERMOSO and FERMOSO.

west route it would be a very large detour, and for this reason I determined to return by the north-north-east on the western side, the way I had come, and sail around this island in order to [lacuna: perhaps *reconocerla*—reconnoitre]. The wind was so light that I never could coast along the land except in the night: and as it is dangerous to anchor among these islands except in the daytime, when the eyes can see where the anchor is thrown, because the bottom is all unequal, one spot suitable and another not,—I began to stand off and on all this Sunday[1] night. The caravels anchored because they reached land early, and they thought that with the signals which they were accustomed to make, I would go and anchor, but I did not wish to do so."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21.

"At 10 o'clock I arrived here at this point of the islet and anchored as did also the caravels: and after having eaten, I landed. There was no other village here except one house, in which I did not find any one, as I believe they had fled through fear because all their domestic utensils were in the house. I did not allow my people to touch anything but I went with them and with these captains and people to see the island. If the other islands already seen are very beautiful, green and fertile, this one is much more so and has very large green groves. There are some large lakes here and upon them and around them, there are wonderful groves. They are very green here as well as in all the island and the grass is the same as it is in April in Andalusia. And the singing of the little birds is such that it appears a man would wish never to leave here, and the flocks of parrots obscure the sun. And there are large and small birds of so many kinds and so different from ours, that it is wonderful. And then there are a thousand kinds of trees, each with its own fruit and they are all wonderfully odoriferous. I am the most troubled man in the world that I do not know them, because I am very certain that they are all valuable things and I am bringing specimens of them and also of the herbs. In walking thus around one of these lakes I saw a serpent which we killed and I am bringing the skin to your Highnesses. When it saw us, it threw itself into the lake and we followed it there, as the water was not very deep, until we killed it with spears. It is seven palms in length.[2] I believe there are many serpents like this one here in this lake. Here I recognised some aloes and to-morrow I have determined to have ten quintals brought to the ship, because they tell me it is very valuable. Also in searching for good water, we went to a village near here, a half league from where I am anchored: and the people of this village, as they saw us, all took to flight and left their houses, and hid their clothing [*ropas*] and what they possessed in the mountain. I did not allow anything to be taken, not the value of a pin. Afterward some of the men approached us and one came quite up to us. I gave him some hawk's bells and some little glass beads and he was very much pleased and very joyful. And that the friendship

[1] Sailors reckoned a day from midnight to midnight. [2] Probably the *yŭana* or *iguana*.

might increase and that I might require something of them, I asked him for water. And after I went on board the ship, they then came to the shore with their gourds full, and were very much pleased to give it to us. And I ordered that another string of little glass beads should be given them, and they said that they would come here to-morrow. I wished to fill all the ship's butts with water here; therefore, if the weather permits, I will then start and sail around this island, until I have speech with the King and see if I can obtain from him the gold which I hear he wears. And afterward I will leave for another very large island which I believe must be Cipango, according to the indications which those Indians I am taking with me, give me, and which they call *Colba*.[1] They say that at this island there are *many large ships and many skilled seamen*. Near this island there is another which they call *Bosio*,[2] which they say is also very large. And I will see the other islands which lie between in passing, and according to whether I find a quantity of gold or spices, I will determine what must be done. But still, I have determined to go to the mainland to the city of *Guisay* and give your Highnesses' letters to the Great Khan, and beg for a reply and come back with it." [3]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 22.

" All this night and to-day I remained here, waiting to see if the King of this country or other persons would bring gold or anything else of substance: and many of these people came, similar to the other people of the other islands, naked like them and painted, some white, some reddish, some blackish, and in many different fashions. They brought spears and some balls of cotton to trade, which they exchanged here with some sailors

[1] "*Colba* is doubtless an error in the original for *Cuba*."—Navarrete.

The following Tuesday the Admiral speaks of this island as *Cuba*.

If the Admiral understood the Indians to say that at Colba or Cuba he would find "many large ships and many skilled sailors," we in turn can understand his belief that he was near Cipango or Japan.

[2] " It is probable that this is *Bohio*, as the Admiral calls it farther on, and not *Bosio*."—Navarrete.

[3] This island is without doubt *Española*, the land destined soon to hold the first European settlement in the New World and to be the scene of its first development.

Under the date of October 18, and running on through several days, the *Historia* says:

"There was near there another very large island which was called *Cuba*, which he believed was Cipango, according to the information which they [the Indians] gave him and according to what he understood also: he says there were large ships and many sailors: they told him of another island which also was very large, which they called *Bohio*, to which he wished to go and, according to the quantity of gold and spices which he might find, he would determine what to do, although, he says, he still was determined to go to the mainland to the city of Quisay, and give the letters of their Highnesses to the Great Khan, and beg for a reply and return with it. . . .

" He well understood the island of Cuba to be very large, because it is more than 300 leagues long and this Española which he here calls *Bohio* is larger and more pleasant, although not as long. . . He could not have understood the interpreters in calling it *Bohio*, because among all these islands, where all is one language or almost all one, they call the houses in which they dwell 'bohio' and this great island of Española they call *Hayti*, and they must have said that in Hayti there were large 'bohios' that is to say in this island of Española the houses were large."

for pieces of glass, broken cups, and for pieces of earthen porringers. Some of them wore pieces of gold fastened to their noses, which they willingly gave for a hawk's bell suitable for the foot of a sparrow-hawk, and for small glass beads; but it is so small a quantity of gold, that it is nothing. It is true that however little was given them for the gold, they yet considered our coming very wonderful and believed that we had come from heaven. We took water for the ships from a lake here which is near the Point of the Island [*cabo del isleo*] as I shall name it: and in the said lake Martin Alonso Pinzón, captain of the *Pinta*, killed another serpent like the one of yesterday which was seven palms in length, and here I had all the aloes taken which were found."

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 23.

"I would like to leave here to-day for the island of Cuba [1] which I believe must be Cipango [Japan] according to the description which these people give of its size and richness, and I will not remain here longer, neither [*lacuna:* perhaps—*will I sail*] around this island to go to the village, as I had determined, in order to talk with this King or Lord. For I must not delay much since I see that there is no gold-mine and it needs many kinds of winds to sail around this island, and it does not blow thus as men would like. And as I must go where great trade may be had, I say that it is not reasonable to delay, but to pursue my journey and discover much land until I encounter a very profitable country, although my understanding is that this one is very well provided with spices: but I do not know them, which causes me the greatest trouble in the world, as I see a thousand species of trees, each of which has its kind of fruit and they are as green now as they are in Spain in the months of May and June: and there are a thousand kinds of herbs the same as of flowers, and of them all I recognised only these aloes, of which I to-day also ordered a large quantity brought to the ship to carry it to your Highnesses. And I have not made nor am I making sail for Cuba, because there is no wind, but a dead calm,

[1] The *Historia* tells of his desiring to start for the island of Cuba as in the *Journal* and continues:

"And it must be said here [as said before in chapter xii.] that the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus gave so much credit to the letter and painted figure or marine chart which Paul, the physician sent him, that he did not doubt finding the lands he had depicted; according to the distance or leagues which he had navigated to that place, it agreed almost exactly with the situation and vicinity in which Paul, the physician, had placed and situated the very rich and great island of Cipango, around which he also located an innumerable quantity of islands, and then the mainland. And as he saw so many islands, and the Indians told him and named to him more than a hundred others, the Admiral certainly had most confident reasons for believing that that island might be Cuba, and after he encountered this island of Española, he had greater and more urgent reason to believe that some of these islands might be Cipango, and consequently he thought he would find a very large sum of gold and silver, and pearls and spices."

The reader will observe from the constant use of the phrase *this Española* that Las Casas was preparing both the abridged *Journal* and his *Historia*, or at least its earlier portion, in the island of Santo Domingo.

and it rains hard: and it rained a great deal yesterday without making it cool, but rather it is warm during the day and the nights are temperate like those in Spain in the month of May in Andalusia."

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24.

"This night at midnight I weighed the anchors from the *Cabo del Isleo* on the island of Isabella, which is on the northern part and is where I had stopped, in order to go to the island of Cuba which I heard from these people was very large and would yield much trade, and that there was upon it gold and spices and large vessels and merchants: and they showed me that *a course west-south-west* [1] would lead to it and I think it is so. Because I believe that if what these Indians from these islands and those I am taking on the ships have indicated to me by signs [as I do not understand the language] is true, it is the island of Cipango in regard to which they are telling wonderful things: and according to the spheres which I saw and the drawings of mappemondes it is in this region: Thus I sailed to the west-south-west until day, and at day-break the wind calmed and it rained, and it was so almost all the night. And I remained in this condition with a slight wind until past mid-day and then it commenced to blow again very pleasingly, and I spread all my sails on the ship, the main-sail, and two bonnets, the fore-sail, the sprit-sail, the mizzen-sail, the main-top-sail and the small sail in the stern. So I went on my course until nightfall and then Cabo Verde on the island of *Fernandina* which the southern point of the western part of the island [2] was north-west of me, and it was at a distance from me of seven leagues. And as it was still blowing strongly and I did not know how far it might be to the said island of Cuba, and in order not to go in search of it at night because the water around all these islands is very deep so that there is no anchorage save at a distance of two lombard shots, and the bottom is all either rocky or sandy so that one cannot anchor safely without seeing,—for these reasons I decided to lower all the sails except the fore-sail and navigate with that: and after a short time the wind increased very much and I went quite a distance without being sure of my course, and it was very dark and cloudy and it rained. I ordered the fore-sail lowered and we did not go two leagues this night, etc." [3]

[1] The italics are ours, as we desire the reader's attention to this course, it serving to identify the island from which, as well as the island to which, the Admiral was going. See our chapter on "The Landfall."

[2] The Spanish is *El cual es de la parte de sur á la parte de Oueste*, but it may be that the last five words mean to give the direction from where Columbus then was. Otherwise, reading the passage literally, Cabo Verde is on the south-western end of Fernandina.

[3] The reader will understand that this and the following *et ceteras* are employed by Las Casas in the abridged *Journal*. He evidently thought the matter immediately following of little or no consequence.

[Las Casas now continues the narative in the third person.]

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25.

After sunrise he sailed to the west-south-west until 9 o'clock and they went about five leagues. Afterwards he changed the course to the west. They went eight miles an hour until one hour after mid-day and from then until three o'clock, and they went about 44 miles. Then they saw land and there were seven or eight islands [1] all along from north to south. They were five leagues distant from them, etc.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26.

He was south of the said islands. It was all shallow water for five or six leagues and he anchored there. The Indians he was carrying with him said that it was a day and a half's journey from these islands to Cuba with their canoes, which are small wooden vessels which do not carry sail. These are the canoes. He started from there for Cuba, because from the descriptions which the Indians gave him of the size of the island and of the gold and pearls on it, he thought that it was the one,—that is to say Cipango.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27.

After sunrise he weighed the anchors from those islands which he called *Las Islas de Arena*, on account of the shallow water which extends six leagues to the south of them. He went eight miles an hour to the south-south-west until one o'clock and they might have gone 40 miles, and until night they went about 28 miles on the same course, and before night they saw land. They remained quiet that night, making observations during which time it rained very hard. Saturday they went until sunset 17 leagues to the south-south-west.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

He went from there in search of the island of Cuba to the south-south-west, to the nearest part of the island, and entered a very beautiful river which was very free from dangerous shoals and other inconveniences.[2] And the water all along the coast there was very deep and very clear as

[1] These are the group now called "The Ragged Islands," and form the south-easterly edge of the Great Bahama Bank. In the time of Columbus these were called *Las Islas de Arena*, from the name given them by the Admiral himself.

[2] The landfall of the Admiral on Cuba was probably at Nuevitas or perhaps in what is now called *Puerto del Padre*. Not only do the physical conditions justify this conclusion, but the direction whence he had come points to a landing at least as far west on the coast. When on Saturday, October 27, 1492, the Admiral weighed anchor from Las Islas de Arena, he steered in a south-south-western direction. This course was continued all that day and the following day again until—the exact hour is not given—on October 28, he anchored in a very beautiful river free from dangerous shoals, and the mouth of this river was wide enough to "beat about." Navarrete,—followed by Captain Beecher and others, — places the landfall in the Bay of Nipe. Some writers make the landfall in the Bay of Gibaro or Jibaro still farther to the eastward. The statement of the Admiral that he saw a *point of land projecting to*

far as the shore. The mouth of the river was 12 fathoms deep and it is quite wide enough to beat about. He anchored inside, he says, at a distance of a lombard shot. The Admiral says that he never saw anything so beautiful, the country around the river being full of trees, beautiful and green and different from ours, with flowers and each with its own kind of fruit. There were many large and small birds which sang very sweetly, and there was a great quantity of palms differing from those in Guinea and from ours. They were of medium height without any bark at the foot and the leaves are very large, with which the Indians cover the houses. The country is very level. The Admiral jumped into the boat and went to land, and approached two houses which he believed to be those of fishermen who fled in fear. In one of the houses they found a dog which never barked and in both houses they found nets made of palm-threads and cords and fish-hooks of horn and harpoons of bone and other fishing materials and many fires [*huegos*] within and he believed that many persons lived together in each house. He ordered that not one thing should be touched, and thus it was done. The grass was as tall as in Andalusia in the months of April and May. He found much purslain and wild amaranth. He returned to the boat and went up the river a good distance and he says it was such a great pleasure to see that verdure and those groves and the birds that he could not leave them to return. He says that this island is the most beautiful one that eyes have seen, full of very good harbours and deep rivers and it appeared that the sea never rose because the grass on the beach reached almost to the water, which does not usually happen when the sea is rough. Until then he had never found in all those islands that the sea was rough. The island, he says, is filled with very beautiful mountains, although they are not very long but high and all the other land is high like Sicily. It is full of many waters, according to what he was able to understand from the Indians he was taking with him, whom he took in the island of *Guanahani*, who told him by signs that there are ten large rivers and that with their canoes they cannot go around it in

the north-west gives some foundation for this theory. But when the Admiral left his first port he says he sailed *to the west*.

Cuba, the gem of the West Indies, the largest and most important of all the islands, contains an area of about 45,000 square miles. It is situated between 19° and 23° north latitude and its longitude west of Greenwich runs from 74° to 85°. Its length from west to east, that is to say from Cape San Antonio to Cape Maisi, is some 760 miles, while its greatest width on the meridian of Manzanillo at the mouth of the river Cauto is 125 miles. Near Havana the width narrows to 30 or 35 miles. Columbus sought its shores under the Indian name of *Cuba*, but when once landed he conferred on it the name of *Juana* in honour of the Prince Don Juan, the son and heir of the Spanish Sovereigns. This Prince died before he could hold royal honours and when Ferdinand himself died the island was named after him. It was afterward in turn called *Santiago* and *Ave Maria* and finally came to be known by its original and aboriginal name of *Cuba*. Nuevitas is the port of Santa Maria de Puerto Principe, an inland city, thirty-six miles south-west of its port and which in the latter part of its name preserves the princely title bestowed upon the island by the Admiral.

twenty days. When he was going to land with the ships, two rafts or canoes came out and as they saw that the sailors entered the boat and were rowing in order to go and find out the depth of the river so as to know where they could anchor, the canoes fled. The Indians said that in that island there were mines of gold and pearls, and the Admiral saw a good place for them and for mussels which is an indication of them, and the Admiral understood that large ships belonging to the Great Khan came there, and that from there to the mainland it was a ten days' journey. The Admiral named that river and harbour *San Salvador*.[1]

MONDAY, OCTOBER 29.

He weighed the anchors from that harbour and navigated to the west, he says, in order to go to the city where it appeared to him from what the Indians said that the King dwelt. One point[2] of the island projected to the north-west six leagues from there, another point projected to the east ten leagues: having gone another league he saw a river not with as wide an entrance as the other which he named the *Rio de la Luna*.[3] He sailed until the hour of vespers. He saw another river very much larger than the others, and the Indians told him so by signs, and near this river he saw good villages of houses. He named the river the *Rio de Mares*.[4] He sent the boats to a village to have speech with the Indians, and in one of the boats he sent an Indian from among those he was taking with him, because the Indians already understood them somewhat and showed that they were pleased with the Christians. All the men and women and children fled from these people abandoning the houses with all they had, and the Admiral ordered that nothing should be touched. He says that the houses were more beautiful than those he had seen and he believed that the nearer they approached the mainland the better they were.

[1] Sunday, October 28. Las Casas in the *Historia* says the Admiral followed this order in naming the lands and islands he discovered:

"To the first, considering as a Christian that the beginnings are owed to the fount and source, from which all things visible and invisible proceed, which is God, he gave the name of *Sant' Salvador* . . . ; the second, as after God, to no one is so much owing as to the mother of God, and as he felt devotion for her feast of the Conception, he named *Sancta Maria de la Concepcion*, and because, after God and His blessed mother, he owed many favours and very good-will and had received them, from the Catholic Sovereigns, he named the third island *Fernandina*, in memory and honour of the Catholic King Ferdinand: the fourth he called *Isabella* for the most serene Queen Isabel, to whom he owed much more than to the King and more than to all . . . to the fifth, which was Cuba, he gave the name of *Juana*, for the Prince Don Juan, who was then living, Prince and heir to the realms of Castile."

Las Casas describes the land and the natural features and then says:

"The Admiral understood that large ships of the Great Khan came there, and that from there to the mainland it would be a journey of ten days, through the conception which he had gathered from the chart or drawing which the Florentine had sent him . . ."

[2] Navarrete regards this Point as *De Mulas* while the second Point is identified by him as *Cabaña*.

[3] According to Navarrete this *Rio de la Luna* is the port of Banes.

[4] Navarrete makes the *Rio de Mares* the present port of *Nuevitas del Principe*.

They were constructed like pavilions, very large, and appeared like royal tents without uniformity of streets, but one here and another there, and within they were very well swept and clean, and their furnishings were arranged in good order. All are built of very beautiful palm branches. They found many statues of women's forms and many heads like masks,[1] very well made. It is not known whether they have them because of their beauty or whether they adore them. There were dogs [2] which never barked. There were small wild birds tamed in their houses. There were wonderful outfits of nets and hooks and fishing implements. They did not touch one thing among them. The Admiral believed that all the Indians on the coast must be fishermen who carry the fish inland, because that island is very large and so beautiful that he could not say too much good of it. He says that he found trees and fruits of a very wonderful taste. And he says that there must be cows and other herds of cattle on this island, because he saw skulls which appeared to him to be skulls of cows.[3] There were large and small birds and the crickets sang all the night, which pleased every one. The breezes were soft and pleasant during all the night, neither cold nor warm. But in regard to the other islands he says that it is very warm upon them and here it is not, but temperate as in May. He attributes the heat of the other islands to their being very level, and to the fact that the wind which blows there is from the south and on that account very warm. The water in those rivers was salt at the mouth. They did not know the sources whence the Indians drank although they had fresh water in their houses. The ships were able to turn around in the river to enter and to go out and they have very good signs or marks. They are seven or eight fathoms deep at the mouth and five within. He says that it appears to him that all that sea must always be as calm as the river of Seville, and the water suitable for the growth of pearls. He found large snails without taste, not like those in Spain. He described the disposition

[1] Navarrete thinks the original word *caratona* should be read *caratula* or *mascarilla*, little or half masks.

[2] There has been much dispute as to whether there were dogs in America prior to the introduction of European specimens, many persons believing that the animal which the Spaniards saw was the *alco*, a small creature, mute, with a nose like a fox. The Indians were fond of these little animals and carried them on their shoulders wherever they went. The dogs of Europe introduced by the Spaniards had so multiplied that in the year 1587 they were regarded in Santo Domingo both as a nuisance and a danger and a price was set upon their heads; but these were the blood-hounds and their crosses, the ferocious beasts brought over to hunt and kill the Indians. Some writers think these so-called native dogs were raccoons trained and domesticated. If a separate genus, it is extinct.

Later on the Admiral distinguishes the dogs by dividing them into two classes, one of which was evidently used for hunting game. The Spaniards found nothing strange about these animals except their inability to bark.

[3] Las Casas says here:

"These must have been the skulls of manati—manatee—[sea-cows], very large fish, like large calves, which have skin without scales, like the skin of a whale, and a head almost like a cow's head. This fish is much more savoury than veal, especially when it is small like young calves, and is pickled, and no one who did not know it, would think it was a fish but that it was flesh."

of the river and the harbour which he says above that he named *San Salvador*, by saying that its mountains are beautiful and high, like the Rock of the Lovers [*peña de lo senamorados*] and one of them has at the summit another little mount like a beautiful mosque. This river and harbour in which he was at this time, has to the south-east two quite round mountains and to the west-north-west a beautiful level cape which projects outward.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30.

He went out of the *Rio de Mares* to the north-west and after having gone fifteen leagues he saw a cape covered with palms and named it *Cabo de Palmas*.[1] The Indians who were in the caravel *Pinta* said that behind that cape there was a river and from the river to *Cuba* it was four days' journey [2] and the captain of the *Pinta* said that he understood that this Cuba was a city, and that *that* country was the mainland, very large, which extends very far to the north; and that the King of that country was at war with the Great Khan, whom they called *Cami*, and his country or city they called *Fava* and many other names. The Admiral determined to approach that river and send a present to the King of the Country and send him the letter from the Sovereigns, and for this purpose he had a sailor who had been in Guinea in like manner and certain Indians [3] from *Guanahani* who wished to go with him, so that afterwards they might return to their country. In the Admiral's opinion *he was 42 degrees distant from the equinoctial line toward the north*,[4] *but the text from which this is copied is defaced;* and he says that he must strive to go to the Great Khan as he thought he was in that vicinity or at the city of *Cathay* [5] which is the city of the Great Khan.[6] He says that this city is very great, accord-

[1] Navarrete identifies the Cap de Palmiers with the *Alto de Juan Dañue* and the river which the Indians declared was back of this cape, he identifies with the *Rio Maximo*.

[2] It was afterwards understood that the Cuba the Indians meant was an interior province. We have the authority of Las Casas and of the Admiral himself for saying that the Indians understood the Spaniards most imperfectly and the Spaniards interpreted with like uncertainty the various declarations of the natives.

[3] The fact that the Indians desired to go to land and were permitted to go, shows that they were free agents and not unwilling prisoners.

[4] The Admiral was using a quadrant marking double elevations, thus the 42° mark should be read 21° for the true latitude. *Puerto del Padre*, the possible landfall of Columbus, is in latitude 21° 17′ north.

[5] Cathay, the country of the Great Khan, and the two cities mentioned under date of November 1, *Zayto* and *Guinsay*, all confirm the connection and correspondence between Columbus and Paolo Toscanelli. If the celebrated letter was a fabrication, it was fabricated before the first voyage. The error of calling Cathay a city instead of a country is evidently due to the illegible manuscript, especially as the correct designations are used under date of November 1.

[6] October 30. Las Casas in the *Historia* here relates what Martin Alonso said about Cuba and the Great Khan, and then proceeds:

"Martin Alonso conceived all this from the said Indians he was taking in his caravel, whom he did not understand: and it is a wonderful thing how when man desires anything greatly and has firmly seated it in his imagination, everything he

ing to what was said to him before he left Spain. He says all this country is low and beautiful and the sea is deep.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 31.

All Tuesday night he went beating about and saw a river which he could not enter as the mouth was shallow: and the Indians thought that the ships could enter as their canoes entered, and sailing onward he found a cape which projected very far out and was surrounded by shoals and he saw an inlet or bay where small ships could remain, and he could not reach it, because the wind had shifted entirely to the north and all the coast extended to the north-north-west and south-east and another cape which he saw ahead of him projected farther out. For this reason and because the sky indicated a strong wind he had to return to the *Rio de Mares*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At sunrise the Admiral sent the boats to land to the houses which were there and they found that all the people had fled: and after some time a man appeared and the Admiral ordered that they should be left to become re-assured and the boats returned, and after having eaten he again sent to land one of the Indians he was carrying, who from a distance called to them saying that they must not be afraid because the Spaniards were good people and did no harm to any one; neither were they from the Great Khan, rather had they given of their possessions in many islands where they had been. And the Indian started to swim and went to land, and two of

may see and hear at each step, he judges without reflection to be in its favour; because this Martin Alonso had seen the chart or painting which Paul, that Florentine physician had sent to the Admiral . . . and had seen the location where these islands were found; and other reasons, which we have already said had moved the Admiral to what *he* believed and hoped, had also persuaded Martin Alonso *himself* to think the same; so everything the Indians said by signs, being as distant from the truth as heaven is from earth, he addressed and attributed to what he desired,—that is, that that country either was the realm of the Great Khan or lands bordering upon it, as the Admiral understood and desired."

The *Historia* then says that the Admiral decided to send messengers and continues:

"And the Admiral says here that he had determined to strive as much as possible to go and see the Great Khan whom he thought resided near there or at the city of Cathay, which is the principal one among his cities, and which was very large and had great riches, which he had painted or situated on the chart which the said Florentine sent him. From this, the Admiral inferred that all that country was not an island but continental land, and in truth it was the island of Cuba, and as to what the Indians said that from the aforesaid river to Cuba it was four days' journey and that it must be some city,—it appears manifest how much to the contrary they understood what the Indians said by signs, because that Cuba was not all the island, which is called thus, nor was it a city, as Martin Alonso believed, but it was a province which is called *Cubanacan*, almost in the centre of Cuba; because *nacan* means in the language of these islands, 'middle' or 'in the middle,' and thus this name *Cubanacan* is compounded of 'Cuba' and 'nacan,' a land or province which is in the middle or almost in the middle of the whole island of Cuba. This province, *Cubanacan*, was very rich in gold mines, and as the Indians saw how much and how many times the Christians named gold and called for it, they indicated to them the province of *Cubanacan*, where the mines of gold they desired would be found, and they [the Christians] understood completely the contrary and applied what they said to the Great Khan. . . ."

the Indians there took him by the arms and conducted him to a house where they questioned him. And as they were sure that no harm would be done them, they were re-assured and then there came to the ships more than sixteen rafts or canoes with spun cotton and other little things of theirs, of which the Admiral ordered that nothing should be taken that they might know that the Admiral was seeking nothing except gold which they call *nucay:* and thus during all the day they went and came from land to the ships, and the Christians went to land in great security. The Admiral did not see any of them have gold but the Admiral says he saw one of them have a piece of wrought silver fastened to his nose, which he took as an indication that there was silver in the country. They said by signs that before three days there would come many merchants from the country inland to buy the things which the Christians brought there, and they would give news from the King of the country, who, according to what they could understand by the signs they made was four days' journey distant from there, because they had sent many people through all the country, to tell them about the Admiral. These people, says the Admiral, are of the same quality and have the same customs as the others which have been found, without any sect that I know, as until the present I have not seen these I am bringing with me make any prayer but instead they say the *Salve* and the *Ave Maria* with the hands raised to heaven as they are shown, and they make the sign of the cross. All the language also is one and they are all friends and I believe that all these islands are friendly, and that they are at war with the Great Khan, whom they call *Cavila* and the province *Bafan*, and thus they also go naked like the others. The Admiral says this. He says that the river is very deep and the ships can approach their sides to the land, in the mouth. The water is not fresh until within a league of the mouth and there it is very fresh. And it is certain says the Admiral that this is the mainland and that I am, he says, before *Zayto* and *Guinsay*,[1] 100 leagues a little more or a little less, distant

[1] The reader will doubtless be puzzled at this interpretation of the Admiral's *Journal*. When we turn to the Toscanelli letter we read that on the map forwarded to Columbus by him, there were marked 26 spaces, each of 250 miles, between the city of Lisbon and the city of Quinsay, and that this distance was one third the circumference of the earth. A portion of this distance is to be deducted because practically Columbus started from the Canaries. Before he reached Quinsay he might expect to meet with the island of Antilla, and from there to the "very splendid island of Cipango" were ten spaces or 2500 miles. Leaving out of the question the mysterious island called Antilla and with which Toscanelli asserted Columbus was familiar, Cipango was one object of search, and we find the Admiral expressing himself as certain he had found this island when he set his foot on Cuba. Now we find him asserting that he is on the continental land and near the city of Quinsay. If he was in the neighbourhood of Quinsay or within "100 leagues a little more or a little less" he would believe he had passed over 6500 miles of ocean and was that far to the westward of the coast of Portugal. Yet we find him recording a longitude very much less in his *Journal*. If he gave credit to Toscanelli's location of Cathay and Mangi, of their great cities Quinsay and Zaiton, he was too intelligent a navigator to believe he had actually traversed any such space as 1625 leagues from the coast of Europe. If we could have *one* glance at the holograph *Journal* of Columbus we might find

from both, and it is well shown by the sea which comes in a different manner than it has come up to the present, and yesterday as he was going to the north-west he found that it was becoming cold.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2.

The Admiral decided to send two Spaniards, the one named Rodrigo de Jerez who lived in Ayamonte and the other one Luis de Torres, who had lived with the Adelantado of Murcia, and had been a Jew and who he says knew how to speak Hebrew and Chaldean and even some Arabic: and with these men he sent two Indians, one of those he was taking with him from *Guanahani* and the other from those houses situated on the River. He gave them strings of beads to buy something to eat if it should fail them and six days' time in which to return. He gave them specimens of spices to see if they came across any of them. He gave them instructions as to how they must ask for the King of that country and as to what they were to say on the part of the Sovereigns of Castile, how they sent the Admiral that he might give to the King on their part their letters and a present, and in order to learn of his state and gain friendship with him that he might favour them in whatever they might need, etc.: and that they might learn of certain provinces and harbours and rivers of which the Admiral had information and how far distant they were from there, etc.

This night the Admiral took the altitude here with a quadrant and he found that he was 42 degrees [1] distant from the equinoctial line and he says that by his computation he found that he had gone from the island of Hierro 1142 [2] leagues, and he still affirms that that country is the mainland.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

In the morning the Admiral entered the boat and as the river forms a great lake at the mouth which makes a very remarkable harbour very deep and free from rocks, a very good beach to run the ships aground in order to clean the hulls, and there is a great deal of wood,—he went up the river until he reached fresh water, which might be about two leagues and ascended a slight elevation to learn something of the country, and he could not see anything because of the large groves which were very fresh and odorous, on account of which he says he has no doubt that there are aromatic herbs. He says that everything he saw was so beautiful that the eyes could not weary of seeing such beauty nor could one weary of the songs of the birds, both large and small. That day many rafts or canoes

clearer readings. We recall that Las Casas more than once declares that the *Journal* had places in it not legible by him and in one place we will find him blaming some scribe for his poor writing.

[1] It has been explained that the instrument used in those days recorded half degrees and we are to read this record as 21 degrees.

[2] Navarrete in a note remarks that the true distance was 1105 leagues.

Captain A. B. Beecher of the English Navy estimates the distance as given by Columbus in his *Journal* as 1092½ leagues.

came to the ships to barter things made of spun cotton and the nets in which they slept, which are hammocks.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

Then at dawn the Admiral entered the boat and went to land to hunt some birds which he had seen the day before. After his return, Martin Alonzo Pinzón came to him with two pieces of cinnamon and said that a Portuguese he had on his ship had seen an Indian who was carrying two very large handfuls of it, but that he had not dared to trade with him for it on account of the prohibition of the Admiral that no one should do any trading. He said further that the Indian had some bright reddish things like nuts. The Boatswain of the *Pinta* said that he had found trees of cinnamon. The Admiral then went there and found that it was not cinnamon. The Admiral showed cinnamon and pepper to some Indians in that place—it appears that it was from that which they were carrying from Castile as a specimen—and he says that they recognised it and they said by signs that near there, there was a great deal of it toward the south-east. He showed them gold and pearls and certain old men replied that in a place they called *Bohio* there was an infinite quantity of gold, and that they wore it at the neck and in the ears and on the arms and on the legs, and also pearls. He understood further that they said there were large ships and merchandise and *all this was to the south-east.* He understood also that a long distance from there, there were men with one eye and others with dogs' snouts who ate men and that on taking a man they beheaded him and drank his blood and cut off his genital parts. The Admiral determined to return to the ship and await the two men he had sent in order to decide to start and search for those lands, unless, these men brought some good news of what he desired. The Admiral says further —"These people are very meek and very fearful, naked as I have said, without arms and without government. These lands are very fertile. They are full of 'mames'[1] which are like carrots and taste like chestnuts and they have 'faxones' and beans very different from ours, and a great deal of cotton, which they do not sow and which grows in the mountains, large trees of it: and I believe they have it ready to gather all the time because I saw the pods opened and others which were opening and flowers all on one tree and a thousand other kinds of fruits of which it is not possible for me to write and it must all be a profitable thing." The Admiral says all this.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At dawn he ordered the small ship beached in order to clean the hull

[1] Las Casas declares that the *mames* are *ajes* or *batatas*. Oviedo seems to distinguish the *ajes* from the *batatas* or *patatas*. The former are of a violet colour verging on blue, while the *patatas* [whence we get the designation for our tubers] are grey in colour and better. These are of the order *Convolvulus Batatas*, the sweet potato, and the description of the Admiral is quite correct: they do look like carrots and they do taste like chestnuts.

and the other ships also, but not all together: but that two should remain all the time in the place where they were for security, although he says that those people were very safe and they could have beached all the ships together without fear. Being in this condition, the Boatswain of the *Niña* came to beg a reward from the Admiral because he had found mastic,[1] but he did not bring a specimen because he had lost it. The Admiral promised him the reward and sent Rodrigo Sanchez and Master Diego to the trees, and they brought a little of it which he kept to carry to the Sovereigns and also some of the tree and he says that he knew that it was mastic. Although it must be gathered at the right time: and that there was enough in that vicinity to procure 1000 quintals each year. He says that he found near there a great deal of that wood which is called aloe. He says further that the *Puerto de Mares* is one of the best harbours in the world and has the best climate and the quietest people and as it has a point formed by a high rocky hillock a fortress can be made, so that if rich and great things should come out of this country, the merchants would be secure there from any other nations whatever.[2] And he says,—"May Our Lord, in whose hands are all the victories, dispose all that which is for His service." He says that an Indian said by signs that the mastic was good for pains in the stomach.

Tuesday, November 6.

Yesterday in the night, says the Admiral, the two men whom he had sent inland to see the country came back and told him how they had gone

[1] The mastic or mastich was one of the products sought by Columbus. This is a resinous exudation obtained from the lentisk *Pistacia Lentiscus*. It grows in many places, even in Spain and Portugal, but generally one understands the mastic to be the particular product made on the island of Scio, of which it forms the principal revenue. This product comes in a solid form in four qualities, cakes, large tears or globules, small tears, and mixed with leaves, in which last form it is used for *raki* or Turkish liquors. The East Indian mastic was probably known in the days of Columbus. It was highly prized as a medicine as well as an indulgent. Columbus had been to the island of Scio and knew very well this shrub and its product.

[2] Las Casas declares that this port is Baracoa, while Navarrete locates it in *Las Nuevitas del Principe*. Some modern writers follow Las Casas and seem to regard Baracoa as the port *De Mares* and consequently as the most western point of the island of Cuba visited by Columbus on his first voyage. Baracoa, founded by Diego de Velasquez, is in longitude 74° 29′, far to the eastward of where the Admiral was at this date. Mr. Frederick A. Ober, who has written delightful books of travel describing the West Indies, seems to think that it was from this port of Baracoa the Admiral on November 2 sent his embassy to the Great Khan. Herrera makes Baracoa on the north coast, 60 leagues east-north-east of Santiago, which in his day was the most important town in that part of the island, although the Governor even then resided at Havana or Albana, as it was often called. Puerto del Principe, on the other hand, was near the north coast a great distance to the north-west of Santiago. It may be said then that wherever on the island the Admiral beached his ships and from whatever point he sent back into the interior the two Spaniards, Rodrigo de Jerez and Luis de Torres, it was not Baracoa but some place many leagues distant to the west.

twelve leagues as far as a village [1] of fifty houses, where he says there were a thousand inhabitants, as a great many live in one house. These houses are like very large pavilions. The Spaniards said that the Indians received them with great solemnity according to their custom and all the men as well as the women came to see them and lodged them in the best houses. The Indians touched them and kissed their hands and feet wondering, and believing that they came from heaven, and thus they gave them to understand.[2] They gave them to eat from what they had. They said that on arriving, the most honourable persons of the village conducted them by the arms to the principal house and gave them two chairs in which they sat down and they all seated themselves on the floor around them. The Indian who went with them told them how the Christians lived and how they were good people. Afterwards the men went out and the women entered and seated themselves in the same manner around them, kissing their hands and feet, trying them to see if they were of flesh and of bone like themselves. They begged them to remain there with them at least five days. They showed the Indians the cinnamon and pepper and other spices which the Admiral had given them and these told them by signs that there was a great deal of it near there to the south-east: but that they did not know if they had it in that place. *Having seen that there were no rich cities* [3] they returned and if they had desired to make a place for those who wished to come with them, that more than 500 men and women would have come with them, because they thought they were returning to heaven. There came with them however one of the principal men of the village and his son and one of his men. The Admiral talked with them, paid them great honour and he [this Indian] indicated to him many lands and islands there were in those parts and he thought to bring them to the Sovereigns: and he says he did not know what the Indian desired of him, but it appears that because of fear and in the darkness of night he desired to land, and the Admiral says that as he had the ship dry on land, and not wishing to irritate him, he let him go, saying that at dawn he would return, but he never returned. The two Christians found on the way *many people* who were crossing to their villages, *men and women with a half burned wood in their hands and herbs to smoke*, which they are in the habit of doing.[4] They did not find on the way a village of more than

[1] Navarrete identifies this village with Bayamo, but according to Herrera the village of Bayamo was to the eastward of Puerto del Principe, at least he describes this latter place as being forty leagues north-west of Santiago, while Bayamo is only twenty leagues north-west of the said city.

[2] The reader will notice how inconsistent is all this wonder and surprise with the theory that the natives had seen or heard of white people before the coming of Columbus.

[3] Again the italics are ours to direct attention to the fact that Columbus could not have really believed himself arrived at Cathay, where all along the coast would be found cities rich and splendid.

[4] The first mention of tobacco in the New World, or of what probably was tobacco, is practically coincident with the discovery itself. Under date of October 15 the Admiral found a man in a canoe, between the island of *Santa Maria de la Concep-*

five houses, and all gave them the same welcome. They saw many kinds of trees and grasses and sweet-smelling flowers. They saw many kinds of birds different from those in Spain, except partridge [1] and nightingales, which sang, and geese, and of these there is a very great number there. They saw no four-footed beasts except dogs which did not bark. The land is very fertile and very well cultivated with those "mames" and

cion and the island of *Fernandina*, who bore dry leaves of great estimation among the natives and samples of which the Admiral says were offered him as a present while yet he was at San Salvador or Guanahani. These undoubtedly were tobacco leaves. But here, on the island of Cuba, only a short time after his first experience with the weed, he tells us that he found men "with a half burned wood in their hands and herbs which they are in the habit of smoking." Thus he refers to a practice he had already observed confirming the use of tobacco among the inhabitants of Guanahani or Watling Island. In the *Historia*, speaking of the observation by Columbus of the use of tobacco among the natives of Cuba, Las Casas says:

"These two Christians found on the way many people, men and women, who were crossing to their villages, the men with a half burned wood in their hands [*tizon*] and certain herbs in order to take their smokes, which are some dry herbs put in a certain leaf, also dry, in the manner of a musket made of paper, like those the boys make on the day of the Passover of the Holy Ghost; and having lighted one part of it, by the other they suck, absorb or receive that smoke inside with the breath, by which they become benumbed and almost drunk, and so it is said that they do not feel fatigue. These muskets, as we will call them, they call tobacco. I knew Spaniards on this island of Española who were accustomed to take it and being reprimanded for it, by telling them that it was a vice, they replied that they were unable to cease using it. I do not know what relish or benefit they found in it."

Navarrete quotes this passage in a note and observes:

"Such is the origin of our cigars. Who could have then said that its [tobacco] consumption and use would become so common and general and that upon this new and remarkable vice would be founded the source of one of the richest revenues for the State!"

Oviedo describes an instrument something like a *Y*, a small wooden tube the two points of which the smoker inserted in his nostrils, so inhaling the smoke. He says the name of the instrument was tobacco. Benzoni, whose work was published in 1565, says that in Mexico the name of the herb itself was *tabacco*. It is commonly said that tobacco was not brought to Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century, but it must be that this statement refers to the introduction of the green plant for cultivation. Francisco Ferrandes, a physician sent by Philip II. to investigate the products of Mexico, is said first to have brought the plant to Spain. Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador to Portugal, secured some of this plant and forwarded it to his mistress, Catherine de' Medici, and this is recorded in science by the genus *Nicotiana* applied to the plant. We think the use of tobacco in Spain was much earlier. Its use among Spaniards in the New World must have been begun at a very early date. We find the following item in the second Will of Diego Columbus, executed May 2, 1523, wherein he makes a legacy to a tobacco merchant of Lisbon showing that there must have been even then trafficking in that weed which to one half the world comes as a panacea and to the other half as an abomination:

"A Antonio, tobaco mercador, ginoves, que solia bibir en Lisboa dos mill é quinientos reales de Portugal, que son siete ducados poco mas, á razon de treszientos é ochenta é cinco reales el ducado."

"To Antonio, tobacco merchant, a Genoese, who was accustomed to live in Lisbon, 2500 reals of Portugal, which are 7 ducats, a little more, at the rate of 385 reals to the ducat."

[1] Las Casas says:

". . . but he found native partridges like those in Spain, except that they are much smaller and have almost nothing else eatable except the breast. . . . It must here be known that in all these islands there are no partridges or cranes save in the island of Cuba alone."

"fexoes" and beans very different from ours, that same panic-grass and a great quantity of cotton gathered and spun and worked, and they said that in one house alone they had seen more than five hundred arrobas [1] and that there could be had there each year, four thousand quintals. The Admiral says that it appeared to him they did not sow it and that it bears fruit all the year: it is very fine, and has a very large pod. All that these people had, he says, they gave for a very miserable price and that they gave one great basket of cotton for the end of a leather strap or any other thing that was given them. They are a people, says the Admiral, very free from evil or from war. All the men and women are naked as their mothers gave them birth. It is true that the women wear a cotton thing only large enough to cover their genital parts and no more and they are of very good presence, neither very black but less so than the inhabitants of the Canaries. "I have to say Most Serene Princes [says the Admiral] that by means of devout religious persons knowing their language well, all would soon become Christians: and thus I hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will appoint such persons with great diligence in order to turn to the Church such great peoples, and that they will convert them, even as they have destroyed those who would not confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: and after their days as we are all mortal, they will leave their realms in a very tranquil condition and freed from heresy and wickedness, and will be well received before the Eternal Creator, Whom may it please to give them a long life and a great increase of larger realms and dominions, and the will and disposition to spread the holy Christian religion, as they have done up to the present time, Amen.— To-day I will launch the ship and make haste to start Thursday in the name of God to go to the south-east and seek gold and spices and discover land." These are the words of the Admiral, who thought to start on Thursday. But as the wind was contrary, he could not start until Nov. 12.

Monday, November 12.

He started from the harbour and river of *Mares* at the passing of the quarter of dawn to go to an island which the Indians he was taking positively affirmed was called *Babeque*, where, as they said by signs, the people on it gather gold with candles at night in the sand and afterwards with a hammer he says they make bars of it, and in order to go to this island it was necessary to turn the prow to the east, quarter south-east. After having gone eight leagues forward along the coast he found a river and then having gone another four, he found another river which appeared very rich and larger than any of the others he had found. He did not wish to stop or enter any of them on two accounts, the principal one that the weather and wind were good to go in search of the said island of *Babeque*, the other because if there should be *any populous or famous city upon it, it would appear near the sea*,[2] and in order to go up the river small

[1] About 12,500 pounds weight.

[2] We would have the reader notice particularly this very natural idea of the

vessels were necessary, which those they had were not, and thus he would also lose much time, and the similar rivers are a thing to be discovered by one's self. All that coast was principally populated near the river, to which he gave the name of *El Rio del Sol.* He said that Sunday before, November 11, it had appeared to him that it would be well to take some persons from those dwelling by that river in order to take them to the Sovereigns that they might learn our language so as to know what there is in the country, and that in returning they may speak the language of the Christians and take our customs and the things of the Faith, "Because I see and know [says the Admiral] that this people have no sect whatever nor are they idolaters, but very meek and without knowing evil, or killing others or capturing them and without arms, and so timorous that a hundred of them flee from one of our people, although they may jest with them: and they are credulous and they know that there is a God in heaven, and they firmly believe that we have come from heaven: and they learn very quickly whatever prayer we tell them to say and they make the sign of the cross ✠. So that your Highnesses must resolve to make them Christians, as I believe that if they commence, in a short time a multitude of peoples will have been converted to our Holy Faith acquiring great domains and riches and all their villages for Spain: because without doubt there is a very great quantity of gold in this land, as these Indians I am bringing say, not without cause, that there are places in these islands where they dig the gold and wear it at the neck and in the ears and on the arms and on the legs and there are very heavy bracelets and also there are precious stones and pearls and an infinite quantity of spices. And in this river of *Mares* from whence I started last night, without doubt there is a very great quantity of mastic, and there may be more if it is desired that there should be more, because in planting the trees they grow easily and there are a great quantity and very large ones, and the leaf is like the mastic-tree and the fruit, except that the trees as well as the leaves are larger, as Pliny says, and as I have seen on the island of Scio in the Archipelago. And I ordered many of these trees tapped to see if resin would flow out in order to bring some, and as it has rained all the time I have been in the said

Admiral that any large or important city would likely be found not away in the interior but *near the sea.* Marco Polo, with whose book he was familiar, and Toscanelli, with whom he corresponded, described the multitude of the cities of Cathay, their wealth and glories. How was it possible then for Columbus, year after year, voyage after voyage, to believe himself on the shores of Asia, in the kingdom of the Great Khan, and yet in all his wanderings never to behold a port with ships or a city with walls? At first, on his first voyage and on his second voyage, he doubtless expected to find if not the Great Khan himself at least the outer door to his dwelling, but after that we believe the truth dawned upon him, a suspicion positively confirmed on his fourth voyage when on the coast of Veragua he was told that across the land to the west lay another body of water, another ocean, and that the western coast of the land, the continental land, bore the same relation to the eastern coast, where he then was, as Fuenterabia in the Atlantic Ocean bore to Tarragona in the Mediterranean Sea. He knew then he was on continental land and he knew that beyond the continental land lay another and distinct ocean.

river I have not been able to get any of it, except a very small quantity which I am bringing to your Highnesses, and also it may be that it is not the time to tap them; as for this purpose I believe that the end of the winter when the trees are about to bloom is suitable: and here they already have the fruit almost ripe at the present time. And also there will be a great quantity of cotton here, and I believe that it would be sold very well here without taking it to Spain, but to the great cities of the Great Khan which will without doubt be discovered, and to many other cities belonging to other Lords which will come to serve your Highnesses, and where other things from Spain and *the lands of the east* will be taken, since *these are to the west of us*.[1] And here there is also an infinite quantity of aloes, although it is not a thing which will produce great riches; but from the mastic much is to be expected, because there is none except in the said island of Scio, and I believe that they derive from it fifty thousand ducats, if I do not remember wrongly. And there is here in the mouth of the river the best harbour that I have seen until the present time, clear and wide and deep and a good situation and strong place to construct a village; and any ships whatever can approach their sides to the banks and the land is very temperate and high and the waters are very good. Yesterday there came to the side of the ship a canoe with six youths upon it and five of them entered the ship: these I ordered kept and I am bringing them with me. And afterwards I sent to a house which is west of the river and they brought seven women, small and large, and three children. I did this that the men might conduct themselves better in Spain by having women from their country than they would without them: as it had already happened many other times in taking the men from Guinea that they might learn the language in Portugal,—that after they returned and it was thought that they might be made use of in their country on account of the good company they had had and the presents which had been given them, that they never appeared after arriving there. Others did not act in this manner. So that having their wives they will be willing to undertake what is desired of them, and also these women will teach our people their language, which is all one in all these islands of India and all understand each other and all go with their canoes, which is not the case in Guinea where there are a thousand kinds of languages so that one does not understand the other. This night there came to the side of the vessel the husband of one of these women and the father of the three children who were a male and two females, and asked that I might let him come with them and it pleased me greatly, and they are now all consoled so they must all be relatives, and he is a man of already forty-five years."[2] All these are the exact words of the

[1] This passage we construe as meaning that Cathay, the kingdom of the Great Khan, was regarded by Columbus as toward the west from where he then was.

[2] November 12. The events related under this date in the *Historia* are about the same, but not in the same sequence exactly, as in the *Journal*. Las Casas arraigns Columbus at the bar of justice for taking the Indian women and says that in all the misfortunes that befel him in after life it might well be recognised that he deserved them for this injustice, and even much more than he experienced.

Admiral. He also says above that it was somewhat cold and on this account it would not be good judgment to navigate to the north in winter in order to make discoveries. He sailed this Monday until sunset eighteen leagues to the east quarter south-east as far as a cape, which he named the *Cabo de Cuba.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

All this night he was "á la corda," as the sailors say, which is to beat about and not make any headway, in order to see a gap in the mountains, which is an opening as between one mountain range and another, which he began to see at sunset, where two very large mountains [1] appeared, and it seemed that the country of Cuba was divided from that of Bohió, and the Indians he was taking with him said so by signs. Daylight having arrived, he made sail for land, and passed a point which at night appeared about two leagues distant, and entered a large gulf, five leagues to the south-south-west: and there remained another five leagues to arrive at the cape, where between two large mountains there was a cut into which he could not determine whether the sea had an entrance or not. And as he desired to go to the island which they called *Babeque* where he had information, according to what he understood, that there was a great deal of gold, which island projected to the east of him and as he saw no large villages where he could place himself in shelter from the wind which increased more than ever up to that time, he decided to make for the sea, and go to the east with the wind, which was north, and he went eight miles each hour: and from ten o'clock in the day when he took that course, until sunset he went fifty-six miles from the *Cabo de Cuba* to the east, which are fourteen leagues. And of the other country of Bohio which remained to the leeward, commencing from the head of the aforesaid gulf he discovered, in his opinion, eighty miles, which are twenty leagues, and all that coast extends east-south-east and west-north-west.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

All the night of yesterday he went cautiously and beating about [because he said that it was not reasonable to navigate among those islands at night until he had discovered them] as the Indians he was carrying told him yesterday [Tuesday] that it was about three days' journey from the river of *Mares* to the island of *Babeque*, which must be understood as days' journeys for their canoes, which can go seven leagues, and the wind also became light: and having to go to the east he could not [steer in that direction], except to the quarter of the south-east, and on account of other inconveniences which he refers to he had to stop there until morning. At sunrise he determined to go in search of a harbour, because the wind had changed from the north to the north-east, and if he did not find a harbour it would be necessary for him to turn backward to the harbours he had left on the island of Cuba. He reached land, having gone that night

[1] These were probably the mountains of *Moa.*

twenty-four miles to the east quarter south-east; he went to the south [lacuna] miles to land, where he saw many inlets and many small islands and harbours, and as the wind was high and the sea greatly changed he did not dare to undertake to enter, but rather he ran along the coast to the north-west, quarter west, searching for a harbour, and he saw that there were many but not very clear. After having gone in this manner sixty-four miles, he found a very deep inlet, a quarter of a mile wide, and a good harbour and river, where he entered and turned his prow to the south-south-west, and afterward to the south until he reached south-east, and all very wide and deep. Here he saw so many islands that he could not count them all, of good size, and very high lands covered with different trees of a thousand kinds and an infinite number of palms. He marvelled greatly to see so many high islands, and he says to the Sovereigns in regard to the mountains which he has seen since the day before yesterday along these coasts and on these islands, that it appears to him there are no higher ones in the world nor any as beautiful and clear, without fog or snow, and at the base the sea is of very great depth: and he says he believes that these islands are those innumerable ones which in the maps of the world are placed [1] at the end of the east: and he said that he believed there were very great riches and precious stones and spices upon them, and that they extend very far to the south and spread out in all directions. He named this place *La Mar de Nuestra Señora*, and the harbour which is near the entrance to the said islands he named *Puerto del Principe*, into which he did not enter more than to see it from outside, until another excursion which he made there the coming week, which will appear there. He says so many and such things of the fertility and beauty and height of these islands which he found in this harbour, that he tells the Sovereigns not to wonder that he praises them so much, because he assures them that he does not believe he has told the hundredth part. Some of them appeared to reach heaven and were like points of diamonds: others of great height which have a table on top, and at their base the sea is of very great depth so that a very large carack could approach them: and they are all covered with forests and are without rocks.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

He decided to go among these islands with the boats from the ships and he says wonders in regard to them, and that he found mastic and a great quantity of aloes and some of them were covered with the roots from which the Indians make their bread, and he found that a fire had been kindled in some places. He saw no fresh water but there were some people and they fled. Everywhere he went he found a depth of fifteen and sixteen fathoms, and all "basa" which means that the bottom underneath is sand and not rock, which the sailors greatly desire, because the rocks cut the cables of the ships' anchors.

[1] On some of the early maps at the extremity of the *east* one finds represented a multitude of islands.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16.

As in all the places, islands and lands where he entered he always left a cross planted, he entered the boat and went to the mouth of those harbours and on a point of the land he found two very large beams, one larger than the other, and the one upon the other made a cross, which he says a carpenter could not have made in better proportion: and having adored that cross, he ordered a very large, high cross made of the same timbers. He found canes along that beach and he says he did not know where they came from but he believed that some river brought them and cast them on the beach, and he was reasonable in thinking so. He went to a creek within the entrance of the harbour to the south-east [a creek is a narrow inlet where the water from the sea enters the land]: there the land formed a promontory of stone and rock like a cape, and at the base the sea was very deep, so that the largest carack in the world could lie against the land, and there was a place or corner where six ships could remain without anchors as in a hall. It appeared to him that a fortress [1] could be built there at small cost, if any notable commerce should result in that sea from those islands at any time. On returning to the ship he found the Indians he had with him fishing for very large snails which are found in those seas, and he made the people enter there and search for "nacaras" which are the oysters where pearls are formed, and they found many but no pearls and he attributed it to the fact that it could not have been the time for them, which he believed was in May and June. The sailors found an animal which appeared to be a "taso" or "taxo." They fished also with nets and found a fish among many others, which appeared like a genuine hog, not like a "tunny" which he says was all shell, very hard, and had nothing soft except the tail and the eyes and an opening underneath to expel its superfluities. He ordered it salted that he might take it for the Sovereigns to see.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

He entered the boat in the morning and went to see the islands which he had not seen, in the direction of the south-west: he saw many others very fertile and very delightful and between them the sea was very deep. Some of them were divided by streams of fresh water, and he believed that that water and those streams came from springs which proceeded from the tops of the mountain ranges on the islands. Going onward from here he found a very beautiful river of fresh water and it flowed very cold through the dry part of the island: there was a very pretty meadow and many palms, much taller than those he had seen. He found large nuts like those of India, I believe he says, and large rats, also like those of India, and very large craw-fish. He saw many birds and smelled a powerful odour of musk [*almazique*], and believed that there must be

[1] We may notice that here, as in speaking of the north end of San Salvador, the language of Columbus suggests colonisation and permanent occupation.

some there. To-day, of the six youths whom he took in the river of *Mares* and whom he ordered should go on the caravel *Niña*, the two oldest ones fled.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18.

He proceeded in the boats again with many people from the ships and went to place the great cross which he had ordered made of the said two timbers at the mouth of the entrance of the said *Puerto del Principe*, in a sightly place and free from trees: It was very high and commanded a very beautiful view. He says that the sea rises and falls there much more than in any other harbour which has been seen in that country, and that it is not very wonderful by reason of the many islands, and that the tide is the reverse of ours, because there when the moon is to the south-west quarter south, it is low tide in that harbour. He did not start from there as it was Sunday.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

He started in a calm before sunrise, and after mid-day it blew some to the east and he navigated to the north-north-east: at sunset the *Puerto del Principe* was to the south-south-west, and was about seven leagues from him. He saw the island of *Babeque* exactly to the east, about sixty miles distant. He sailed slowly all this night to the north-east; he went about sixty miles and until ten o'clock in the day, Tuesday, another twelve, which are in all eighteen leagues, and in the direction of the north-east quarter north.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Babeque or the islands of *Babeque* were to the east-south-east, from which direction the wind blew, which was contrary. And seeing that it did not alter and the sea was changing, he decided to make a short excursion to the *Puerto del Principe*, from whence he had come, which was at a distance of twenty-five leagues. He did not wish to go to the small island which he called *Isabella* which was at a distance of twelve leagues where he might have gone to anchor that day, for two reasons: one reason, because he perceived two islands to the south which he wished to see, the other that the Indians he was carrying, whom he had taken in *Guanahani* which he called *San Salvador* which was eight leagues from *Isabella*, might not get away from him, of whom he says he has need, in order to bring them to Castile, etc. They had understood, he says, that on finding gold the Admiral would allow them to return to their country. He arrived at the place of the *Puerto del Principe:* but he could not make it because it was night and because the currents caused him to decline to the north-west. He came back again and turned his prow to the north-east with a strong wind: it calmed and the wind changed at the third quarter of the night, and he turned his prow to the east, quarter north-east: the wind was south-south-east and it changed at dawn entirely to the south, and touched upon the south-east. At sunrise he marked the *Puerto del Prin-*

cipe, and it was south-west of him and almost in the quarter of the west, and it was about 48 miles distant from him, which are twelve leagues.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

At sunrise he navigated to the east with the wind south. He made little headway on account of the contrary sea: until the hour of vespers he had gone twenty-four miles. Then the wind changed to the east and he went to the south, quarter south-east and at sunset he had gone twelve miles. There the Admiral found himself forty-two degrees from the equinoctial line in the direction of the north as in the harbour of *Mares:* but here he says that *he has abandoned the use of the quadrant until he reaches land in order to repair it.* So that it appeared to him that he could not be so far distant, and he was right, because it was not possible for these islands to be only in [lacuna] degrees. He was moved to believe, he says, that the quadrant was correct by seeing that the North Star was as high as in Castile, and if this is true he had drawn very near to, and was as high as the coast of Florida: but,—where then, are now these islands which he had under consideration. He was persuaded to believe this because it was very warm: but it is clear that if he was on the coast of Florida that it would not be warm but cold: and it is also manifest that in forty-two degrees in no part of the earth is it believed to be warm without it might be for some cause *per accidens*, which I do not believe is known up to the present time. On account of this heat which the Admiral says he suffered there, he argues that in these Indies and in the place where he was, there must be a great deal of gold.[1] This day Martin Alonso Pinzón went away with the caravel *Pinta* without the will and command of the Admiral, through avarice, he says, thinking that an Indian whom the Admiral had ordered placed on the caravel, could show him much gold, and so he went away without waiting and without its being on account of bad weather, but because he wished to do so. And the Admiral says here, "*He has done and said many other things to me.*"

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

Wednesday in the night he navigated to the south quarter south-east with the wind east, and it was almost a calm: at the third quarter it blew north-north-east. He was yet going toward the south in order to see that country which lay in that direction from him and when the sun rose he found himself as far distant as on the past day because of the contrary currents, and the land was a distance of forty miles from him. This night Martin Alonso followed the course to the east in order to go to the island

[1] As before where these degrees are used, they are to be interpreted as half-degrees. Thus the altitude will be 21 degrees. But this is not in accord with the remark of Las Casas concerning the temperature usually found at 42° of latitude. We imagine Las Casas is trying to explain that this location was not 42° but really 21°, a likely region for gold, which was then believed to be the produce of southern climes.

of *Babeque*, where the Indians say there is a great deal of gold, and he was going in sight of the Admiral and might have been at a distance of sixteen miles. The Admiral went in sight of land all night and he caused some of the sails to be taken in and burned a torch all night, because it appeared to him that Martin Alonso was returning to him; and the night was very clear and there was a nice little breeze by which to come to him if he wished.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23.

The Admiral navigated toward land all day, always to the south with a light wind, and the current never permitted him to reach land, but rather he was as far from it to-day at sunset as he was in the morning. The wind was east-north-east and favourable to go to the south, but it was light: and beyond this cape there was another land or cape which also extends to the east which the Indians he was carrying called *Bohio*, and which they said was very large and had upon it people who had an eye in the forehead and others which were called cannibals of whom they showed great fear. And as soon as they saw that they were taking that course, he says that they could not talk, as they said cannibals ate them and they are a people who are very well armed. The Admiral says he well believes there was some truth in it, although since they were armed they must be an intelligent people, and he believed that they had captured some of the other Indians and that because they did not return to their own country, they would say that they ate them. They believed the same in regard to the Christians and the Admiral, when some of them first saw them.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

He navigated all that night and at the hour of "tercia" [1] he made land off the level island, in that same place where he had put into harbour the past week when he was going to the island of *Babeque*. At first he did not dare to land because it appeared to him that the sea broke heavily in that opening in the mountain ranges. And finally he arrived at the *Mar de Nuestra Señora* where the many islands were, and he entered the harbour near the mouth of the entrance to the islands, and he says that if he had known this harbour before and had not occupied himself in seeing the islands of the Sea of Our Lady [*Mar de Nuestra Señora*] that it would not have been necessary for him to turn backward although he says that he considers it time well employed in having seen the said islands. So that on arriving at land he sent the boat and tried the harbour and found it a very good bar, six fathoms deep and sometimes twenty, and clear, and all with a sandy bottom: he entered it, turning the prow to the south-west, and afterwards turning to the west, leaving the flat island toward the north, which with another near to it makes a bay in the sea, in which all the ships of Spain could be contained, and could be safe from all the winds without anchorage. And this entrance on the south-eastern part which may be entered by

[1] Nine o'clock in the morning.

placing the prow to the south-south-west, has an outlet to the west, very deep and very wide: so that whoever might come from the sea on the northern part can pass between the said islands and obtain knowledge of them, as it is the direct passage along this coast. These said islands are at the base of a great mountain [1] which extends lengthwise from east to west, and is exceedingly long and higher and longer than any of all the others which are upon this coast where there is an infinite number, and a rocky reef extends outside along the said mountain like a bar, which reaches as far as the entrance. All this is on the south-eastern part and also on the side of the flat island there is another reef, although this is small, and thus between both there is great width and great depth of water as has been said. Then at the entrance on the south-eastern side, inside in the same harbour, they saw a large and very beautiful river, and with more water than they had seen until that time and the water of which was fresh as far as the sea. It has a bar at the entrance but afterwards inside it is very deep, eight or nine fathoms. The land is all covered with palms and has many groves like ours.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25.

Before sunset he entered the boat and went to see a cape or point of land to the south-east of the small flat island, a matter of a league and a half because it appeared to him that there must be some good river there. Then at the entrance of the cape on the south-eastern part, at a distance of two cross-bow shots, he saw a large stream of very fine water flowing, which descended from a mountain and made a great noise.[2] He went to the river and saw in it some glittering stones with spots on them of the colour of gold, and he remembered that in the river Tejo [Tagus], at the foot of it near the sea, gold was found and it appeared to him that there certainly must be gold here and he ordered certain of those stones to be gathered to carry them to the Sovereigns. While they were in this place the ship-boys cried out saying that they saw pines. He looked toward the mountain ranges and saw them [the pines], so large and wonderful that he could not exaggerate their height and straightness, like spindles, both thick ones and slender ones. From these he knew that ships could be made and a great quantity of timber and masts for the largest vessels of Spain. He saw oak-trees and strawberry-trees and a good river and the materials necessary for saw-mills. The land and the breezes were more temperate than up to the present time, on account of the height and beauty of the mountain ranges. He saw along the beach many other stones of the colour of iron, and others which some said were from silver mines, all of which were brought by the river. There he got a lateen yard and mast for the mizzen of the caravel *Niña*. He reached the mouth of the river

[1] One of the mountains of Moa.

[2] The stream which runs into the Bay of Moa has a fall of nearly three hundred feet, and it is probable that this may be identified as the very stream seen by the Admiral on Sunday, November 25, 1492.

and entered a bay at the foot of that cape on the south-eastern side which was very large and deep and which would contain a hundred ships without any cables or anchors and eyes never saw such another harbour. The chains of mountains were very high, from which many delightful streams descended: and all the ranges were covered with pines and everywhere there were the most diverse and beautiful thickets of trees. There were two or three other rivers which lay behind him. He praises all this highly to the Sovereigns and shows that he experienced inestimable joy and pleasure in seeing it, and especially the pines, because as many ships as desired could be built there by bringing the necessary implements, except wood and fish of which there is an enormous quantity there. And he affirms that he has not praised it a hundredth part as much as it deserves and that it pleased our Lord to continually show him something better, and always in what he had discovered up to the present time he had been going from good to better, as well in the trees and forests and grasses and fruits and flowers, as in the people and always in a different manner and in one place the same as in another. The same was true in regard to the harbours and the waters. And finally he says that when he who sees it wonders at it so greatly, how much more wonderful it will seem to those who hear of it, and that no one will be able to believe it until he sees it.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26.

At sunrise he weighed the anchors from the harbour of *Santa Catalina* where he was, inside the low island, and navigated along the coast in a rather light wind south-west in the direction of the *Cabo del Pico* which lay to the south-east. He reached the cape late because the wind calmed, and having arrived he saw to the south-east, quarter east, another cape which might have been sixty miles distant and near there he saw another cape which was about south-east of the ship, quarter south, and it appeared to him that it might have been twenty miles distant, which he named *Cabo de Campana* and which he could not reach in the day-time because the wind calmed again altogether. He went during that entire day about thirty-two miles which are eight leagues. Within that distance he noted and marked nine very distinct harbours which all the seamen considered wonderful, and five large rivers, because he went near to the land all the time in order to see everything well. All that country consists of very high and beautiful mountains and they are not dry or rocky but are all accessible and there are most beautiful valleys. And the valleys as well as the mountains were covered with tall and verdant trees, so that it was a pleasure to look at them, and it appeared that there were many pines. And also beyond the said *Cabo del Pico* on the south-eastern side, there were two small islands which were each about two leagues around and in them there were three wonderful harbours and two large rivers. On all this coast he saw no town whatever from the sea. It might have been that there were people and there are signs of them, because whenever they went on land they found signs of habitations and many fires. He thought

that the country he now saw in the south-east direction from the *Cabo de Campana* was the island which the Indians called *Bohio:* it appears so to him because the said cape is separated from that land. All the people that he has found up to the present time, he says are in great fear of the people of *Caniba* or *Canima*, and they say they live on this island of *Bohio*. This island must be very large, as it appears to him, and he believes that the people on it go and take the other Indians and their lands and houses, as they are very cowardly and do not know about arms. And for this cause it appeared to him that those Indians he was taking with him were not accustomed to settle on the coast of the sea, on account of being near this country. These Indians, he says, after they saw him take the course to this country, could not speak, fearing that they were to be eaten, and he was not able to free them from fear, and they said that the people there had only one eye and the face of a dog and the Admiral believed that they lied: and the Admiral felt that they must belong to the domains of the Great Khan, who captured them.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

Yesterday at sunset he arrived near a cape which he called *Campana* and as the sky was clear and the wind light he did not wish to go to land to anchor although he had five or six wonderful harbours to the leeward, because he was detained more than he desired by the pleasure and delight he felt and experienced in seeing and gazing on the beauty and freshness of those countries wherever he entered, and as he did not wish to be delayed in prosecuting what he was engaged upon. For these reasons he remained that night beating about and standing off and on until day. And as the rapid currents that night had taken him more than five or six leagues farther to the south-east than he was at nightfall where the country of *Campana* had appeared to him: and beyond that point there appeared a great inlet which seemed to divide one country from the other, and made the appearance of an island in the middle: he decided to turn backward with the wind south-west, and he arrived where the opening had appeared to him, and he found that it was only a large bay and at the head of it on the south-eastern side was a point upon which there was a high and square mountain which appeared like an island. The wind changed to the north and he again took his course to the south-east in order to go along the coast and discover all that there might be there. And he saw then at the foot of that *Cabo de Campana* a wonderful harbour and a large river and a quarter of a league from there another river and a half league from there another river and another half league from there another river, and a league from there another river, and another league from there another river, and another quarter of a league from there another river, and another league from there another large river, from which latter river to the *Cabo de Campana* it was about twenty miles, and they lay south-east of him. And the greater part of these rivers had large mouths, wide and clear, with wonderful harbours for very large ships, without rocky or sandy bars

or reefs. Coming thus along the coast in the direction of the south-east from the said last river he found a large village, the largest he had found until then, and he saw a great number of people come to the sea-shore crying out loudly, all naked and with their spears in their hands. He desired to speak with them and lowered the sails and anchored and sent the boats from the ship and the caravel in an orderly manner, that the Spaniards might not do any harm to the Indians or receive any from them, commanding them to give the Indians some trifles from their articles of barter. The Indians made an appearance of not allowing them to land and of resisting them. And seeing that the boats approached nearer to the land and that the Spaniards were not afraid, they withdrew from the sea. And believing that if two or three men got out of the boats they would not be afraid, three Christians landed telling them in their language not to be afraid, as they knew something of the language from conversation with the Indians they were taking with them. Finally they all started to flee so that neither a grown person nor child remained. The three Christians went to the houses which are made of straw and of the same shape as the others they had seen, and they found no one and nothing in any of them. They returned to the ships and spread the sails at mid-day to go to a beautiful cape which lay to the east, at a distance of about eight leagues. Having gone half a league along the same bay the Admiral saw in the direction of the south a very remarkable harbour and in the direction of the south-east some wonderfully beautiful countries, similar to a hilly tract of fruitful ground surrounded by mountains, and a great quantity of smoke and large villages appeared in it and the lands were highly cultivated. On this account he determined to go down to this harbour and try and see if he could have speech and intercourse with the people. He says that if he had praised the other harbours, this one was such that he praised it more, together with the countries and their surroundings and the temperate climate and the population: he says wonders about the beauty of the land and of the trees where there are pines and palms, and about the great plain which however is not entirely level [*no es llanode llano*] and extends to the south-south-east, but is full of low smooth mountains, the most beautiful thing in the world, and many streams of water flow out from it, which descend from these mountains. After having anchored the vessel the Admiral jumped into the boat to sound the harbour, which is shaped like a small hammer: and when he was facing the entrance to the south he found the mouth of a river which was wide enough for a galley to enter it and so situated that it could not be seen until it was reached, and in entering it a boat's length it was five fathoms and eight fathoms in depth. In going along this river it was a wonderful thing to see the groves and verdure and the very clear water and the birds and the agreeableness, so that he says it appeared to him that he did not wish to leave there. He went on, saying to the men he had in his company that in order to make a relation to the Sovereigns of the things they saw, a thousand tongues would not be sufficient to tell it nor his hand to write

it, as it appeared to him that he was enchanted. He desired that many other prudent persons and of good credit should see it, so as to be certain, he says, that they did not praise these things less than he did. The Admiral further says these words here:

"How great will be the benefit which can be derived from here, I do not write. It is certain, Lords and Princes, that where there are such lands there must be an infinite quantity of profitable things: but I do not stop in any harbour because I would like to see the greatest number of lands that I can, so as to tell your Highnesses about them, and also I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me, nor do I or any other person I have with me, understand them: and *these Indians I am taking with me, many times understand things contrary to what they are*, neither do I trust much to them because they have attempted flight several times. But now, our Lord pleasing, I will see the most that I can, and little by little I will go investigating and learning, and will cause this language to be taught to persons of my house because I see that the language is all one up to the present: and then the benefits will be known, and one will labour to make all these peoples Christians as it can be done easily, because they have no sect nor are they idolaters, and your Highnesses will order a city and fortress to be built in these regions and these countries will be converted. And I certify to your Highnesses that it does not appear to me that there can be under the sun countries more fertile, more temperate in heat and cold, with a greater abundance of good and healthy waters, not like the rivers of Guinea which are all pestilent; because, praised be our Lord, until to-day, of all my people I have not had a person who has had the headache or has been in bed from sickness, except one old man through pain from gravel, from which he has suffered all his life, and then he became well at the end of two days. I say this in regard to all three ships. So that it will please God that your Highnesses shall send learned men here, or they shall come and they will then see the truth of everything. And as previously I have spoken of the site of a village or fortress on the *Rio de Mares* on account of the good harbour and the surrounding territory: it is certain that all I have said is true, but there is no comparison between that place and this, neither with the *Mar de Nuestra Señora:* as here there must be large villages and an innumerable population inland and things of great profit; because here and in all the other countries I have discovered and which I hope to discover before I go to Castile, I say that Christendom will enter into negotiations, and Spain much more than the rest, to which all must be subject. And I say that, your Highnesses must not consent that any foreigner set foot here or trade but only Catholic Christians, since *this was the beginning and the end of the proposition that it should be for the increase and glory of the Christian religion*, and that no one should come to these regions who is not a good Christian." All are his words. He ascended the river there and found some branches and going around the harbour he found at the mouth of the river there were some very pleasant groves like a most delightful orchard, and there

he found a raft or canoe made of a timber as large as a fusta with twelve benches for the rowers and very beautiful, stranded under a shed made of wood, and covered with great palm leaves, so that neither the sun nor the water could injure it; and he says that there was the right place to build a village or city and fortress on account of the good harbour, good waters, good lands, good surroundings and great quantity of wood.[1]

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

He remained in that harbour that day because it rained and was very dark and cloudy, although he could have run along the coast with the wind, which was south-west and would be at the stern [*á popa*], but as he could not see the land well and not being acquainted with it, it was dangerous to the ships, and he did not start. The people of the ships landed to wash their clothes and some of them went inland a little ways and found large villages and empty houses because all the people had fled. They returned down along another river, larger than the one where they were, in the harbour.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29.

As it rained and the sky was clouded they did not start. Some of the Christians reached another village near by in the direction of the north-west, and they found nothing and no one in the houses: and on the way they encountered an old man who could not flee from them: they took him and said to him that they did not wish to do him harm, and they gave him some trifles from the articles of barter and left him. The Admiral would have liked to see him to clothe him and talk with him, because he was greatly pleased with the felicity of that land and its disposition to make a settlement in it, and he judged that there must be large villages. They found in one house a cake of wax,[2] which he brought to the Sove-

[1] Las Casas, in the *Historia*, after a direct quotation from the Admiral, remarks:

"All these are the exact words of the Admiral, although some of them are not in perfect Castilian-Romance, as it was not the mother tongue of the Admiral."

Farther on, speaking of the sentiments rather than the phraseology of the Admiral, Las Casas says:

"Two things now appear to me worthy of notice from these words, first that in all the different islands and parts of islands discovered by him he found the people meek and docile and considered them apt for receiving the Holy Faith: and, second, that the Admiral recognised the aim of all his efforts and of the discovery of those lands and people, to be their conversion and the increase and glory of the Christian religion."

[2] In the *Historia*, speaking of the cake of wax, Las Casas says:

"This wax never was made on the island of Cuba, and this cake that he found was from the realm and provinces of Yucatan, where there was an immense quantity of yellow wax, very good, which could have come here: either because some Indians from that island might have gone to Yucatan in their canoes, or some Indian traders from the provinces of Yucatan, who trade through many parts of the coast of that main-land, might have been overturned in their canoe by a tempest, and the waters might have carried it to the coast of Cuba . . .: and for this reason it has a great appearance of truth, and I believe that it should not be doubted at all.

"As I was going along the island of Cuba with certain Spaniards who accompanied me in the year 1514, being in another condition than that which I afterwards took, although ecclesiastic, . . . in the province of Havana, almost in that part

reigns and he says that where there is wax there must also be a thousand other good things. The sailors also found in one house the head of a man in a little basket covered with another little basket and fastened to a post of the house and in the same manner they found another in another village. The Admiral believed that they must be the heads of some principal persons of the family, because those houses were such that many people could take refuge in one alone, and they must be relations descended from one person alone.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30.

He could not start because the wind was east, very contrary to his course. He sent eight men well armed and with them two Indians from among those he was taking with him to see the villages within the country and to talk with the inhabitants. They reached many houses and found nothing nor any one, as all had fled. They saw four youths who were digging in their fields, but as they saw the Christians they fled and they could not overtake them. They went a long distance, he says. They saw many settlements and very fertile ground and all cultivated and large streams of water and near one they saw a raft or canoe ninety-five palms long built of one single timber and very beautiful, and it would hold one hundred and fifty persons and they could navigate in it.[1]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1.

He did not start as the wind was still contrary and as it rained hard. He placed a large cross at the entrance of that harbour which I believe he called the *Puerto Santo*,[2] in some solid rocks. The point is the one on the south-eastern side at the entrance to the harbour and whoever is obliged to enter this harbour must approach nearer to the point on the north-west than to the other on the south-east. Although at the foot of both points, next to the rock, there are twelve fathoms of water and it is very clear, yet at the entrance to the harbour, off the south-east point there is a shoal which shows above the surface of the water, which is far enough distant from

where the port called Carenas is found, where all the vessels from all parts of the main-land come to join each other, which is on the southern coast,—we found a large cake of wax, which would weigh a good arroba, all buried in the sand, and by chance either I or another in walking on the beach with a stick or staff in the hand, encountered it, although it hardly appeared above the surface, and as the stick easily penetrated it we saw that it was wax: we were very much amazed, not being able to guess how that wax could have come there, because Yucatan or New Spain or any other land where there might be wax, until then never were discovered or known. We judged and almost knew that no vessel could have come into that sea up to that time and lost it and the sea afterward brought it there. So that I never was able to gain any indication of how that wax came there, until Yucatan was discovered, and having heard of the fertility and abundance of the bees and bee-hives found there, then I judged that it might have come from that province in the said manner."

[1] In speaking of the beautiful canoes, Las Casas says: "It is not so wonderful since there are on that island very tall, large, long, and odoriferous red cedars and commonly all the canoes are made of those precious trees."

[2] Navarrete thinks this port is Baracoa.

the point so that one can pass between them if necessary, because at the foot of the shoal and of the cape the water is all twelve or fifteen fathoms deep, and at the entrance the prow must be turned to the south-west.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2.

The wind was still contrary and he could not start. He says that every night there is a land breeze and that all the ships that may come there need have no fear of all the tempests in the world because they cannot reach the ships inside, on account of a shoal which is at the entrance to the harbour, etc. In the mouth of that river he says a ship's boy found certain stones which appeared to contain gold, and he brought them to show to the Sovereigns. He says that at a distance of a lombard shot from that place there are large rivers.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

As the wind continued contrary he did not start from that harbour and he decided to go and see a very beautiful cape a quarter of a league from the harbour in the direction of the south-east: he went with the boats and some armed people: at the foot of the cape there was the mouth of a good river. He turned his prow to the south-east in order to enter and it was a hundred paces in width: it was a fathom deep at the entrance or in the mouth; but inside it was twelve fathoms, or five, and four, and two, and would contain as many ships as there are in Spain. Passing a branch of that river he went to the south-east and found a small bay or inlet in which he saw five very large rafts which the Indians call *canoes*, like fustas, very beautiful, and carved so that he says it was a pleasure to see them and at the foot of the mountain he saw that the land was all cultivated. They were under some very thick trees and in going along a path which led to them, they came across a ship yard very well arranged and covered so that neither the sun nor the water could do injury, and in it there was another canoe made of wood like the rest, like a fusta with seventeen benches for the rowers: it was a pleasure to see how it was constructed and its beauty. He ascended a mountain and then he found it all level and sowed with many products of the land and gourds, and it was delightful to see it: and in the midst of it there was a large village. He came suddenly upon the people of the village and as they saw the Spaniards they started to flee. The Indian whom the Spaniards had with them reassured them saying that they must not be afraid as they were good people. The Admiral caused them to be given hawks' bells and rings of brass and little green and yellow glass beads, with which they were much pleased. He saw that they had no gold nor any other precious thing and that it was sufficient to leave them in security and that all the surrounding territory was populated and that the others fled through fear: and the Admiral assures the Sovereigns that ten men cause ten thousand Indians to flee. They are such cowards and so fearful that they carry

no arms except spears, and on the end of the spears they have a small sharp stick which is hardened. He decided to return. He says that he easily took all the spears away from them, trading for them so that they gave away all they had. Having returned to the place where he had left the boats he sent certain Christians to the place where he had ascended, because it appeared to him that he had seen a large apiary. Before these people whom he had sent, returned, many Indians gathered and came to the boats where the Admiral had already united all his people. One of them went forward into the water near to the stern of the boat, and made a long speech which the Admiral did not understand, except that the other Indians from time to time raised their hands to heaven and shouted loudly. The Admiral thought they were re-assuring him and that his coming pleased them; but he saw the Indian he was taking with him change countenance and become yellow like wax and tremble greatly, saying by signs that the Admiral must go away out of the river as the Indians wished to kill them: and he approached a Christian who had a loaded cross-bow and showed it to the Indians and the Admiral understood that he said to them that it would kill them all because that cross-bow went a long ways and killed. He also took a sword and drew it from the scabbard, showing it to them and saying the same thing and when they heard that, they all commenced to flee, leaving the said Indian still trembling through cowardice and lack of courage, and he was a strong man and of good stature. The Admiral would not go out of the river but rather made them row inland toward the place where the Indians were, who were in great number, all stained with red and naked as their mothers gave them birth and some of them had feathers upon their heads and other plumes, and they all had handfuls of spears. "I approached them and gave them some mouthfuls of bread and asked them for their spears and I gave them for the spears, to some a small hawk's bell, to others a cheap little brass ring, and to others some worthless little beads: so that they all became pacified and they all came to the boats and gave us whatever they had for whatever was given them. The sailors had killed a tortoise and the pieces of the shell lay in the boat and the boys gave the Indians a piece as large as the finger nail, and the Indians gave them a handful of spears. They are people like the others I have found [says the Admiral] and have the same belief, and they believe that we came from heaven and whatever they have they without saying that it is little then give for whatever may be given them, and I believe that they would do the same with spices and gold if they had them. I saw a beautiful house not very large and having two doors, as they are all built so, and I entered it and saw a wonderful arrangement like chambers constructed in a certain manner which I do not know how to describe, with shells and other things fastened to the ceiling. And I thought it was a temple, and I called them and asked by signs if they prayed in it, and they said no, and one of them went up overhead and gave me all they had there, and I took some of it."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

He made sail with a light wind and went out of that port which he named *Puerto Santo:* at a distance of two leagues he saw a good river of which he spoke yesterday. He went along the coast and all the land beyond the said cape extended east-south-east and west-north-west as far as *Cabo Lindo* which is to the east of the *Cabo del Monte* quarter south-east, and it is five leagues from one to the other. A league and a half from the *Cabo del Monte* there is another large river, somewhat crooked, and it appeared to have a good entrance and to be very deep; and three-quarters of a league from there he saw another very large river and it must flow from a long distance. It was a good one hundred paces wide at the mouth and there was no shoal in it and it was eight fathoms deep and had a good entrance, because he sent a boat to see it and sound it: and the water is fresh at some distance out into the sea and it is one of the richest he has found and must have large villages. Beyond *Cabo Lindo* there is a large bay which extends some distance to the east-north-east and south-east and south-south-west.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5.

During all this night he beat about off *Cabo Lindo*, where he was at nightfall, in order to see the country which extended to the east and at sunrise he saw another cape two leagues and a half to the east: having passed that he saw that the coast turned to the south and inclined to the south-west and then saw a very high and beautiful cape in the said course and it was distant seven leagues from the other: He would have liked to go there had it not been that he was desirous of going to the island of *Babeque* which lay to the north-east according to what the Indians he was taking with him said, so he left it. Neither could he go to *Babeque* because the wind which was prevailing was north-east. While going along in this manner he looked to the south-east and saw land [1] and it was a very large island of which he says he had already been told by the Indians and that they called it *Bohio* and it was inhabited. He says that the inhabitants of *Cuba* or *Juana* and of all the other islands are very much afraid of these people, because he says that they eat men. The said Indians told him other very wonderful things by signs: but the Admiral does not say that he believed them, only that the natives of that island of *Bohio* must be more astute and intelligent in order to capture the others, as they were very much lacking in courage. Therefore as the wind was north-east and was becoming north, he determined to leave *Cuba* or *Juana*, which up to that time he had considered to be the continental land on account of its size as he had gone fully one hundred and twenty leagues on one of its coasts, and he started to the south-east quarter east; although the land which he had seen receded to the south-east this insured protec-

[1] This is the first sight of Española, the island which was destined to play so important a part in the history of the New World.

tion, because the wind always changed around from north to north-east and from there to the east and south-east. The wind changed a great deal and he carried all his sails, the sea was calm and the current helped him so that from morning until one o'clock he made eight miles an hour and that was not quite six hours, because they say there that the nights are about fifteen hours; afterwards he went ten miles an hour: and in this manner he went until sunset eighty-eight miles, which are twenty-two leagues all to the south-east. And as it was getting towards night, the Admiral ordered the caravel *Niña* to go onward and see the harbour by daylight, as she was a fast sailor: and on reaching the mouth of the harbour which was like the bay of Cadiz and as it was already night, the *Niña* sent her boat to sound the harbour which boat carried a lighted candle: and before the Admiral reached the place where the caravel was beating about and waiting for the boat to make signals to enter the harbour, the light in the boat was extinguished. As they saw no light the caravel ran out and made a light for the Admiral to see and he having reached them, they told him what had happened. While they were in this situation, the people in the boat made another light. The caravel went to the boat and the Admiral was not able to do so and remained all that night beating about.[1]

[1] In speaking of his going to the island of Babeque the *Historia* says:

"We do not know what this island of Babeque was, unless the Indians made them understand that in that direction [toward the north-east] there was a country and in it gold, because it was towards the island of the 'Lucayos,' from which the Indians were taken whom he had with him, so that they could escape to their country,—or perhaps the Admiral did not understand them, having his thoughts and desires always fixed on finding countries rich in gold, in order to give pleasure to the Sovereigns and fulfil what he had offered to them."

In the next passage the reader will notice the curious mistake of Las Casas respecting Toscanelli and Marco Polo. In speaking of the Admiral's determination to leave the island of Cuba Las Casas says:

"And leaving the Cape or Eastern point of Cuba, he named it Alpha and Omega, which means beginning and end, because he believed that that Cape was the end of the main-land going toward the east, and the Admiral made the beginning the Cape of St. Vincent, which is in Portugal, which he believed to be the commencement or beginning of the said main-land, starting and navigating from the said Cape St. Vincent toward the west. The Admiral said this in a letter which he wrote from the island of Española to the Sovereigns. Here is to be noted what we referred to above in chapter xii., that the Admiral received letters from one *Marco Paulo*, a Florentine physician, who sent him a figure or parchment chart, and on it he painted all the land of the Great Khan and the province of Mango, which was near Catayo, certifying that he must first encounter the island of Cipango, very rich in gold, silver, pearls, spices and other profitable things. According to the said Paul, the physician, it had a circuit of 2400 miles which are 600 leagues, which lands and realms, although in respect to Italy they were to the east, Paul, the physician, nevertheless said would be found by going toward the west, as the world is round; and as by the leagues and distance which he had indicated to him in the chart which he sent to the Admiral, it was about 800 leagues, which having navigated, he affirmed he must find the land of the Great Khan, and thus having sailed a little less, he discovered those islands and the island of Cuba, which by its length, as has been said, he esteemed to be main-land,—he therefore always considered it certain that that Cape of Cuba was the end of the east which answered to the Cape San Vincent, on which account he named it Alpha and Omega: which he believed was the Cape of the land of the Great Khan, which in the chart or map which Paul, the physician sent him, was said to be written Zaitam. . . . From the aforesaid the Admiral always conceived that he was in the 'alda' or among the capes of the land of the Great Khan, from the said relation of Paul, the physician, and *for many days* he believed that Española was the island of Cipango, and he certainly had reason in the first place."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6.

When dawn came he found himself four leagues from the harbour. He named it Puerto Maria [1] and he saw a beautiful cape to the south, quarter south-west which he named *Cabo del Estrella*,[2] and it appeared to him that it was the last land of that island toward the south, and that the Admiral was about twenty-eight miles distant from it. Another country appeared to the east, like an island of no great size, at a distance of about forty miles. Another very beautiful cape of good shape lay to the east quarter south-east which he named *Cabo del Elefante*,[3] and it was fifty-four miles distant from him. Another cape lay to the east-south-east which he named *Cabo de Cinquin*, and it was about twenty-eight miles distant from him. There was a large opening or arm of the sea which appeared like a river [4] to the south-east a little on the quarter of the east, and it was a matter of twenty miles distant from him. It appeared to him that between the *Cabo del Elefante* and *Cinquin* there was a very large channel and some of the sailors said it was a division of the island: he named that the *Isla de la Tortuga*.[5] That great island appeared to be a very high land, not encircled by mountains but level like beautiful fields and it appeared to be all cultivated or a large part of it and the crops looked like wheat in the month of May in the country of Cordova. They saw many fires that night and by day much smoke like watch towers which appeared to be to guard against some people with whom they might be at war. All the coast of this land extends to the east. At the hour of vespers they entered the said harbour and as it was the day of St. Nicholas he named it *Puerto de San Nicolao*, in his honour, and at the entrance of the harbour they wondered at its beauty and goodness. And although he has praised the harbours of Cuba greatly, still without doubt he says that this one is not inferior but rather surpasses them and none of them are similar to it. At the mouth and entrance it is a league and a half wide and the prow is turned to the south-south-east, although on account of the great width the prow can be turned wherever desired. It extends in this manner to the south-south-east two leagues: and at its entrance in the direction of the south it forms something like a promontory and from there it extends thus level as far as the cape where there is a very beautiful

[1] This is the Mole Saint Nicolas.

[2] This is the Cape of Saint Nicolas. It was on the feast day of this saint that Columbus entered the superb harbour. This bay of Saint Nicolas is to the western part of the island what the bay of Samana is to the eastern part. It has sometimes been called the Gibraltar of the New World, but while many defences have been built there, they have never withstood attack and Christopher, the Negro King or Emperor of Haiti, ordered those in his time to be dismantled.

[3] This is supposed to be the Point Palmista.

[4] This probably is the Puerto Escudo.

[5] Thus the Admiral himself, on his first coming to Española, gave to Tortugas its name, the Spanish word for turtle, which animal its general contour resembles. It is something over twenty miles long by about five miles wide and is famous for its having once been the home of the Buccaneers in the seventeenth century.

beach and a field of trees of a thousand kinds and all loaded with fruits which the Admiral believed to be spices and nutmegs but as they were not ripe he did not recognise the kind: and there was a river in the middle of the beach. The depth of this harbour is wonderful as up to arriving at land for a length of [lacuna] the lead did not touch the bottom at forty fathoms and there is, up to this stretch of water, a depth of fifteen fathoms and it is very clear, and so all the said harbour from each point up to the distance of a pace from land, is fifteen fathoms deep and clear. And in this manner all the water along the coast is very deep and clear so that not a single shoal appears: and at the foot of the land at about the distance of a boat's oar from it, it is five fathoms in depth and beyond the space of the said harbour, extending to the south-south-east, in which harbour a thousand caracks could beat about, an inlet of the harbour extends to the north-east a good half league inland, and always of the same width as if it were measured with a cord. It is so situated that being in that inlet which is twenty-five paces in width, the mouth of the large entrance cannot be seen, so that this harbour is inclosed; and the depth of this inlet from the beginning to the end is eleven fathoms and it all has a sandy bottom and it is eight fathoms deep up to where the vessels can touch land. All the harbour is very breezy and *desabahado* [shelterless] and there are no trees around it. All this island appears to have more rocks than any other which has been found: the trees are smaller and many of them are the same kind as those in Spain such as evergreen oaks and strawberry trees and others, and the same thing is true in regard to the grasses. The land is very high and all smooth and the breezes are very good, and it has not been as cold anywhere as here, although it is not to be considered as cold, but the Admiral called it so in comparison with the other countries. Opposite that harbour there was a beautiful plain and in the centre of it the aforesaid river: and in that region, he says, there must be great numbers of people since they saw the canoes in which so many of them navigate and some of them as large as a "fusta" with fifteen benches for the rowers. All the Indians fled when they saw the ships. Those Indians he was taking with him from the small islands were so desirous of going to their country, that they thought [says the Admiral] that after he left this place he was to take them to their homes, and that already they were suspicious because he did not take the route for their homes. On this account he says that he did not believe what they said nor did he understand them well nor did they understand him, and he says they were in the greatest fear in the world of the people of that island. So that if he had desired to talk with the people of that island it would have been necessary for him to remain there some days in that harbour, but he did not do it on account of seeing so much land and as he was doubtful that the good weather would continue. He hoped in the Lord that the Indians he was carrying would know his language and he would know theirs, and then he would return and would talk with this people, and that it would please the Lord [he says] that he should find a good trade in gold before he returned.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At the passing of the quarter of dawn he made sail and started out of that *Puerto de San Nicolas* and navigated with the wind south-west two leagues to the north-east as far as a point which the *Carenero* makes, and a small promontory lay to the south-east and the *Cabo de la Estrella* to the south-west and from this the Admiral was twenty-four miles distant. From there he navigated to the east along the coast as far as *Cabo Cinquin*, a distance of about forty-eight miles. It is true that twenty miles of this extended to the east, quarter north-east and that coast is all a very high land and the water of great depth: it is twenty and thirty fathoms up to the edge of the land and at a distance of a lombard shot from land the bottom cannot be reached. The Admiral proved all this on that day along the coast, much to his pleasure, with the wind south-west. The promontory above mentioned, he says, reaches within a lombard shot of the *Puerto de San Nicolas*, and if it were cut off and made an island, it would be about three or four miles around. All that country was very high and did not have large trees but only evergreen oaks and strawberry-trees the same he says, as in the land of Castile. Before he reached the *Cabo Cinquin* and within two leagues, he discovered a small opening[1] like a cut in the mountain, through which he discovered a very large valley and he saw that it was all sown with barley and he thought that there must be a great many people in that valley and on the borders of it there were large and high mountains and when he reached the *Cabo de Cinquin* the *Cabo de la Tortuga* lay to the north-east at a distance of about thirty-two miles, and off this *Cabo Cinquin* at the distance of a lombard shot is a rock in the sea which stands high up and which can be seen very well. And the Admiral being off the said Cape the *Cabo del Elefante* lay to the east, quarter south-east and was at a distance of about seventy miles and all the land was very high. And at a distance of six leagues he saw a large bay and he saw in the land within very large valleys and tracts of arable land and very high mountains, all like those in Castile. And then at a distance of eight miles he found a very deep river but very crooked, although one carack could enter it very well and the mouth was free from banks or shoals. And then at a distance of sixteen miles he found a very wide harbour,[2] and so deep that he did not find the bottom at the entrance and only at three paces from the shore, where it was fifteen fathoms and it extends inland a quarter of a league. And although it was still very early being one o'clock after mid-day and the wind was in the stern and very strong, still because the sky looked as though it would rain very hard and it was very dark and cloudy,—which if it is dangerous in a familiar country is much more so when it is unfamiliar,—he decided to enter the harbour which he named *Puerto de la Concepcion*, and went to land in a rather small

[1] The original word is *agrezuela*, and Navarrete reads this *abrezuela* or *anglezuela*, a bay or roadstead. He thinks this is Mosquito Bay.

[2] This would seem to be the same bay—Mosquito—referred to above.

river which is at the end of the harbour, and which flows through some plains and level tracts of arable land which were wonderful to see on account of their beauty. He took nets to fish, and before he reached land a mullet [*lisa*] like those in Spain, jumped into the boat and until that time no fish had been seen like those in Castile. The sailors fished and killed others, also soles and other fish like those in Castile. He went a short distance along that country which is all cultivated and he heard the nightingales sing and other small birds like those of Castile. They saw five men, but they would not wait and fled. He found myrtle and other trees and grasses like those in Castile and the country and the mountains are like Castile.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8.

There in that harbour it rained hard with the wind in the north and very strong. The harbour is safe from all the winds except the north wind although it cannot do any damage to vessels because there is a great surf [or undertow] which does not allow the ship to work upon the cables nor the water from the river [*que no dá lugar á que la nas labore sobre las amarras ni el agua del rio*]. After midnight the wind shifted to the north-east and afterward to the east. This harbour is well sheltered from these winds by the island of Tortuga which is opposite it at a distance of thirty-six-miles.[1]

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9.

This day it rained and the weather was wintry the same as in Castile in the month of October. No village had been seen except one very beautiful house in the *Puerto de S. Nicolas* and which was constructed better than those which had been seen in other places. The island is very large and the Admiral says that it will not be much to say that it measures two hundred leagues around [*ne sera mucho que boje doscientas leguas*]. He has seen that it is all well cultivated. He believed that all the villages must be at some distance from the sea from which place they can see when he is approaching, and so the inhabitants all fled and took with them all they had and lighted signal fires as though they were war-like people. This harbour is a thousand paces at the mouth which is a quarter of a league. In it there is no bank or shoal but rather the bottom can hardly be found until you go in to the shore of the sea and inside it extends a thousand paces in length all clear and with a sandy bottom, so that any ship whatever can anchor in it without fear and enter without caution. At the head of the harbour there are the mouths of two rivers which discharge a small quantity of water. Opposite there are some of the most beautiful plains in the world and which are almost like the lands of Castile only

[1] The distance is surely exaggerated, or Las Casas has not copied it correctly from the *Journal*. It is not more than ten or eleven.

these are better, and *on this account he named the said island the Isla Espanola.*[1]

[1] Española, and not Hispaniola, is the correct name of this island. Solorzano (*De Indiarum Jure*) called attention to the fact that Hispaniola is a false translation of Española. Its name is the *Spanish Island*, and not *Little Spain*. Columbus called it *La isla Española*, but afterward the adjective was turned into a substantive and made to do duty for the entire phrase. Peter Martyr always employed the diminutive. In the seventh book of his *Third Decade* he gives an interesting dissertation on the nomenclature of the new lands. He asserts that the island of Española was first peopled by certain inhabitants of the island of Matinino, who had been driven away in banishment. He even stops to tell us that in pronouncing the name of the latter, the accent should be on the final vowel of Matinino. These exiles settled on the northeast part of the island of Española in that part called Cahonao upon the bank of the river Bahaboni. We imagine this is the third province, counting from the east, mentioned by Peter Martyr in his geographical divisions. The island was first named by its inhabitants *Quizqueia*, and then *Haiti*. *Quizqueia*, Peter Martyr tells us, signified in their tongue something superlatively great. The island was also called *Civao*, which the Admiral took to mean Cipango, but the name was applied particularly to the regions of mountains abounding in gold. There is peculiar significance in this last name, and if Columbus heard it when first he landed on the island, he might well have suffered his imagination to confuse it with the region he was seeking.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE LANDFALL

[Here we interrupt the *Journal* to retrace our steps and to fix the probable landfall of Columbus on Watling Island.]

THE [1] exact spot in the New World on which Columbus first set foot will always possess peculiar interest. One might expect this spot would have been marked and identified beyond chance of doubt or dispute within a short time after the discovery, and yet each of at least five of the smaller Bahama Islands is to-day pointed out as the site of the true landfall. Cuba and Santo Domingo early became the scene of attraction, and the true Guanahani was not visited for many years when its simple people were carried off and made to wear away their lives in the gold mines of New Spain. Modern writers who have tried to fix the identity of the true Guanahani have followed one of three plans:

First. Applying to the different islands the physical descriptions given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*, and by Las Casas in his abridgment of the *Journal* of the great Admiral.

Second. Tracing the course of the fleet backward from the island of Juana or Cuba, by means of the sailing memoranda in the *Journal*.

Third. Following the course sailed from the island of Gomera in the Canaries to Guanahani, and from there to Cuba, by the same recorded sailings. With the *Journal*, as thus far given before him, the reader is prepared to apply to the problem the first two methods.

Juan Bautista Muñoz published his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* at Madrid in 1793, after a labour of nineteen years.

[1] The present chapter is reproduced from the Author's *Continent of America*.

This writer says of Guanahani: "In my opinion, it is the same island that is now called Watling." His judgment was good, and his conclusions are ours also; but it would have gratified us if he had stated the reasons for his opinion.

Washington Irving, to whom we can grant a plenary indulgence for not halting long in a search for facts lest his delightful pen corrode, said of the landfall in the 1828 London edition of his *Life of Columbus:*

> "The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, is one of the Lucayos, or the Bahama Islands, and was called by the natives Guanahané: it still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land may have been on Watling Island, which lies a few leagues to the east."

It is plain that, finding on the maps an island of the Bahama group called San Salvador, Irving was content to accept it as the true Guanahani. It was also an easy way to account for the mysterious light which Columbus and Pedro Gutierrez had seen from the castle of the deck of the *Santa Maria* at ten o'clock on the evening of October 11; but the distance from Watling Island to Cat Island was not considered by the distinguished author. The nautical knowledge which fixed him in his determination to call Cat Island the true Guanahani, in the Appendix to the third volume of his *Life and Voyages of Columbus* (New York, 1848), is said to have been furnished by Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, United States Navy.

However, a greater than Irving in the field of investigation was soon to take up the subject. Alexander von Humboldt, in the third volume of his *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent* (Paris, 1837), accepts Cat Island as San Salvador, and summons two classes of witnesses to prove its identity: first the modern maps and common tradition; and second the old map of Juan de la Cosa and the *Journal* of Ponce de Leon, as well as some of the early charts. The map of La Cosa was discovered by Von Humboldt in the library of his friend Baron Walcknaer in Paris, in the year 1832. It is now in the Naval Museum at Madrid. A reduced fac-simile is shown at the end of this book,[1] and from it the student can exer-

[1] See the Author's *Continent of America.*

cise his fancy in determining the true San Salvador with the same certainty as was assured to Von Humboldt. La Cosa accompanied Columbus on one or more of his voyages to the Indies, and might have heard from the very lips of the Admiral the location of the landfall. Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 586, is authority for a strong professional relationship existing between Columbus and the famous pilot Juan de la Cosa; and Henry Harrisse, in his *Discovery of North America* (London, 1892), calls attention to the fact that La Cosa was not only a companion of Columbus on his memorable first voyage, but that he was a part owner of the flagship *Santa Maria*, which was wrecked on the coast of Española, December 25, 1492, and that he received an indemnity for his loss.

There is not sufficient detail in La Cosa's map to warrant any one in ascribing to Cat Island the honour of being San Salvador. The standard of Leon and Castile is seen in the map, planted on an island to which La Cosa gives the name Yumey, and this is easily identified in later maps as Long Island, or our Ferdinand Island. Guanahani is seen to the eastward, with the island of Santa Maria de la Concepcion lying between it and Yumey. Von Humboldt cites the *Journal* of Juan Ponce de Leon upon his expedition in 1512 to the Lucayos Islands and to Florida in search of his fountain of youth. The expedition started from Puerto Rico, and its course was north-west by north.

"In the course of five days they arrived at an island called El Viejo, in latitude 22° 30′ north. The next day they arrived at one of the Lucayos called Caycos. On the eighth day they anchored at another island called Yaguna in 24°. Thence they passed to the island of Manuega in 24° 30′, and on the eleventh day they reached Guanahani, which is 25° 40′ north. The island of Guanahani was the first discovered by Columbus on his first voyage and which he called San Salvador."

This description is taken from Herrera. Von Humboldt says that El Viejo may have been Turk's Island, the Guanahani of Navarrete. Certainly Antonio de Alaminos, the famous pilot of the expedition, knew that El Viejo was not one of the Lucayos. Captain G. V. Fox, United States Navy, has identified Yaguna, the stopping-place on the eighth day, with Little Inagua. If Ponce de Leon made 287 miles, the distance from Puerto Rico

to Grand Turk Island, in five days, he was travelling at the rate of 57.4 miles per day. If he was at Little Inagua on the eighth day out, and at Guanahani on the eleventh, it would represent a distance, if travelled at above the average speed before made, of 172.2 miles. The distance from Little Inagua to Watling Island is 176 miles, while to Cat Island it is 213. We are still confronted with the 25° 40′ of latitude applied to the Guanahani of Ponce de Leon, but we may avail ourselves of the criticism passed upon Antonio de Alaminos by Von Humboldt himself, who says that he made all his positions about one degree too far north.

We need not stop to consider the claim of Navarrete that Grand Turk is San Salvador. Neither in its physical characteristics nor in the subsequent sailings does it at all answer the requirements of the landfall. The claim of Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, the Brazilian writer, for the island of Mariguana is equally unsupported. One never can find an island to the south-west of this to play the part of Santa Maria, on the second island. Mariguana has no large lake in the centre, and lacking that, no Bahama island shall be our Guanahani.

Captain Fox has written the most elaborate disquisition yet contributed to this subject. It forms part of the report for 1880 made by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and is entitled *Methods and Results*, and was printed at the Government Printing Office. Although we do not accept his conclusions, we regard it as the most valuable contribution toward solving the problem of the first landing-place of Columbus in the New World which has been made, particularly from the method pursued in presenting the different theories. He has his own theory and pursues it with eagerness. Samana or Atwood Cay, the Guanahani of Captain Fox, is a small island containing little more than eight square miles. Its north-east end is 24° 06′ north latitude and 74° 26′ longitude west of Greenwich. He made a personal inspection of the Bahama group, and certainly, with the same resources and with the books, maps, and manuscripts possessed by other writers, he should have reached a result commensurate with his methods. He did not attain this result. The island fails in every physical test applied to it from the *Journal* of the Admiral and from the biography by Ferdinand Columbus. Cat Island contains 160 square miles, Watling has 60, Mariguana

has 96, Turk has only 6.87 square miles. It will be remembered that on the day following his landing, after having had time to examine the island, Columbus said of it: "This island is very large and very flat, and has very green trees and much water, and a very large lake in the middle, but without any mountains. It is all so green that it is a pleasure to look at it." It must have been well peopled, because of the crowds which came to the shore, and because of their canoes, fitted, some of them, to carry forty at a time.

In 1856 Captain A. B. Becher of the Royal Navy published in London a valuable work, entitled, *The Landfall of Columbus*. It includes a translation, by the author, of Navarrete's first volume containing the *Journal* of Columbus. There is a very happy arrangement of a running commentary under the *Journal* and on the same page, putting the reader into immediate possession of the author's own impressions and interpretations of the *Journal*. Captain Becher had the best aid which the Hydrographic Office of the English Admiralty could afford, the plan of Watling Island having been sketched by Captain E. Barnett of the Royal Navy, an officer who has contributed by his surveys to the improvement of the charts of the West Indies. The true Guanahani or San Salvador is fully identified by Captain Becher with Watling Island, but the subsequent course marked on the chart to the second, third, and fourth islands is not naturally derived from the *Journal* nor from the relative positions of the several islands. This attempt by Captain Becher to solve the problem is important in view of the settled belief that tradition having given the name San Salvador to Cat Island, and such eminent writers as Washington Irving and Alexander von Humboldt having there located the landfall, there could be no room for controversy or even question. When professional sailors and navigators like Captain Becher and Captain Barnett boldly denied that Columbus could have landed so far to the westward and made a journey to Cuba on any such lines as laid down by the *Journal*, the public attention was arrested, and men listened with something of respect to the calm and dignified assertions of experts. The expedition sent out by the Chicago *Herald*, and subsequent researches carried on by government authority, have strengthened the belief in Watling Island as the landfall of the Discoverer four hundred years ago.

If the reader will familiarise himself with the *Journal* as here reproduced from Navarrete he will be ready to apply to the problem the first two methods spoken of at the beginning of this chapter. The third method must ever be unsatisfactory. From September 8, 1492, when he departed from Gomera in the Canaries, until October 12, when he landed at Guanahani, —33⅓ days—he had sailed 1178⅓ nautical leagues, or 3535 nautical miles. The leagues used by Columbus were equal to four Italian miles and the Italian mile is 4842 English feet. Thus the number of leagues run by his log from Gomera to Guanahani was 1111 leagues, equal to 1178⅓ nautical leagues, or 3535 nautical miles,—about 3458 miles on a straight course. At whichever island in the Bahama group we attempt to land him by this reckoning, we find his log has overrun it by many miles. The following table will show the relative difference between the logged course and the real course:

Distance from Gomera to Grand Turk, 2834 miles. Distance overrun, 624 miles.
Distance from Gomera to Mariguana, 3032 miles. Distance overrun, 426 miles.
Distance from Gomera to Samana, 3071 miles. Distance overrun, 387 miles.
Distance from Gomera to Watling, 3105 miles. Distance overrun, 353 miles.
Distance from Gomera to Cat Island, 3141 miles. Distance overrun, 317 miles.

The current in that part of the Atlantic is very strong. Columbus arrived at the speed of his vessel by his eye, the log line not having been used until the sixteenth century. He had no aid from those accurate chronometers and fine nautical instruments which the ship-captain of to-day possesses. His time he got from a sand hour-glass. The variation of the compass and its changed relationship to the North Star were a surprise to Columbus, and on two occasions in the *Journal*, under date of September 13 and September 17, 1492, he mentions the alarm of his pilots and sailors at noticing the erratic needle. Therefore it must be apparent that conclusions fixed on such doubtful courses and disturbed distances must be uncertain and unsatisfactory.

There remain, however, two more powerful methods. With the chart of the Bahama Islands before us, we may mark out

the route of the Discoverer backward from Cuba to San Salvador. The point on the Cuban shore where Columbus landed on Sunday, October 28, 1492, is fixed at Puerto del Padre, and is the only port which has the necessary depth of water and which is far enough to the westward to answer the requirements of the south-south-west course sailed by Columbus from the Sandy Islands. Emptying into that bay there was a river which had twelve fathoms of water at its mouth. On the afternoon of October 25 Columbus arrived off some small islands which he called Las Islas de Arena. Captain Fox points to the resemblances which these islands bear to the description so correctly given in the *Journal*. They are eight in number, are sixty miles north-north-east of the north-east coast of Cuba, extending north-north-west ½ west and south-south-east ½ east for twenty-one miles. Such a group of islands can be found nowhere else in the Bahamas. From these islands the Indians told him Cuba was distant only a day and a half. He left these islands at sunrise of Saturday, October 27, sailing south-south-west eight miles an hour, until at night they had accomplished sixty-eight miles. Early in the morning of Wednesday, October 24, Columbus had sailed from the rocky islet of Isabella, following a west-south-westerly course. It rained, with little wind, at intervals all day, until as it came toward night, Columbus marked the south-west cape of Fernandina, or his third island, and which latter we shall identify as Long Island, as bearing north-west from where he was, distant seven leagues, or twenty-two nautical miles. He took in all sail that night, and estimated in the morning that he had not gone more than two leagues. At sunrise of Thursday, October 25, he sailed west-south-west; but at 9 A.M. he turned once more toward the west, and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon he saw the land of Las Islas de Arena. These islands are now called the Ragged Islands, and form the south-easterly edge of the Great Bahama Bank. Columbus remained at anchor off the southern part of these islands from 3 o'clock on Thursday until sunrise of Saturday, October 27.

Cape Verde on the island of Fernandina is thus fixed with precision. It was on the south-western end of the third island discovered and visited by Columbus, to which he gave the name of Fernandina. Its location not only forms the point of departure from the fourth island, or Isabella, but it demonstrates

that Columbus never set foot on Grand Exuma, which Washington Irving calls the third island of Columbus. The south-western part of the island of Exuma is simply an impossible place for Columbus to have been, or from which to have taken his reckoning in going to Cuba. If Columbus had sailed from the north-west side of Long Island on his journey southward to Cuba, he must have crossed the Banks nearly entire, and his *Journal* would have described the incessant soundings. There is no spot or place on this route which can possibly be taken for Las Islas de Arena.

The fourth island of Columbus, called by him Isabella and by the Indians Saomete, really consists of two islands,—the northern identified by us as Crooked Island, and the southern as Fortune Island. There is between these a small island. The first land for which Columbus made on this fourth island was an isolated rock to which he gave the name of Cabo del Isleo, or Cape of the Islet. It has been known of late years as Bird Rock. The north-west end of Fortune Island we identify as Cape Hermosa, so called by Columbus because of its great beauty. The south-west cape of the island he called Cape Laguna. He decided to circumnavigate the island to the north-east and the east by the south-east and south in his search for the settlement and the king. The singular space of water inclosed between the rocky islet and the within island is sufficiently described by Columbus to enable the navigator positively to identify it with the physical peculiarities alone found in the Crooked Island, or as they are called on some charts, the Fragrant Island group.

The course from the rocky islet of the fourth island, or Isabella, back to the third island, or Fernandina, is almost due west with the least bit of north in it. When Columbus sailed from Fernandina at daybreak of Friday, October 19, it will be recalled that the three caravels took a course to the eastward and south-eastward for three hours, when an island was discovered *in the east.* This is the island the Indians who had come with Columbus from San Salvador called Saomete, to which he gave the name of Isabella, and which we have identified with Crooked or Fortune Island.

We have now traced Columbus to his anchorage off the south-west end of an island from which he departed at daybreak on Friday, October 19. This island was his Fernandina,

off which he arrived on the night of Tuesday, October 16, but on which he did not land until daylight the next morning.

Ferdinand Columbus describes this island of Fernandina as very large with a coast running north-west and south-east more than twenty-eight leagues. To learn the trend of the shore and the extent of the island, the Admiral sailed along toward the north-west to the mouth of a beautiful port which had a little island in the entrance. Navarrete quotes from the *Journal* of Columbus the following description of the island of Fernandina:

"This island is very large and I have determined to sail around it; because, as I understand it, it is on it or near it that there is a mine of gold. This island is almost eight leagues east and west of Santa Maria and the point to which I have come and all this coast runs north-north-west to south-south-east, and I saw fully twenty leagues of it and it did not end there."

This well describes the Long Island of our map and the Fernandina of the Admiral's *Journal.* Columbus continues:

"At noon [of Wednesday] I set out from the village off which I had anchored and where I had taken on board water, in order to sail around this island of Fernandina. The wind was south-west and south and I wished to follow the coast of this island from where I was toward the south-east for the whole coast runs from the north-north-west to the south-south-east."

Columbus remarked that it was his wish to sail south, but that he was persuaded to sail north-north-west by Martin Alonzo Pinzón. Before, however, he had reached a point two leagues from the end, he came to a very remarkable port with a rocky islet at the entrance, within which port was room for a hundred vessels. From here the Admiral sailed to the north-west until he came to the end of the island and where the coast turned westward. Here, the wind changing and the Indians advising him to go to the south, he turned around and sailed south-south-east all night, until he came to anchor at the south-east end of the island, and which we recognise as Cape Verde. Clarence Harbour, which answers the description of a beautiful port with a rocky islet at its entrance, was probably the site of his first anchorage at this island. His assertion at the beginning of this day's account that the coast trends north-north-west, and that has he seen twenty leagues of it already, conveys an erroneous

impression. The *Journal* was written up the next day, when he truthfully could have said he had seen twenty leagues of it. There is nothing to show that Columbus sailed due east and west from the second island, Santa Maria. He says that he made for a large island which was westward of Santa Maria, but he may have, and probably did, run a trifle south of west. From where he landed he sailed north-north-west on again starting out. He found this beautiful port at two leagues' distance from the end of the island, and then went north-west until he reached the end of the island. He left the settlement where he had anchored at noon of the 17th of October, and consumed the time up to sunset in examining the coast and the harbour, with frequent haltings, and in consultations with the Pinzóns and the Indians. But when there came a change of wind he turned about, and was all night going south-easterly to the end of the island we call Cape Verde. It is plain that if this was any part of Exuma from which he was trying to steer, he must have gone due east and not south. It is also plain that, having the wind with him both times, he could not have made as long a journey in point of time, going north-north-west, as after turning around he made in going south-east by south. Therefore he must have touched this island for the first time somewhere between the middle and the north end, probably about eight or ten leagues from the north end of the island.

And now, how did the Admiral arrive at Fernandina? He came from an island which lay to the eastward, and which he himself had named Santa Maria de la Concepcion. If Long Island be the third island of the Fernandina of Columbus, then it follows that Rum Cay is Santa Maria, or the second island, for it is the only island to the eastward, and eight or nine leagues away from Long Island. A single glance at the map will show this. This island of Santa Maria on its east coast ran north to south about five leagues, and looked *toward San Salvador*, distant to the north about seven leagues. He travelled along the east and west coast, and at sunset came to anchor at a cape which terminates the island toward the west. This was the south-west end of the island; for Columbus speaks of going ashore in the armed boats to inquire for gold, and says that after a time, the wind blowing south-east upon the shore where the vessels lay, he determined not to remain, and set out for the

ship, after which he set sail for the other large island to the west.

The language employed in the original Spanish would certainly indicate that under the date of Monday, October 15, the Admiral is describing a journey from off the south coast of this first island to the second island, and that the entire day was occupied in this passage to its western extremity; and while the language of the *Journal* is somewhat obscure, the description of the size of the second island is sufficiently correct to identify it with Rum Cay. It is twice as long from east to west along the side Columbus followed as it is wide from north to south. Some writers, through careless reading, have made Columbus pass by this second island without either landing or giving it a name. Again, some maps have sought to identify the second island with the little island put down on the maps as Concepcion, and on which the British ship *Southampton* was wrecked in 1812. It is a double cay, and this fact and the presence of a large hill called "Booby Cay" have led some to call it the true second island, the double cay accounting for the expression in the Admiral's *Journal* that on the morning of Tuesday, October 16, he left the *Islands of Santa Maria*, speaking of more than one, and the high hill accounting for a longer object of vision from the masthead of the Admiral's ship. There are three objections to the selection of this double cay as the second island:

First. The direction of the second and third islands in respect to each other is east and west, whereas the double cay is north of the third island.

Second. The direction of the second island should be southwest of San Salvador, whereas the double cay is due west of Watling Island.

Third. The double cay is much smaller than Rum Cay, and Columbus passed by no island without, as he says, taking possession thereof.

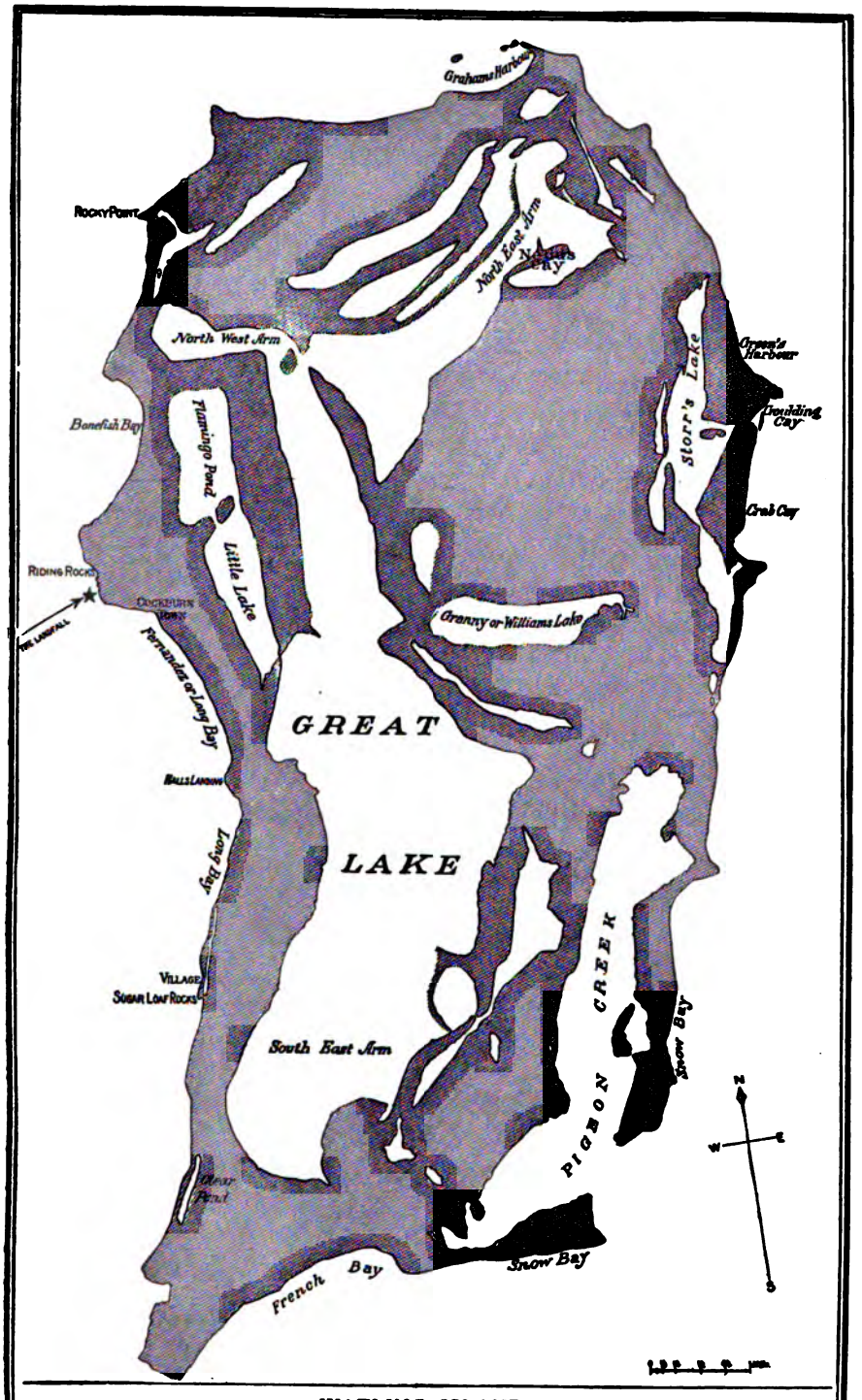
If Rum Cay be the Santa Maria, or the second island of Columbus, and he reached it by sailing six or seven leagues in a southerly direction from San Salvador, the first island, whence could he have come but from Watling Island? There is none other possible as a point of departure.

CHAPTER LIX

WATLING ISLAND THE TRUE GUANAHANI

THE first method—that of applying to the different islands the physical descriptions given by Bartolomé de las Casas and taken from the *Journal* of the Admiral—is the most satisfactory and convincing. The large lagoon in the middle of the island is a feature sufficient of itself to identify Watling Island as San Salvador, since no other island of the Bahama group possesses such a distinguishing topographical mark. Its belt of coral, while common to many islands, by its presence is another witness to certify to its claim. The fertility of the island is such as to warrant the name given it to-day,—the Garden of the Bahamas.

Watling Island is situated in latitude 24° 06′ north, longitude 74° 26′ west, from Greenwich. It is twelve miles in length north and south, and nearly seven miles in breadth, containing about sixty square miles. It owes its name, tradition says, to a Captain George Watling, an old privateer in command of a ship in the time of the buccaneers. In the map drawn by Diego Ribero, the celebrated cosmographer of the Emperor Charles V., and which he finished in 1529, Guanahani is put down as opposite to the eastern extremity of Cuba, in the same meridian as the point of the coast called Baracoa. Baracoa is only a few leagues to the westward of that extreme eastern point of Cuba made interesting by its quaint name of Cape Alpha and Omega, given it by Columbus on his first voyage in December, 1492. While this name does not appear in the words of the Admiral himself in the account of the first voyage as given by Las Casas, in speaking of his second voyage, when he went from Española across to the east end of Cuba, Columbus says he named that



WATLING ISLAND:
SHOWING THE LANDING-PLACE OF COLUMBUS.

point when he reached it first Cape Alpha and Omega. Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, and Peter Martyr all say this. Las Casas certainly found this name in the Admiral's *Journal* of the first voyage and should have incorporated it in his abridged relation. The significance in this name lies in the belief at that time of the Admiral that Cuba made part of the Asiatic continent, and that this cape was the Alpha or beginning of the Indies to all those coming from the east, and the Omega or end to all those coming from the west. As will be seen, by referring to the map, we fix the first anchorage and the exact site of the landfall on the west side of the island, off Riding Rocks, near Cockburn Town, the main settlement on the island. From the time that the ships of Columbus anchored in the early morning of Friday, October 12, until they set sail on the evening of Sunday, October 14, there is nothing to indicate that they were moved. The prevailing winds are from the east, and no ship would or could anchor on the windward side. The *Journal* tells us that the sea on October 11, 1492, was "much heavier than at any time previous during the voyage." He was sailing due west at the hour of the discovery, presumably with an east wind. That it was strong is seen from the statement that they were sailing twelve miles an hour. There is no port or anchorage possible on the east side. The course sailed on Wednesday was west-south-west, at occasionally twelve miles an hour, and on Thursday, October 11, it was almost due west at the same rate of speed. It is possible that the land which was sighted at two o'clock on the following morning was the north end of Watling Island. Sailors acquainted with that locality tell us that a ship such as Columbus had, with its sails taken in as he states his were, with the wind strong from the east, would drift to the south-west, and it is probable he was not far from the spot indicated in the map to the south and on the west side of the island when the morning broke. Here is the only proper landing-place on the entire island. His sailor instinct must have pointed it out to the Admiral. It is to-day the only safe and natural anchorage on the island.

We may arrive at the probable landfall by the following process of reasoning: It will be recalled that in the *Journal* for Saturday, October 13, he says: "Y por señas pude entender que yendo al Sur ó volviendo la isla por el Sur . . .": "I

by signs was able to learn that by going toward the south or *rounding the island to the south . . .*"

This phrase eliminates the south side of the island, and the natural conditions eliminate the east side, from our search after the location of the site of the landfall. On the morning of Sunday, October 14, the Admiral gets out his boats and leaves the ship, rowing in a north-north-easterly direction. This certainly eliminates the north end of the island from our consideration, or else we must behold the Admiral rowing in a direction which will take him out to sea. Moreover, he says he went "to see the other part of it, which was on the other side of the east." He describes a part of the island so accurately that it is easily identified to-day as the north part. The Admiral says, in speaking of the invitation of the natives for him to land as he approached this part:

"But I was afraid because I saw a great reef of rocks which surrounds the island, within which is space and depth for as many ships as there are in all Christendom, but the entrance is very narrow. It is true that inside this reef are some sunken rocks, but the sea does not move any more than water in a well. And in order to see all this I set out this morning that I might be able to give a full account to Your Highnesses, and also that I might know where a fort could be built. I saw a piece of land that is like an island, although it is not one, upon which were six houses. This peninsula could in two days be made into an island"

There is just such a natural harbour with its entrance at the north-west end of the island. To the east is a tongue of land, and in "two days" or in a short time, and with but little engineering labour, there could be excavated a canal, thus cutting off the north end and making it an island. Here in after times some one else saw its strategic advantage, and to-day there lies on the ground an old cannon which once pointed to the west and commanded the harbour entrance. The water within this harbour is quiet as the waters of a well, and there are depth and room enough for many navies.

Watling Island has a political existence. Its population of 675 souls unite with the 367 inhabitants of Rum Cay to form a constituency which sends one member to the House of Assembly for the Bahama Islands. The seat of local government is in the island of New Providence. It is said that at one time the

island was celebrated for its live stock, and in particular horses, cargóes of these being sent annually to Jamaica. The principal settlement on the island is Cockburn Town, at the point where we find the landfall. It has a sea approach with a good and easy anchorage. On Dixon Hill, on the north-east end, is a lighthouse with the most powerful light in the Bahamas. It is situated in latitude 24° 06′ and in longitude 74° 26′.

Most students who have been readers rather than investigators of the first voyage of Columbus have been content with the charming story of Washington Irving, or with the authoritative voice of Alexander von Humboldt. To-day the careful student reads the original Spanish of Navarrete, and verifies its statements concerning the landfall by what competent sailors who have visited the locality have to tell of the Bahama group.

It has frequently been said that if Columbus had not altered his sailing course on October 7, 1492, from due west to west-south-west, he would have touched land first on the coast of our Florida. We do not so interpret his course. For purposes of rough reckoning we will say that Columbus first landed in the New World on the morning of October 12, 1492, in 24° 06′ of north latitude and in longitude 74° 26′ west of Greenwich. He had been sailing by the compass on a course toward the west. On October 7 he altered his course and we have the following as his daily sailings:

October	7,	he went	5	leagues	to the	west-south-west.
"	8,	"	12	"	"	"	"
"	9,	"	5	"	"	"	south-west.
"	9,	"	4	"	"	"	west, quarter north-west.
"	9,	"	11½	"	"	"	west-south-west (?).
"	10,	"	59	"	"	"	west-south-west.
"	11,	"	27	"	"	"	west-south-west.
"	11,	"	22½	"	"	"	west.

During this time the total distance sailed was 146 leagues. This distance computed from where the fleet was on the evening of October 7, 1492, would carry it 95 leagues or 304 nautical miles south and 107.6 leagues or 344.3 miles to the westward. This landed Columbus—as we think—on Watling Island, the north end of which is in 24° 06′ north latitude and in longitude 74° 26′ west. If, then, we plot his course backward from this

place we will find him on the evening of October 7 in north latitude 29° 10′ and in longitude 68° 00′ west. At the time he changed his course he had long been pursuing a direction west by the compass. Assuming that he did not change this course and continued due west by his compass, he would have found himself during the day of October 11 in the N. E. Providence Channel between the islands of Great Abaco and Eleuthera. The Hydrographic Office current charts show a set of currents [1] in a north-westerly direction and with a maximum velocity of twenty-six miles per day throughout the region travelled, but if we are right in the location of the fleet on the evening of October 7, this influence would not have carried him north of the Providence Channel, and it is the opinion of competent naval officers that it would have had to draw him some one hundred miles to the north-west for him to clear Great Abaco Island and the Little Bahama Bank.

The route sailed by Columbus from his landfall on the morning of October 12, 1492, until he touched the shore of Cuba is here outlined with probable accuracy. If ever mortal hand shall hold the original *Journal* of the Admiral, many new and clearer readings may be found. But, until then, availing ourselves of the three methods of investigation above noticed, we may declare that the Watling Island of to-day is the true Guanahani which first knew the foot of the European discoverer, and thus pointed the way to a new stage and new scenes on which were to be enacted old plays and the reappearance of ancient history.

[1] Humboldt thought there were counter-currents in these regions to the eastward of the Gulf Stream. He reports that the British ship *Europa* in 1787 found there between 68° and 78° longitude west a counter-current running from the Bahama Banks toward the south-east.

CHAPTER LX

THE JOURNAL—*Continued*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 10.

THE wind blew hard from the north-east and caused the anchors to drag half a cable's length at which the Admiral wondered, and he thought it was because the anchors were near land and the wind blew toward it. And having seen that the wind was contrary for him to go where he desired, he sent six men well armed on land, with orders to go two or three leagues inland to see if they could talk with any one. They went and returned not having found any people or houses. They found nevertheless some huts and very wide roads, and places where many fires had been made. They saw the best lands in the world and they found many mastic trees and they brought some of it and said that there was a great deal, but that now is not the time to gather it because it does not now form into gum.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

He did not start on account of the wind which was still east and north-east. In front of that harbour as has been said is the *Isla de la Tortuga* and it appears like a large island and the coast extends almost in the same direction as that of Española, and it may be at the most, from one to the other, ten leagues: that is to say, from the *Cabo de Cinquin* at the head of Tortuga, for then its coast extends to the south. He says he would like to see that place between these two islands in order to see the *Isla Española*, which is the most beautiful thing in the world, and because according to what the Indians he had with him said, one must go yonder to reach the island of *Babeque*. These Indians said that it was a very large island with very large mountains and rivers and valleys, and they said that the island of *Bohio* was larger than *Juana* which they call *Cuba*, and that it is not surrounded by water: and they appear to give it to be understood as continental land which is here behind this Española, and which they call *Caritaba* and say that it is of infinite importance and they almost make it appear reasonable that these countries may be harassed by astute people because the inhabitants of all these islands live in great fear of the

people of Caniba, "and so I repeat as I have said at other times [he says] *that Caniba is no other than the people of the Great Khan* who must be very near here and have ships and come to capture these people, and as the captives do not return they believe they have eaten them. Each day we understand these Indians better and they understand us better, although many times they may have understood one thing for another [says the Admiral]." He sent people on land and they found a great deal of mastic not coagulated, and he says the rains must do this, and that in Xio they gather it in March and that in January they could gather it in these countries as it is so temperate. They caught many fish like those in Castile, dace, salmon, hake, doree, pámpano, *lisas* [mullet], conger eels, shrimp, and they saw sardines. They found a great deal of aloe.[1]

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12.

They did not start on this day on account of the aforesaid contrary wind. He placed a large cross at the entrance of the harbour on the western side, on a very slight elevation, "as a sign [he says] that Your Highnesses hold the land for your own and principally as a sign of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and in honour of Christianity." Having placed the cross, three sailors started up the mountain to see the trees and grasses and they heard a large crowd of people, all naked like those they had seen, and they called to them and went after them, but the Indians fled. "And finally they took a woman who could go no farther because I [he says] had ordered them to take some of the Indians in order to show them honour and cause them to lose their fear and see if they had profitable things, as it appeared it could not be otherwise on account of the beauty of the country: and so they brought the woman, a very young and beautiful girl, to the ship, and she talked with those Indians, because they all had the same language." And the Admiral caused her to be clothed and gave her glass beads and hawks' bells and brass rings, and sent her to land again very honourably, according to his custom. He sent some persons from the ship with her; and three of the Indians he had with him, to talk with that people. The sailors who went in the boat, when they took her to land, told the Admiral that she did not wish to go out of the ship if she could not remain with the other Indian women he had caused to be taken in the *Puerto de Mares de la Isla Juana* of Cuba. All these Indians who came with that Indian woman, he says, came in a canoe, which is their caravel in which they navigate everywhere, and when they appeared at the entrance of the harbour and they saw the ships they turned backward and left the canoe yonder in some place, and went away on the road to their

[1] Under date of the 11th, Las Casas says that Columbus again reiterated that the people of Caniba could not be other than the people of the Great Khan, and says: "He had this opinion and was greatly aided in holding to it, by the chart or map which he carried from Paul, the Physician, and the information he had given him by his [Paul's] letters. . . ."

village. The Indian woman showed the location of the village. This woman wore a small piece of gold in her nose, which was an indication that there was gold in that island.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13.

The three men whom the Admiral had sent with the woman returned at three o'clock in the night, and they did not go with her as far as the village because it appeared a long way off, or because they were afraid. They said that the next day many people would come to the ships because they must already be re-assured by the news the woman would give them. The Admiral being desirous to learn whether there was anything valuable in that country and in order to have some conversation with the people as their land was so beautiful and fertile, and that they might be disposed to serve the Sovereigns,—decided to send again to the village, confiding in the news given by the Indian woman that the Christians were good people. For this purpose he selected nine men well prepared with arms and adapted for such an affair, with whom an Indian from among those he had with him went also. They went to the village which was four leagues and a half to the south-east and which they found in a very large valley and unoccupied; because when the Indians heard the Christians coming, they all fled inland leaving whatever they had behind them. The village consisted of more than three thousand men and had a thousand houses. The Indian the Christians had with them, ran after the others calling to them, saying that they must not be afraid as the Christians were not from *Cariba*, but instead they were from heaven and that they gave many beautiful things to every one they found. They were so much impressed with what he said, that they were re-assured and more than two thousand came together, and all came to the Christians and placed their hands upon their heads, which was a sign of great reverence and friendship, and they were all trembling until they were greatly re-assured. The Christians said that after they were entirely freed from fear they all went to their houses, and each one brought them some of whatever they had to eat, which was bread of "niames" [1] which are roots like large radishes, which they sow and which grow and are planted in all their lands, and upon which they live: and they make bread of them and boil and roast them and they taste like chestnuts, and there is no one who does not believe, in eating them, that they are chestnuts. They gave the Christians bread and fish and whatever they had. And as the Indians he had in the ship had understood that the Admiral desired to have a parrot, it appears that the Indian who was with the Christians told the other Indians something of this, and so they brought the Christians parrots and gave them as many as they wished without requiring anything for them.

[1] Called before Mames. Navarrete says these were *ajes*, what we call sweet potatoes. It was used to make a sort of bread, but is not to be confounded with the *casabi*, the native bread made from the root of the Yuca.

They begged them not to come away that night and said they would give them many other things they had in the mountains. At the time when all those people were together with the Christians they saw a great multitude of people coming with the husband of the woman whom the Admiral had honoured and sent back. They were carrying this woman upon their shoulders and they came to thank the Admiral for the honour he had done her and the presents he had given her. The Christians told the Admiral that they were all a handsomer people and of better disposition than any others they had found until that time: but the Admiral says that he does not know how they can be of better disposition than the others, causing it to be understood that all those who had been found in the other islands were very well disposed. As to their beauty the Christians say that there is no comparison as well in the women as the men and that they are whiter than the others and that among the rest they saw two young girls as white as any could be in Spain. They said also in regard to the beauty of the lands that the best in Castile in beauty and goodness had no comparison with them, and the Admiral also saw it from those he had seen and from those he had before him, and they told him that those which he saw were not to be compared with the lands in that valley and that they were as much different from the field of Cordova as day is from night. They said that all those lands were cultivated and that a river flowed through the middle of that valley very large and wide, and which could irrigate all the lands. All the trees were green and full of fruit, and the grasses were all in flower and very high: the roads were very wide and good, the breezes were like those in Castile in the month of April, the nightingale and other small birds were singing as they do in Spain in the same month, so that they say it was the sweetest thing in the world. Small birds sang sweetly during the nights: many crickets and frogs were heard: there were fish the same as in Spain. They saw many mastic trees and aloes and cotton plantations: they found no gold and it is not wonderful that in such a short time they did not find any. The Admiral here ascertained the number of hours in the day and the night and from sun to sun; he found that twenty *ampolletas* [glasses of half an hour each] passed, although he says there might have been some error either because they were not turned quickly enough, or because some of the sand did not run through. He says also that he found by the quadrant that he was thirty-four degrees distant from the equinoctial line.[1]

Friday, December 14.

He started from that *Puerto de la Concepcion* with a land breeze, and then after a little it calmed, and thus he experienced it each day of those he remained there. Afterward the wind became east. He navigated in this wind to the north-north-east and reached the *Isla de la Tortuga* and

[1] These by his quadrant were half degrees. Columbus found he was in 17° north latitude.

saw a point on this island which he called the *Punta Pierna* which was to the east-north-east of the head of the island, and might be at a distance of twelve miles, and from there he discovered another point which he called the *Punta Lanzada* in the same route to the north-east, which was about sixteen miles distant. And thus from the head of the *Tortuga* as far as the *Punta Aguda* it would be about forty-four miles, which are eleven leagues, to the east-north-east. On that course there were some long strips of beaches. This island of Tortuga is a very high country but not mountainous, and is very beautiful and well populated the same as the island of *Española* and the land is all so cultivated that one appears to see the field of Cordova. Having seen that the wind was contrary and that he could not go to the island of *Baneque*, he decided to return to the *Puerto de la Concepcion*, from whence he had started, and he was not able to reach a river which is two leagues from the said harbour in the direction of the east.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15.

He started from the *Puerto de la Concepcion* again on his course, but on going out of the harbour the wind blew strongly from the east which was contrary for him, and he turned and went to the Tortuga and from there he made an excursion to see that river which he had wished to see and reach yesterday and was not able to do so, and this time he could not make it either, although he anchored half a league to the leeward on a beach,—a good and clear harbour. Having anchored his vessels he went with the boats to see the river and entered an arm of the sea which is a half league nearer and it was not the mouth. He returned and found the mouth which was not even a fathom in depth and which had a very strong current: he entered it with the boats in order to reach the villages which the people he had sent the day before yesterday had seen and he threw the line on land and by means of the sailors pulling on it the boats ascended a distance of two lombard shots and he was not able to go farther on account of the strong current in the river. He saw some houses and the large valley where the villages are, and he said that he had never seen a more beautiful thing; and that river flowed through the middle of the valley. He also saw people at the entrance to the river, but all started to flee. He says further that those people must be very much hunted since they live in so much fear, because on reaching any place they make smoke signals by means of towers throughout all the land, and they do this more in this island of *Española* and in *Tortuga*, which also is a large island, than in the others he had left behind. He named the valley *Valle del Paraiso* [1] and the river *Guadalquivir*, because he says that it flows thus as large as the Guadalquivir by Cordova, and it shows very beautiful stones on its banks or edges and it is all navigable.

[1] This is thought to be the Port de Paix, so named by the French when they settled themselves there to escape their woes and tribulations on the island of Tortuga.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At midnight in a very light land breeze he made sail to get out of that gulf, and in coming from the coast of the *Isla Española* he sailed close to the wind because afterward at the hour of tercia the wind blew from the east. In the middle of the gulf he found a canoe with an Indian alone in it, upon which the Admiral wondered how he was able to keep himself upon the water when there was such a high wind. He caused him and his canoe to be placed in the ship, and to flatter him, gave him glass beads, hawks' bells and brass rings and took him in his ship to land at a village which was sixteen miles from there beside the sea, where the Admiral anchored and found a good anchorage on the beach next to the village, which appeared to be newly built because all the houses were new. The Indian then went away with his canoe to land and gave news of the Admiral and of the Christians as being good people although they already considered them so through information from the others where the six Christians had gone, and then more than five hundred men came and after a little their King came, and they all gathered on the beach near the ships for they were anchored very near the land. And then one by one and in crowds they came to the ship without bringing anything with them, although some of them wore grains of very fine gold in their ears and noses, which they then gave away willingly. The Admiral ordered that all should be treated honorably, "and [says he] because they are the best and mildest people in the world: and above all because I have great hope in our Lord that your Highnesses will make them all Christians and they will all belong to you, for I regard them as yours." He saw also that the said King was on the beach as they all showed him respect. The Admiral sent him a present which he says he received with great state, and that he must have been a young man of about twenty-one years of age, and that he had an old governor or tutor and other counsellors who counselled him and replied to him and that he spoke very few words. One of the Indians the Admiral had with him spoke with the King and told him how the Christians came from heaven and that they were going in search of gold, and wished to go to the *Isla de Baneque:* and he replied that it was well and that in the said island there was a great deal of gold; he showed the Admiral's Alguacil who took him the present, the course that must be taken to go there and said that in two days one could go from that place to the island, and that if the Spaniards needed anything in his country, he would give it to them very willingly. This King and all the others went about naked as their mothers gave them birth, and the women also, without any timidity and they are the handsomest men and women who had been found up to that time: exceedingly white so that if they wore clothing and were protected from the sun and the air they would be almost as white as the people in Spain, for this country is very cool and the best that language can describe: it is very high and upon the highest mountain ploughing could be done with oxen and everything could be transformed

into arable lands and fields. In all Castile there is no land which can be compared to this in beauty and goodness. All this island and the island of Tortuga are entirely cultivated like the field of Cordova. They have the fields sown with "ajes" which are little branches which they plant, and at the foot of them small roots grow like carrots which serve as bread, and they grate them and knead them and make bread of them and afterward they plant the same little branch again in another place and it again produces four or five of those roots which are very palatable, and taste exactly like chestnuts. These which grow here are the largest and best he had seen anywhere, as he also says that he had them in Guinea. Those which grew in this place he says were as thick as the leg, and he says that all of the people there were strong and courageous and not feeble like the others he had found before, and they conversed very pleasantly and had no sect. And the trees there he says were so luxuriant that the leaves were not green but blackish in colour. It was a wonderful thing to see those valleys and the rivers and good waters and the lands suitable for bread-foods and for flocks of all kinds of which they had none, and suitable for orchards and for all the things in the world that a man may ask. Afterward in the afternoon the King came to the ship: the Admiral paid him the honour which was due him, and caused it to be said to him that he came from the Sovereigns of Castile who were the greatest Sovereigns in the world. But neither the Indians who were with the Admiral, who were the interpreters, believed anything of this, or the King either, but they believed the Christians came from heaven and that the realms of the Sovereigns of Castile were in the heavens and not in this world. The Christians gave the King some of the things of Castile to eat and he ate a mouthful and afterward gave all to his counsellors and to the Governor and to the others who were with him. "Your Highnesses may believe that these lands are so numerous and good and fertile and especially these of this *Isla Española* that there is no one who can describe it, and no one can believe it if he does not see it. And they may believe that this island and all the others are as much theirs as Castile as all that is necessary here is to build a town and order them to do what is desired. For I, with the people I have with me, who are not many in number, *could go through all these islands without any affront;* as I have already seen three of these sailors go on land where there was a multitude of the Indians and they all fled without any one's wishing to do them harm.[1] They have no arms and are all naked and have no knowledge of arms and are very cowardly, for a thousand of them would not face three Christians: and *so they are suitable*

[1] Under date of the sixteenth, in relating how the Indians told the other Indians that the Christians came from heaven and were going in search of gold, Las Casas interjects:

"It is a thing very incongruous to come from Heaven and go in search of gold."

He continues quoting what the Admiral said of the meekness of the Indians, and says:

"It must be here noted that the natural meekness, the simple, benign and humble condition of the Indians, their lack of arms, their going naked, made the Spaniards

to be governed and made to work and sow and do everything else that shall be necessary, and to build villages and be taught to wear clothing and observe our customs."

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17.

It blew that night strongly, the wind being east-north-east but the sea did not change much, because the *Isla de la Tortuga* which is in front of it and makes a shelter for it, protected and guarded it. So he remained there during that day. He sent some of the sailors to fish with nets. The Indians associated with the Christians a great deal and they brought them certain arrows belonging to *the people of Caniba or the Canibales*, and these arrows are made of spikes of canes and they use some little sharp hardened sticks for them and they are very large. They showed the Christians two men who had lost some pieces of flesh from their bodies, and made them understand that the Cannibals had eaten them by piecemeals. The Admiral did not believe it. He again sent certain Christians to the village, and by trading some worthless little glass beads they obtained some pieces of gold beaten into the form of a thin leaf. One Indian whom the Admiral took for the Governor of that Province and who was called *Cacique*, they observed to have a piece of that gold leaf as large as the hand and it appeared that he wished to trade it. He went away to his house and the others remained in the plaza and he caused that piece of gold to be broken into very small pieces, and bringing a piece at a time, he traded for it. After there was no more remaining, he said by signs that he had sent for more and the next day they would bring it to him. All these things, and their manner, and their customs, and meekness and counsel show them to be a more alert and intelligent people than the others he had found up to that time, says the Admiral. In the afternoon a canoe came there from the *Isla de la Tortuga* with all of forty men and on reaching the beach all the people of the village who were together seated themselves as a sign of peace, and some from the canoe, and then almost all came on land. "The *Cacique* arose alone and with words which appeared to be threatening made them return to the canoe and threw them water and took stones from the beach and threw them in the water: and after all had very obediently placed themselves in the canoe and embarked, he took a stone and placed it in the hand of my Alguacil whom I had sent on land with the Escribano and others to see if they could bring back anything valuable,—that he might throw it, and the Alguacil would not do so." That *Cacique* there showed very plainly that he favoured the Admiral. The canoe then went away and they said to the Admiral after its departure that in *Tortuga* there was more gold than in the island of *Española*

bold to consider them lightly, and to place them in the very hard labours to which they put them, and to be cruel to them so as to oppress them and consume them, as they did consume them. And certainly the Admiral extended his speech more than he should, and from what he here conceived and gave utterance to, must have originated the bad treatment which he afterwards pursued toward them."

because it is nearer *Baneque*. The Admiral said that he believed there were no mines of gold either in the *Isla Española* or *Tortuga*, but that they brought it from *Baneque* and that they bring a small quantity because they have nothing to give for it, and that country is so rich that it is not necessary for them to work much to sustain themselves or clothe themselves as they go naked. And the Admiral believed that this was very near the fountain head and that our Lord was about to show him where the gold originates. He was informed that from there to *Baneque*[1] it was four days' journey which must have been thirty or forty leagues, which he could make in one day of good wind.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18.

He remained anchored by this beach during this day as there was no wind and also because the *Cacique* had said that gold would be brought not because he considered [says the Admiral] that much gold could be brought as there were no mines there, but in order to know better from whence it was brought. Then at dawn he ordered the ship and caravels decorated with arms and banners for the festival, as this was the day of *Sancta Maria de la O*,[2] or the commemoration of the Annunciation. They fired many lombard shots: and the King of that *Isla Española* [says the Admiral] had arisen early from his house which must have been at a distance of five leagues from there, as well as he could judge,[3] and he reached that village at the hour of tercia, where there were already some of the people from the ship whom the Admiral had sent to see if any gold was brought: these Christians said that more than two hundred men came with the King and that four men brought him in a litter and that he was a young man as told above. To-day as the Admiral was eating below the forecastle the King arrived at the ship with all his people. And the Admiral says to the Sovereigns: "Without doubt his state and the respect which they all show him would appear well to your Highnesses, although they are all without clothing. And as he entered the ship he found that I was eating at the table below the stern forecastle, and he came quickly to seat himself beside me and would not allow me to go to meet him or get up from the table but only that I should eat. I thought that he would like to eat some of our viands: and I then ordered that things should be brought him to eat. And when he entered under the forecastle, he signed with his hand that all his people should remain without and they did so with the greatest haste and respect in the world and all seated themselves on the deck, except two men of mature age whom I took to be his coun-

[1] Las Casas here remarks that the island of Baneque never materialised. It is possible it was Jamaica, but it is more likely that the Spaniards misunderstood the Indians entirely.

[2] One of the many virgins honoured as saints in Spain.

[3] It must be that the Admiral could not judge very well. Perhaps the good Bishop of Chiapas is at fault in his transcribing the *Journal*. At all events, throughout this part of the *Journal* the distances given are quite incorrect.

sellors and governors and who came and seated themselves at his feet: and of the viands which I placed before him he took of each one as much as may be taken for a salutation and then he sent the rest to his people and they all ate some of it and he did the same with the drink which he only touched to his mouth and then gave it to the others in the same way and it was all done in wonderful state and with very few words and whatever he said, according to what I was able to understand, was very formal and prudent and those two looked in his face and spoke for him and with him, and with great respect. After eating, a page brought a belt which is like those of Castile in shape, but of a different make, which he took and gave to me and also two wrought pieces of gold which were very thin, as I believe they obtain very little of it here, although I consider they are very near the place where it has its home and that there is a great deal of it. I saw that a drapery that I had upon my bed pleased him. I gave it to him and some very good amber beads which I wore around my neck and some red shoes and a flask of orange flower water, with which he was so pleased it was wonderful; and he and his governor and counsellors were very sorry that they did not understand me, nor I, them. Nevertheless I understood that he told me that if anything from here would satisfy me that all the island was at my command. I sent for some beads of mine where as a sign I have an 'excelente'[1] of gold upon which the images of your Highnesses are engraved and showed it to him, and again told him the same as yesterday that your Highnesses command and rule over all the best part of the world and that there are no other such great Princes: and I showed him the royal banners and the others with the cross, which he held in great estimation: and he said to his counsellors that your Highnesses must be great Lords, since you had sent me here from so far without fear: and many other things happened which I did not understand, except that I very well saw he considered everything as very wonderful." Then as it was already late and he wished to go away, the Admiral sent him in the boat with great honours and caused many lombards to be fired; and having reached land he got into his litter and went away with his two hundred men and more, and his son was carried behind him on the shoulders of an Indian, a very honourable man. Wherever he encountered the sailors and people from the ships, he ordered that something to eat should be given them and they should be paid a great deal of honour. A sailor said that he had met him on the way and had seen that all the things which the Admiral had given him were each one carried before the King by a man, who appeared to be one of the most important men. His son was following behind the King at some distance with as large a number of people as he had, and likewise a brother of the King, except that the brother was on foot and two of the principal men were leading him by the arms. This

[1] Las Casas says in the *Historia:*

"The Admiral showed him a piece of fine gold money which circulated in those times in Castile and which was called 'excelente.' It was worth two castellanos [which I, who write this, saw and obtained]. Upon it were engraved the countenances of the King and Queen, which he admired very much."

brother came to the ship after the King came, and the Admiral gave him some things from the said articles of barter and then the Admiral learned that the King was called in his language *Cacique*. On this day he says he traded for only a small quantity of gold: but the Admiral learned from an old man that there were many islands in that vicinity at a distance of a hundred leagues and more, according to what he could understand, in which a great quantity of gold is found and in the others there is so much that he told him there was an island which was all gold, and there is such a quantity in the others that they gather it and sift it as with sieves and melt it and make "bars" and work it in a thousand ways: they show the manner in which this is done, by signs. This old man indicated to the Admiral the course to these islands and the place where they lay: the Admiral determined to go there and said that if the said old man had not been one of the principal persons belonging to the King that he would have detained him and taken him with him, or if he had known the language that he would have begged him to accompany him and he believed as he was on such good terms with him and with the Christians, that he would have gone with him of his own will. But as he already considered those people as belonging to the Sovereigns of Castile and it was not right to offend them, he decided to leave him. He placed a very large cross in the centre of the plaza of that village in which the Indians assisted greatly: and they said prayers, he said, and adored it, and from their actions the Admiral hopes in the Lord that all those islands are to be Christianised.

Wednesday, December 19.

This night he made sail to get out of that gulf which the *Isla Española* and *Tortuga* make there, and when day arrived the wind changed to the east, on which account during all that day he could not get out from between those two islands, and at night he was not able to reach a harbour[1] which appeared there. He saw four points of land near there and a large bay and river and from that place he saw a very large promontory,[2] and there was a village and back of it a valley between many very high mountains, covered with trees which he judged to be pines; and upon the *Dos Hèrmanos*[3] there is a very high and large mountain which extends from north-east to south-west and to the east-south-east of the *Cabo de Torres* there is a small island which he named *Santo Tomás* as the next day was his vigil. All around that island there are capes and wonderful harbours, according to what he could judge from the sea. In the forepart of the island on the western part there is a cape partly high and partly low which projects far out into the sea and on that account he named it *Cabo Alto y*

[1] Said by Navarrete to be the Puerto de la Granja.

[2] The Point Margot.

[3] The Admiral writes as if he had already bestowed upon some place the name of the *Dos Hermanos*, or Two Brothers. The Cape of Torres is also mentioned for the first time, but as if named before. It is identified by Navarrete as the Point Limbé.

Bajo. At a distance from Torres of sixty miles in the direction of the east, quarter south-east, there is a higher mountain than the other which projects into the sea [1] and appears at a distance to be an island by itself on account of a cut which it has on the land side. He named it *Monte Caribata* because that province is called *Caribata.* It is very beautiful and covered with trees of a bright green without snow and without mists and the weather there in respect to the breezes and temperateness was the same as it is in Castile in the month of March and in respect to the trees and grasses it was like the month of May in Castile. The nights, he says, were of fourteen hours duration.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20.

To-day at sunset he entered a harbour which was between the island of *Santo Tomás* and the *Cabo de Caribata,*[2] and anchored. This harbour is very beautiful and all the ships there are in Christendom could be contained therein. Its entrance appears impossible from the sea to those who have not entered it, on account of some obstructing rocks which extend from the mountain almost as far as the island and which are not placed in order, but there is one here and another there, some in the sea and some by the land. On this account it is necessary to be watchful, in order to enter it by some entrances it has which are very wide and suitable to enter without fear, and the water is all seven fathoms deep and having passed the rocks it is twelve fathoms deep inside. The ship can be fastened with any cord whatever against any winds there may be. At the entrance of this harbour he says there is a channel [*cañal*] which lies to the west of a small sandy island and there are many trees upon this island, and up to the foot of it there are seven fathoms of water: but there are many shoals in this vicinity and it is necessary to keep the eyes open until the harbour is entered: then there is no fear of all the tempests in the world. From that harbour a very large valley appeared, all cultivated, which descends to the harbour from the south-east: it is all surrounded with very high mountains which appear to reach heaven and are very beautiful and covered with green trees; and without doubt there are mountains there which are higher than the island of Tenerife [3] in Canaria, which is held to be the highest that can be found. A league from this part of the *Isla de Santo Tomás* there is another small island and nearer than that, another; and in all there are wonderful harbours but it is necessary to look out for the shoals. The Admiral saw villages and the smoke which they made.[4]

[1] Navarrete says this is a mountain upon Guarico.

[2] This, Navarrete identifies as the Bay of Acul.

[3] Of course there is no mountain on Santo Domingo as high as Tenerife.

[4] In speaking of the fires which the Admiral thought to be watch-fires, Las Casas says in the *Historia:*

". . . But it could not have been for this cause, but rather [on this island especially, as at this time it is dry], the Indians are inclined to enjoy setting fire to the pasture lands, which were very large on account of the innumerable smooth level

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21.

To-day he went with the boats from the ships to see that harbour: which he saw to be such that he affirms none yet seen is equal to it: and he excuses himself saying that he has praised those he has passed so much that he does not know how to rate this one highly enough: and he fears that he may be considered as magnifying the truth of things to an excessive degree. He guards against this, saying: that he is taking old sailors with him and these say, and *will* say the same, and so also every one of those who go on the sea: that is to say, that all his praises of the harbours he has passed are true and it is also the truth that this harbour is much better than all the others. He further says, as follows: "I have been twenty-three years upon the sea without quitting it for any time long enough to be counted, and I saw all the East and West as it is called in going to the north, which is England, and I have travelled through Guinea, but in all these regions the perfection of harbours will not be found . . . [lacuna of a line and a half] found always the [lacuna] [1] better than the other. I considered what I had written very carefully and I say again that I assert I have written well and that now this harbour surpasses all the others, and all the ships in the world could be contained in it, and it is so sheltered that the oldest cable on a ship would hold it fast."

It is five [2] leagues from the entrance to the innermost point. He saw very well cultivated lands, although they are all like that, and he ordered two men to get out of the boats and go to an elevation to see if there was a village, because none could be seen from the sea: although that night about ten o'clock certain Indians came to the ships in a canoe to see the Admiral and the Christians, as being something wonderful, and the Admiral gave them some of the articles of barter with which they were greatly pleased. The two Christians returned and told where they had seen a large village [3] a little distance from the sea. The Admiral ordered them to row toward the place where the village was until they arrived near the land, and he saw some Indians who came to the sea-shore and it appeared that they came with fear, on which account he ordered the boats stopped

fields, which they call in their language 'çabanas': they do this [the burning] for one reason because the grass, of which there is so much, stops or overruns the roads and as they are naked, it hurts them; and for another reason because the rabbits of this island which they call 'hutias' grow in this grass, and they were without number, and in burning the 'çabanas' they kill all they wish, and on this account they are accustomed to burn them."

It is frequently said that the Admiral noticed these fires in his subsequent visits to Cuba, and there is a legend that once when off the southern coast of the island they beheld countless fires, and one of the crew observed "*Mira los cien fuegos*" [Behold the hundred fires], a name which is fixed to one of the Cuban cities, in the harbour of which a fleet of modern war-ships might comfortably be anchored.

[1] The occurrence of these lacunæ indicates the difficulty Las Casas experienced in reading the Admiral's *Journal*.

[2] Navarrete corrects this by saying the distance is only five miles.

[3] Again Navarrete identifies the harbour as the Bay of Acul, and this village as the site of Acul.

and told the Indians he was carrying in the ships, to speak to them and tell them that no injury would be done to them. They then drew nearer to the sea and the Admiral drew nearer to the land, and after they became entirely free from fear, so many came that they covered the land, offering a thousand thanks, the men as well as the women and children. Some ran here and others there to bring us bread which they make from *niames*, which they call "ajes," which is very white and good and they brought us water in gourds and in clay pitchers shaped like those of Castile, and they brought us all they had in the world and knew the Admiral wished for, and all so generously and joyfully that it was wonderful "and it cannot be said that because what they gave us was of little value that on this account they gave it freely [says the Admiral] because those who gave pieces of gold did it in the same way and as liberally as those who gave a gourd of water: and it is an easy thing to recognise [says the Admiral] when a thing is given very willingly and eagerly." These are his words. "These people have no pikes or spears or any other arms, neither have the other inhabitants of all this island, which I believe to be very large: they are naked as their mothers gave them birth, men as well as women; but in the other countries of *Juana* and those of the other islands the women wore in front, pieces of cotton something like men's breeches, with which they covered their genital parts, and especially after they had passed the age of twelve years, but here neither young nor old wore it. And in the other places all the men made the women hide from the Christians through jealousy, but here they do not, and there are some very pretty women, and they are the first who came to give thanks to Heaven and bring whatever they had, especially things to eat, bread made from 'ajes,' gonza avellanada and five or six kinds of fruits." The Admiral ordered some of the fruit cured in order to take it to the Sovereigns. The women in the other places he says did the same before they were concealed, and the Admiral ordered everywhere that all his people should be on guard not to annoy any of them in any manner, and that no one should take anything from them against their will, and so the Christians paid them for everything they received from them. Finally [says the Admiral] it cannot be believed that men have seen a people with such good hearts and so liberal in giving and so fearful that they strip themselves of everything to give all they have to the Christians, and on the arrival of the Christians, they then run to bring everything to them. Then the Admiral sent six Christians to the village to see what it was, and the people showed them all the honour they knew how and were able to show, and gave them whatever they had because they were no longer in any doubt but believed that the Admiral and all his people had come from Heaven: the Indians whom the Admiral had brought from the other islands also believed this, although what they ought to believe in respect to this matter had already been told them. After the six Christians had gone, certain canoes came bringing people to pray the Admiral on the part of a certain chief, to go to his village when he left this place. *Canoa* is a boat in which they navigate and some of

them are large and some small. And having seen that the village of that chief was on the way, situated on a point of land, and that he was waiting for the Admiral with many people, he went there, but before he started, so many people, men and women and children, came to the shore that it was frightful and they were all crying loudly that he must not go away but must remain with them. The messengers of the other chief who had come to invite him were waiting with their canoes that he might not go away without going to see the Chief: and so he went to see him. When the Admiral arrived where that Chief was waiting for him with a great many things to eat, the Chief ordered all his people to be seated, telling them then to take whatever they had to eat to the boats where the Admiral was, near to the shores of the sea. And having seen that the Admiral had received what they had taken to him, all or the greater part of the Indians commenced running to the village, which must have been near, in order to bring him more eatables and parrots and other things which they had, with such generosity that it was wonderful. The Admiral gave them glass beads and brass rings and hawks' bells, not because they asked for anything but because it appeared to him that it was right, and above all [says the Admiral] because he already considers them as Christians and as belonging to the Sovereigns of Castile more than the people of Castile: and he says that nothing else is lacking save to know the language and to give them orders because all that they are ordered to do, they will do without any contradiction. The Admiral left that place for the ships, and the Indians, men, women, and children, cried out for the Christians not to go away but to remain with them. After the Christians left, canoes filled with the Indians followed them to the ships, and the Admiral treated them with great honour and gave them things to eat and other things they had with them. Another chief had also come previously from the west and many people even came swimming, though the ship was more than a long half league from the land. The Chief of whom I spoke, having returned, the Admiral sent certain persons to see him and question him about these islands: and he received them very well and took them with him to his village to give them certain large pieces of gold; and they arrived at a large river which the Indians swam across but the Christians were not able to do so and so they returned. In all this region there are very high mountains which appear to reach Heaven, so that the mountains of the island of Tenerife appear nothing in comparison with them in height and in beauty and they are all green and covered with forests which is a wonderful thing. In their midst are very delightful plains and at the foot of this harbour to the south there is such a great plain without an obstructing mountain, that the eyes cannot see to the end of it, and it appears that it must be fifteen or twenty leagues long: and a river flows through it and it is all populated and cultivated and is as green now as if it were in Castile in the month of May or June, although the nights are fourteen hours in length and the land is so northerly. Therefore this harbour [1] is very good whatever winds may

[1] He appears to be still describing the Bay of Acul.

blow, sheltered and deep, and all the country is inhabited by a very good and mild people, and they have no arms either good or bad. And any ship whatever may be free from fear in this harbour that other ships might come by night to assault it, because, although the mouth is more than two leagues wide, it is very contracted by reason of two rocky reefs which are hardly seen above the water: and there is a very narrow entrance in this reef which appears as if it could only have been made by hand, which left an opening wide enough for ships to enter. In the mouth it is seven fathoms in depth to the foot of a small level island which has a beach and trees at the foot of it: the entrance is to the west, and a ship can approach near enough to touch the rock without fear. There are three islands to the north-west and a large river a league from the head of the harbour. It is the best harbour in the world and he named it the *Puerto de la Mar de Santo Tomás* because this day was the day of St. Thomas. He called it a sea on account of its size.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At dawn he set sail in order to go on his course in search of the islands which the Indians said contained a great deal of gold, and that some contained more gold than land. But the weather was not favourable and he had to anchor again and sent the boat to fish with nets. The Chief of that country [1] who had a place near there sent him a large canoe full of people, and in it one of his principal servants, to entreat the Admiral to go with the ships to his country and he would give him whatever he had. He sent the Admiral by this servant a belt which in place of a purse had a mask attached with two large ears and a tongue and nose of beaten gold. And this people are so generous that whatever is asked of them they give with the best will in the world, and it appears to them that in asking them for something a great favour is shown them. The Admiral says this. The Indians in the canoe met the boat from the ship and gave the belt to a boy and came with their canoe on board the ship to perform their errand. Before they could understand each other some part of the day passed, neither could the Indians whom the Admiral had with him understand them well, because there is some difference in the names of things: finally he finished by understanding the invitation of these Indians, by means of signs. The Admiral determined to start for that place on Sunday *although he was not in the habit of leaving port on Sunday, solely on account of his devotion and not from any superstition whatever.* But because he hopes, he says, that the people of those villages will be Christianised on account of their good-will, and that this will be accomplished by the Sovereigns of Spain, and because he already considers them as belonging to the Sovereigns, and that they may serve the Sovereigns lovingly he is agreeable to them and strives to please them. Before he started to-day he sent six men to a very large village three leagues from there to the west,

[1] This is the famous Guacanagari, King of the province of Marien, who was so good to the Spaniards and who was so ill requited.

because the Chief of that village came to the Admiral the day before and told him that he had certain pieces of gold. On the arrival of the Christians at that place the Chief took the Escribano of the Admiral who was with the Christians by the hand. *The Admiral sent the Escribano to prevent the other Spaniards from doing anything unjust to the Indians* because the Indians were so generous and the Spaniards so avaricious and unreasonable that they were not satisfied to have the Indians give them whatever they desired for the end of a leather strap and even for a piece of glass and earthen ware and for other things of no value; but even without giving them anything they desired to have everything and take everything, *which the Admiral* always *prohibited*, although the things they gave to the Christians with the exception of the gold were always of small value. But the Admiral, considering the generous hearts of the Indians, who would give, and in fact did give, a piece of gold for six cheap little glass beads, on that account ordered that nothing should be received from them for which something was not given in payment. So that the Chief took the Escribano by the hand and conducted him to his house with all the people, a very great number, who accompanied him and made them give the Spaniards something to eat, and all the Indians brought them many things made of cotton and little balls of the same. Afterward in the afternoon the Chief gave them three very fat geese and some small pieces of gold. And a great number of Indians came with them carrying for them all the things for which they had traded, and contending among themselves as to carrying them on their shoulders and they actually did carry them across some rivers and muddy places. The Admiral ordered that some things should be given to the Chief and he and all his people were greatly pleased, believing that the Christians had really come from heaven and they considered themselves fortunate in seeing them. More than one hundred and twenty canoes came to the ships on this day all loaded with peop e and all bringing something, especially their bread and fish, and water in small earthen jars and seeds of many good kinds of spices. They throw a grain of these seeds in a porringer of water and drink it and the Indians that the Admiral had with him say that it was a very healthful thing.

Sunday, December 23.

He could not start for the country of that Chief who had sent to entreat and invite him to come, as there was no wind: but he sent some people and the Escribano in the boats with the three messengers who were waiting there. In the meantime while they were gone, he sent two of the Indians he had with him to the villages which were near the place where the ships were, and these Indians returned with a chief to the ships, with the news that in that island of Española there was a great quantity of gold and that people from other places came there to buy it, and they told him that he would find as much as he desired there. Others came who confirmed there being much gold on the island and they showed him their manner of obtain-

ing it. The Admiral understood all that with difficulty: but yet he felt certain that in those regions there was a very great quantity of gold and that in finding the place from which it is obtained he would get it very cheaply and as he imagined, even for nothing. And he repeats that he believes there must be a great deal of it, because in the three days which he remained in that harbour he had received good pieces of gold and he can not believe that it is brought there from another country. *May our Lord, Who has all things in His hands assist me and give me whatever may be for His service.* These are the words of the Admiral. He says that at that time he believes more than a thousand persons came to the vessel and they all brought something from what they possessed: and before they reached the ship, at a distance of half a cross-bow shot, they arose to their feet in their canoes and took what they were bringing in their hands, saying: "Take, Take." Also he says he believes that more than five hundred came swimming to the ships on account of not having canoes, and he was anchored about a league from land. He judged that five princes, sons of chiefs, with all their household, women and children, had come to see the Christians. The Admiral ordered something given to every one, because he says, it was all well employed, and he says: *May our Lord in His mercy direct me until I find this gold, I say this Mine, because I have many people here who say that they know it:* these are his words. The boats arrived in the night and they said that they had come from a long distance, and that at the mountain of *Caribatan* they found many canoes with a great many people who were coming from the place whither the Christians were going, to see the Admiral and the Christians. And he considered it certain that if he could be in that harbour [1] for the feast of the Nativity that all the people would come from that island, which he already estimated to be larger than England, to see the Christians. The canoes all returned with the Christians to the village, which, he says, they affirm to be larger and with better arranged streets than any others passed and discovered up to that time. This village, he says, is almost three leagues to the south-east of the *Punta Santa.* And as the canoes go rapidly with oars they went ahead to make known to the *Cacique* that the Christians were coming. Up to that time the Admiral had not been able to understand whether by *Cacique* they meant King or Governor. They also have another word for a great personage, that is to say *Nitayno*, and he did not know whether it meant a Hidalgo, Governor or Judge. Finally the *Cacique* came to them, and all the people of the village consisting of more than

[1] This is Guarico, known to-day as Cape Haitien. It was called by the French Cape François. When King Christophe was at the head of affairs it was called Cape Henry in his honour. The people of the island refer to it as simply the Cape. It is now not much better than a ruined city, but once, during the French occupancy, it was known as the Paris of Santo Domingo.

[2] The fact that this *Punta Santa* has not yet been named in this abridged *Journal* makes it evident that now, as in several other instances, the original document was not closely followed by Las Casas. The Admiral had a great fondness for bestowing names on points of land and bodies of water.

two thousand men, united in the plaza, which was very clean. This King paid great honours to the people from the ships and each one of the people brought them something to eat and to drink. Then the King gave to each one of them some cotton cloths such as the women wear, and parrots for the Admiral, and certain pieces of gold: the people also gave the sailors some of the same cloths and other things from their houses for the little things which they gave them, which from the manner in which they received them, it appeared they esteemed as reliques. In the afternoon when they wished to take leave the King begged them to wait until another day and all the people did the same; but having seen that they had determined to come away, many of the Indians came with them carrying on their shoulders the things which the *Cacique* and the others had given them as far as the boats, which remained at the entrance of the river.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24.

Before sunrise he weighed the anchors, with a land breeze. Among the many Indians who had come to the ship yesterday and had given them indications of there being gold on that island and had named the places where it was found, he saw one, who, it appears was better disposed and more affectionate, or who spoke to him with more pleasure. The Admiral flattered him, begging him to go away with him to show him the mines of gold. This Indian brought with him another, a companion or relative and among the other places which they named where gold was found, they told of *Cipango*,[1] which they call *Civao*, and there they say there is a great quantity of gold, and that the *Cacique* carries banners of hammered gold, *but that it is a great distance to the east*.[2] The Admiral here says these words to the Sovereigns: "Your Highnesses may believe that in all the world there cannot be better or more quiet people. Your Highnesses must be greatly pleased, because they will soon make them Christians and will teach them the good customs of their realms, because there cannot be a better people or country: and the people are so numerous and the country so great that I do not yet know how to write it, be-

[1] Las Casas, in the *Historia*, adds: "The Admiral having heard that this land of Cibao was a country where gold originated, it is to be believed that his heart rejoiced and his hope doubled, recalling the chart or figure of the island of Cipango, which Paul, the Physician, sent him."

[2] The Indians told Columbus that this other country, called Civao or Cibao, and which he inferred was Cipango, was situated at a great distance toward the east. All things are relative, and we cannot tell whether Columbus understood the Indians as saying that at a considerable distance eastward upon that same island of Española was to be found a great quantity of gold, or that such a country lay at a great distance from that island and toward the *east*, that is to say, toward Toscanelli's east, the sought-for Indies. In this latter case the Indians might have pointed toward the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of Honduras. The use among them of the gold masks is suggestive of intercourse with the peoples of the continental coasts. The reference to Cibao under the next day's entry would seem to suggest that the Indians intended to call one of the provinces on Española by the name of Cibao or Civao.

cause I have spoken in the superlative degree of the people and the country of *Juana*, which they call *Cuba;* but there is as much difference between the people of this country and the people of *Juana* as there is between day and night. Neither do I believe that any other person who saw this, would have done or said less than I have said, and I say that it is true that the things here are marvellous and so also are the great villages of this island of *Española*, as I have named it and which they call *Bohio*.[1] And all the people behave in a remarkably friendly manner and speak softly, not like the other Indians who appear to threaten when they speak, and the men and women are of good stature and are not black. It is true that they all paint themselves, some black and others in other colours, and mostly red. I have learned that they do it on account of the sun, which then does not injure them as much. And the houses and settlements are very beautiful and they are all governed by a Lord or Judge, and all obey him so that it is a marvel. And all these Lords speak very few words and have very fine manners, and their commands are given usually by a sign of the hand, and then it is understood in a wonderful manner." All these are the words of the Admiral.

Whoever is obliged to enter the sea of *Santo Tomé*[2] must put in a good league above the mouth of the entrance toward a small flat island which the Admiral named *La Amiga* which is in the middle of it, turning the prow toward it. And after he arrives within the "ot°"[3] of a stone from it, must go to the west, and leave the island to the east and must keep near it and not go to the other side, because there is a very large reef to the west, and also in the sea outside of it there are three shoals, and this reef reaches within a lombard shot of *La Amiga:* and he will pass in the middle and will find at the most shallow place seven fathoms of water with gravel underneath, and inside he will find a harbour for all the ships in the world where they can remain without cables. There is another reef and more shoals which extend from the east toward the said Island of *Amiga* and they are very large and extend far out into the sea and reach almost within two leagues of the cape; but it appeared that there was an entrance between them at a distance of two lombard shots from *La Amiga*, and at the foot of *Monte Caribatan* on its west side, there is a very good and large harbour.[4]

[1] Here the island of Española or Santo Domingo is clearly identified as the Bohio of the Indians.

[2] Las Casas is now looking back over the *Journal* and is again describing the harbour or Bay of Acul. The small flat island is *Isla de Ratas*.

[3] Navarrete thinks this illegible place in the manuscript should be read as if it were written *con el oto de una piedra*.

[4] This harbour is Cape Haitien. It was seventy miles eastward of De Torres, according to the entry under date of December 19. This is made a trifle clearer by the reference the following day to the harbour in the Bay of Acul, which Las Casas says was between the island of St. Thomas and Cabo de Caribata.

Las Casas had the rather unpleasant habit, after describing the places visited on a certain day, of interjecting a description of some place seen a week before.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 25, THE DAY OF NATIVITY.

Sailing in a light wind yesterday from the sea of *Santo Tomé* to the *Punta Santa*, from which he was a league's distance at the passing of the first quarter, which would be at eleven o'clock at night, he decided to lie down to sleep because *he had not slept for two days and one night*. As there was a calm, the sailor who was steering the ship decided to go away and sleep and *left the steering to a young ship's boy*, a thing which the Admiral had always expressly prohibited in all the voyage, whether there was a wind or a calm: that is to say that the ships should not be steered by young boys. The Admiral felt secure from banks and rocks because on Sunday when he had sent the boats to that King, they had passed a good three leagues and a half to the east of the said *Punta Santa* and the sailors had seen all the coast and the shoals which extend from the said *Punta Santa* a good three leagues to the east-south-east and they saw where they could pass, which he had not done before on all this voyage. Our Lord willed that at twelve o'clock at night, as the crew had seen the Admiral lie down and repose and they also saw that there was a dead calm and the sea was as in a porringer [bowl], they all lay down to sleep and left the steering in the hands of that boy, and the currents which were flowing carried the ship upon one of the banks. Although it was night they made such a noise that they were seen and heard at a good league's distance, and the ship went upon the bank so quietly that it was hardly felt. The boy who felt the helm catch and heard the noise of the sea, cried out, upon which the Admiral came out and was so quick that no one had yet felt that they were aground. Then the master of the ship who was the guard, came out: and the Admiral told them to launch the small vessel which they were carrying at the stern, and to take an anchor and cast it at the stern: and the master with many others jumped into the small vessel and the Admiral thought that they would do what he had told them: but they thought only of flying to the caravel which was a half league to the windward. The people on the caravel would not receive them, which was right, and on this account they returned to the ship, but first the boat from the caravel reached it. When the Admiral saw that they were fleeing and they were his people, and that the waters were falling and that the ship was athwart in the sea, not seeing any other remedy, he ordered the mast cut and the ship lightened as much as they were able, to see if they could not float her; but as the waters were yet falling, and as the ship settled more and more to one side in the water, although there was very little or no sea, he could not save her. Then the seams [1] opened but the ship remained whole. The Admiral went to the caravel to place the people from his ship in safety, and as there was a light breeze blowing from the land and also as the night was not yet much advanced, and he did not know how far the banks extended, he beat about, *á la corda*, until it was day and then went to the ship inside the bank. First he had sent the

[1] The word in the original is *conventos*.

small vessel to land with Diego de Arana, of Cordova, Alguacil of the fleet, and Pedro Gutierrez, "repostero" of the Royal House, to inform the King who had sent on Saturday to invite and beg him to go with his ships to his harbour. The village of this King was about a league and a half beyond the said bank: and they say that *the King wept when he heard of the disaster and sent all his people from the village with many large canoes to unload the ship:* and so it was done and everything was unloaded from the decks of the ship in a very brief space of time, such was the great haste and diligence which that King displayed. And he in person with his brothers and relatives showed great assiduity both in the matter of unloading the ship and guarding what was thrown on land that everything might be in security.

From time to time he sent one of his relatives weeping to the Admiral to console him, saying that he must not feel troubled or annoyed, and that he would give him whatever he possessed. The Admiral certifies to the Sovereigns that in no part of Castile could things be placed in such safety without the loss of so much as a leather strap. The King ordered everything placed near the houses while some houses which he wished to give up were vacated, where everything could be stored and guarded. He ordered armed men placed around everything to watch all night. "He with all the people in the village wept a great deal [says the Admiral]: they are an affectionate people and free from avarice and agreeable in everything and I certify to your Highnesses that in all the world I do not believe there is a better people or a better country: they love their neighbours as themselves and they have the softest and gentlest speech in the world and are always laughing. They go naked, men and women, as their mothers gave them birth. But your Highnesses may believe that they have very good customs among themselves and the King maintains a most wonderful state, and everything takes place in such an appropriate and well-ordered manner that it is a pleasure to see it all: and they have good memories, and wish to see everything and they ask what it is and for what purpose." The Admiral says all this as above.

Wednesday, December 26.

To-day at sunrise the King of that country came to the caravel *Niña*, where the Admiral was, and almost crying told him not to feel bad because he would give him whatever he had, and that he had given two very large houses to the Christians who were on land and that he would give them more if it was necessary and as many canoes as would be needed to load and unload the ship and place the cargo on land, with as many people as he desired: and that he had done so yesterday without even a particle of bread being taken or any other thing: "They are so faithful [says the Admiral] and so little covetous of the property of others and in this respect that King was more just than all the others." While the Admiral was talking with him, another canoe came from another place bringing certain

pieces of gold, which the Indians wished to give for a hawk's bell because they did not desire anything else as much as hawks' bells. The canoe had not yet reached the side of the ship when they called and showed the pieces of gold, saying *chuq chuq* for hawks' bells, as they are in a likely state to become crazy for them. After having seen this the Indians on these canoes which were from the other places, in leaving, called to the Admiral and begged him to order a hawk's bell kept for them until the next day, for which they would bring four pieces of gold as large as the hand. The Admiral was pleased to hear this and then a sailor who came from land told the Admiral that the pieces of gold which the Christians who were on land were trading for nothing, were wonderful: for a leather strap they gave pieces which would be worth more than two castellanos, and that it was nothing then to what it would be at the end of a month. The King was delighted to see the Admiral pleased and he understood that he desired a great deal of gold and he told him by signs that he knew where there was a great amount of it near there, and that he must be of good cheer for he would give him as much gold as he wished. And the Admiral says that he gave him an account of it and in particular told him that they have it in Cipango which they call *Civao*,[1] in such quantity that they do not value it at all and that they would bring it there, although also in the island of Española which they call *Bohio* and in that province of *Caribata*, there is much more of it. The King ate on the caravel with the Admiral and afterward went with him on land where he paid the Admiral great honours, and gave him a repast of two or three kinds of "ajes" with shrimps, game and other viands which they had and their bread which they called *cazavi*. Then he took him to see some clumps of trees near the houses, and fully a thousand persons, all naked, went with him. The King was already wearing a shirt and a pair of gloves which the Admiral had given him, and he rejoiced more over the gloves than anything which had been given him. By his manner of eating, his honesty and his exquisite cleanliness, he showed himself to be of good birth. After having eaten, as they remained at the table some time, they brought certain herbs with which they rubbed their hands a great deal. The Admiral believed they did it to soften them, and they gave him water for his hands. After they had finished eating they took the Admiral to the beach, and he sent for a Turkish bow and a handful of arrows, and the Admiral made a man from among his company who was skilful in the exercise, shoot the arrows. And as the King did not know what arms are, as they do not possess them or use them, it appeared to him to be a great thing. Although he [the Admiral] says that the beginning was from a conversation they had about the people of Caniba, whom they call Caribs [Caribes], who come to take them and who carry bows and arrows without iron, as in all those countries

[1] In the *Historia* Las Casas remarks:

"Always upon hearing of Cibao the Admiral's heart was gladdened, judging Cibao to be the island which was depicted on his chart and the one which, according to Paul, the Physician, he hoped to find: and so he did not understand that it might be a province of this island but that it was an island by itself."

they have no knowledge of iron and of steel nor of any other metal, except of gold and copper, although the Admiral had seen but little copper. The Admiral told him by signs that the Sovereigns of Castile would order the Caribs destroyed, and that they would order them all brought to him with the hands tied. The Admiral ordered a lombard and a musket to be fired and seeing the effect of their force and what they penetrated, the King marvelled greatly. And when his people heard the shots they all fell to the ground. They brought the Admiral a large mask, which had great pieces of gold in the ears and eyes and in other places, which the King himself gave him, and which with other jewels of gold he placed on the head and around the neck of the Admiral: and they also gave a great deal to the other Christians who were with the Admiral. The Admiral derived great pleasure and consolation from these things which he saw and it tempered the trouble and affliction he had experienced and was feeling in losing the ship and he recognised that our *Lord had caused him to run aground at that place that he might make a settlement there.* "And [he says], so many things came to hand here, that the disaster was really nothing other than a great good fortune. Because it is certain [he says] that if I had not run aground here, I should have kept out to sea without anchoring at this place, because it is situated here inside a large bay and in the bay there are two or three banks of shoals. Neither would I have left people here on this voyage, and even if I had desired to leave them I could not have given them a good enough outfit, nor enough ammunition and provisions and accoutrements for a fortress. And it is quite true that many of the people who are here have begged me that I would give them permission to remain. Now I have ordered a tower and fortress constructed and all in a very good manner and a large cellar, not that I believe this necessary with these people, because I consider it certain that with these people I have with me, I could subjugate all this island, which I believe is larger than Portugal and has double the people: but they are naked and without arms and cowardly beyond cure. But it is right that this tower should be built and it must be as it must be, being so far from your Highnesses and that they may know the people of your Highnesses and what they can do that they may obey them with love and fear, and thus they have blocks with which to construct the fortress and provisions of bread and wine for more than a year, and seeds for sowing, and the ship's boat and a calker, and a carpenter, and a gunner and a cooper and among them many men who desire greatly for the services of your Highnesses and to cause me pleasure, to learn of the mine where the gold is found. So that everything has happened much to the purpose that this beginning may be made. And more than all this when the ship ran aground it went so softly that it was hardly felt and there was neither wave nor wind." The Admiral says all this. And he further adds to show that it was a great good fortune and the determined will of God that the ship should run aground there that people might be left there,—that had it not been for the treachery of the Master and of the people, who were all or most of

them from his country, in not wishing to cast the anchor at the stern to draw the ship off as the Admiral ordered them to do, that the ship would have been saved; and thus the country would not have been known [he says] as it was known during those days they remained there and as it will be known by the people he intended leaving there, as he was sailing all the time with the intention of making discoveries and not remaining anywhere more than a day unless it was because there was no wind, because he says the ship was very heavy and not fitted for the purpose of discovery. And the taking of such a ship he says was due to the people of Palos, who did not fulfil what the King and Queen had promised him, that is that he should be given ships suitable for that journey, and they did not do it. The Admiral concludes by saying that of all there was in the ship not a leather strap was lost, nor a board nor a nail, because the ship remained as sound as when she started except that she was chopped and split some in order to take out the butts and all the merchandise: and they placed all these on land, well guarded, as has been told. And he says that he hopes in God when he returns from Castile, as he intends, he will find a tun of gold for which those people he is to leave will have traded, and that they will have found the Mine of gold and the spices, and all *that* in such a quantity that before three years the Sovereigns will undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Sepulchre [*casa santa*]. "*Because* [he says] *I thus protested to your Highnesses that all the profit of this, my undertaking, should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and your Highnesses smiled and said that it was pleasing to them, and that even without this, they had the inclination to do it.*"[1] These are the words of the Admiral.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At sunrise the King of that country came to the caravel and told the Admiral that he had sent for gold and that he wished to cover him all over with gold before he went away, and he begged him not to go away before. And the King ate with the Admiral, and a brother of his and another very near relative, which *two told the Admiral that they wished to go to Castile with him.* At this time news came that the caravel *Pinta* was in a river at the head of that island. Then the Cacique, who loved the Admiral so much it was wonderful, sent a canoe there in which the Admiral despatched

[1] Here the ultimate design of Columbus is revealed to us. The discovery of new lands, the gathering of gold and silver and precious stones, were all steps toward the consummation of his final plan, the conquest of Jerusalem and the restoration of Palestine to the Church. If we are to understand the character of Columbus we must read this thought, this hope, written on his heart of hearts. We hold the key to his life in this final purpose of the man. But this plan was acquiesced in by the Sovereigns. They smilingly assured him of their intention to undertake this new Crusade before he set off upon his expedition and before the new lands with their riches were laid at their feet. When, therefore, we behold this great man grovelling for gold, we must remember the high purpose to which its use was to be dedicated.

a sailor. The Admiral was already preparing with as much haste as possible for the return to Castile.[1]

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28.

In order to hasten the finishing of the construction of the fortress and to establish order among the people who were to remain there, the Admiral went on land, and it seemed to him that the King had seen him when he was going in the boat. The King entered his house quickly, dissembling, and sent one of his brothers to receive the Admiral, who conducted him to one of the houses which had been given to the Christians, and which was the largest and best in that village. In this house they had prepared a raised platform of the inner bark of the palm tree where they made the Admiral sit down. Then the brother sent one of his pages to say to the King that the Admiral was there, as though the King did not know that he had come, although the Admiral believed that he was dissembling to pay him much more honour. When the page told him, the Cacique [he says] came running to the Admiral and placed around his neck a large plate of gold which he was carrying in his hand. He remained there with the Admiral until afternoon consulting as to what he was to do.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29

At sunrise a nephew of the King, a very young boy, of good judgment and courage [as the Admiral says] came to the ship: and as the Admiral always endeavoured to learn where the gold was found, he questioned each one, as he already understood something by signs. And in that manner, that boy told him that at a distance of four days' journeys to the east there was an island which was called *Guarionex* and others which they called *Macorix* and *Mayonic* and *Fuma* and *Cibao* and *Coroay*,[2] in which there was an infinite quantity of gold. The Admiral wrote down these names and a brother of the King having learned that the nephew had told this quarrelled with him, according to what the Admiral understood. Also the Admiral had understood at other times that the King was trying to keep him in ignorance of the places where the gold was found and gathered, that he might not go to trade for it and buy it elsewhere. But

[1] Under date of December 27 Las Casas recites at length the reasons of the Admiral for building a fortress and leaving people there, and says that the King ordered his people to assist the Christians, which they did with such good-will that in ten days the fortress was completed and he named it La Villa de la Navidad, because he arrived there on that day.

[2] Under this date in the *Historia*, in speaking of the names given the islands by the Indians, Las Casas says:

"In this it appears that the Admiral did not understand the Indians at all, because the places which they named were not islands by themselves, but provinces of this island, and lands belonging to Chiefs, and this was signified by the names: Guarionex was the great King of that Vega Real, one of the marvellous things in nature: the Indians meant to say or said that in the land and realm of Guarionex was the province of Cibao, most abundant in gold. Macorix was another province, as will appear below, though this had some gold, but little, and the other names were provinces, although there were too few or too many syllables or letters, which the Admiral could not write well as he did not understand them."

there is so much of it and in so many places on this island of Española itself [says the Admiral] that it is wonderful. Night having already come, the King sent a large mask of gold and also sent to beg of the Admiral a hand-basin and a pitcher. The Admiral believed that he asked them of him so as to order others made, and therefore he sent them to him.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The Admiral went on land to eat, and arrived at the time when five Kings had come who were subjects of this King who was called *Guacanagari*. They all wore their crowns and were in very good state, so that the Admiral says to the Sovereigns that their Highnesses would take pleasure in seeing their manners. On reaching land, the King came to receive the Admiral and took him by the arms and conducted him to the same house where he went yesterday, where he had a raised platform and chairs in which the Admiral sat down: and then he took off his crown from his own head and placed it upon the Admiral's head, and the Admiral took from around his neck a collar of good blood-stones and very beautiful beads of fine colours, which appeared very good in all parts and placed it upon the King: and he took off a cloak of fine scarlet cloth which he had put on that day, and clothed the King with it: and he sent for some coloured buskins which he made him put on, and placed upon his finger a large silver ring because the Admiral had been told that this king had seen a silver ring which belonged to a sailor and had made many endeavours to obtain it.[1] The King was very joyful and contented and two of those Kings who were with him, came to where the Admiral was with Guarionex and brought the Admiral two large gold plaques, each bringing one. At this time an Indian arrived saying that two days ago he had left the caravel *Pinta* to the east in a harbour. The Admiral returned to the caravel and Vicente Anos,[2] the captain, said that he had seen rhubarb[3] and that it

[1] In speaking of the gold Las Casas in the *Historia* says: "The Indians esteemed any white metal very much, and that is why they were so pleased with the gift of a silver ring."

[2] Vincente Yañez Pinzón, the brother of Martin Alonzo and captain of the *Niña*. Herrera says that he advanced one eighth part of the expenses of equipment, equal to half a million of maravedis. Las Casas refers to a rumour that this money was advanced by Martin Alonzo Pinzón, the eldest of the three brothers. As we have seen in the chapter on "The Equipment," there is no proof that either of the Pinzóns furnished any part of the cost of the expedition.

[3] This was an error on the part of the youngest Pinzón. The plant he thought rhubarb was not the rhubarb of Arabia, one of the products for which Columbus sought and from which he might know himself to be in the land described by Marco Polo. The Venetian traveller had found this medicinal plant in the province of Sze-chuen, and before the middle of the fourteenth century it formed one of the principal objects of merchandise carried by the caravans for European consumption. The root of the word "rhubarb" is believed by some to have come from Rha, the river Volga, on whose banks there grew a species of this plant. The Chinese rhubarb was prized above all varieties of the drug, and it sold far above the price of Oriental spices. The root in a dried form was perhaps known to Columbus, but evidently both Pinzón and the Admiral were deceived in recognising the West Indian plant as true rhubarb.

was on the island of *Amiga*, which is at the entrance of the sea of *Santo Tomé*, which is six leagues from there and that he had recognised the leaves and root. They say that rhubarb sends small branches out of the ground and bears fruits which appear like green mulberries almost dry and the stalk which grows from the root is as yellow and as fine as the best colour which can be found to paint, and under the ground the root grows like a large pear.

Monday, December 31.

This day he occupied himself in ordering water and wood taken in readiness for the departure for Spain, in order to give speedy information to the Sovereigns, that they might send ships to discover what remained to be discovered: because the affair already appeared so great and of such importance that it is wonderful [said the Admiral] and he says that he would have liked not to depart until he had seen all that land which extends toward the east, and had gone all along the coast in order to learn also [he says] the distance from Castile to that country so as to bring there herds of cattle and other things. But as there remained to him only one ship, it did not appear a reasonable thing to expose himself to the dangers which might occur in making discoveries. *And he complained that all that injury and inconvenience arose from the separation of the caravel Pinta.*

Tuesday, January 1, 1493.

At midnight he despatched the boat to the island of *Amiga* to bring the rhubarb. It returned at vespers with a hamper of it. They did not bring more because they did not carry a spade to dig it. The Admiral carried what they brought to the Sovereigns as a specimen. The King of that country, he says, had sent many canoes for gold. The sailor, who had been sent with a canoe to learn of the *Pinta* returned, and they did not find her. That sailor said that at a distance of twenty leagues from there he had seen a king who wore upon his head two large plaques of gold, and when the Indians in the canoe spoke to him he took them off, and he says he saw also other persons with a great deal of gold. The Admiral believed that the King Guacanagari must have prohibited every one from selling gold to the Christians, so that it might all pass through his hands. But he had learned the places, as he said the day before yesterday, where they had gold in such a quantity that no price was attached to it. He had also learned where there were spices [as the Admiral says] of which there is a great quantity and it is worth more than pepper and "manegueta."[1]

[1] This is the name Columbus gives to the allspice or pimento, and which is usually written *Malagueta*. It is the *Amomum Granum Paradisi*. Humboldt believed he recognised in the name *Malagueta* the root of the name *Molaga* or *Molucca*, given the famous Islands of Spices.

He charged those persons who were to remain there to obtain as much as they could.[1]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2.

He went on land in the morning to take leave of the King Guacanagari and to depart in the name of the Lord: and he gave the King one of his shirts and showed him the force of the lombards and their effect. For this purpose he ordered one loaded and fired at the side of the ship which

[1] In speaking of leaving the men, Las Casas in the *Historia* says:

"He left to be Captain, Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, Escribano and Alguacil with all his own power in full, as he had it from the Catholic Sovereigns. And if it should happen that he died, he named to succeed him in the charge, Pero Gutierrez. *repostero de estrados* of the King, *criado del despensero mayor*, and if it should happen that he died, Rodrigo de Escobedo was to take and exercise his office, a native of Segovia, nephew of the friar Rodrigo Perez: it must be friar Juan Perez, the one, who, above in chapter 20,* we said had been or was confessor of the Queen, who had much to do with this affair's being accepted by the Sovereigns. . . ."

Las Casas then tells of the various artisans he left and the provisions, and says when Columbus was all ready to depart he gathered them together and addressed them as follows:

"First, that they should consider the great mercies which God had given him and all of them up to that time, and the benefits He had offered them, for which they must always give Him endless thanks, and recommend themselves much to His goodness and mercy, taking care not to offend Him and placing all their hope in Him, supplicating Him also for his own return, which with His aid, he promised them to try to have as speedy as possible, by which he was confident in God that all would be very joyful. Second, he begged them and charged them and ordered them on the part of their Highnesses, to obey their Captain as himself, as he was confident of his goodness and fidelity. Third, that they should greatly respect and reverence the King Guacanagari and his Chiefs and principal men, or *nitaynos*, and other inferior chiefs, and they should avoid as they would death, annoying them or tormenting them, since they had seen how much he and they owed to them, and the necessity for keeping them contented, remaining as they did in their land and under their dominion: rather they should strive and watch, by their soft and honest speech, to gain their good-will, keeping their friendship and love, so that he should find them as friendly and favourable and more so when he returned. Fourth, he ordered them and begged them earnestly, to do no injury or use any force toward any Indian, man or woman, nor take from them anything against their will; more especially, they should be on guard and avoid doing injury or using violence to the women, by which they would cause scandal and set a bad example to the Indians, and show the infamy of the Christians, of whom the Indians were certain that they came from Heaven, and were sent by the celestial virtues. . . . Fifth, he charged them not to scatter themselves or enter inland, but to remain together until he returned, and at least not to leave the land and dominion of that King and Lord who loved them so much, and had been so good and merciful to them. Sixth, he animated them to suffer their solitude and little less than exile, although they willingly chose it. . . . Seventh, he charged them that when they saw it was fitting, they should beg the King to send with them some Indians on the sea in their canoes, and some of them should go in the boat, along or up the coast to see if they could discover the mines of gold, because it appeared to him that the gold which was brought them came from the east, as the Indians indicated that it originated there, and that they should all together look for some good place to build a village, because the Admiral was not pleased with that harbour: also that all the gold they could discreetly barter for, they should barter, so that when he returned he should find much gathered. Eighth and last, he promised them to supplicate the Sovereigns to make them signal favours, which they in truth merited, and which they would see fulfilled when they were rewarded by the Catholic Sovereigns, and with the favour of God, by himself on his return they would be consoled. . . .

"They very willingly offered themselves to fulfil what he had charged them with and ordered, placing in him, after God, all their hope of succour with the rewards which they were confident he would bring them from the Sovereigns for their repose and comfortable life; begging him earnestly to remember them always and that as speedily as he could, he would give them the great joy which they anticipated from his coming."

* The reference really occurs in Chapter xxxi. of the *Historia*.

was aground. This happened as the result of a conversation in regard to the Caribs, with whom they were at war, and the King saw how far the lombard shot reached, and how it passed through the side of the ship and that the shot went a long way on the sea. He also had the people from the ships make a slight skirmish with their arms, telling the Cacique not to fear the cannibals if they should come. The Admiral says he did all this that the King might consider the Christians he was leaving as friends and also that he might fear them. The King conducted the Admiral and the other Christians who were with him to the house where he was lodged to eat with him. The Admiral many times charged Diego de Arana and Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo Escovedo, whom he was leaving as his joint lieutenants over the people who were to remain there, to see that everything was well ruled and governed for the service of God and their Highnesses. The Cacique manifested much love for the Admiral and great feeling over his departure, especially when he saw them go to embark. A favourite of that King told the Admiral that he had ordered a statue of pure gold made as large as the Admiral himself and that at the end of ten days they were to bring it to him The Admiral embarked with the intention of departing then, but the wind would not allow him to do so.

He left on that island of *Española*, which the Indians say they called *Bohio*, thirty-nine men[1] in the fortress, whom he says were very friendly with that King Guacanagari; and in command of these men as his lieutenants, Diego de Arana, native of Cordova and Pedro Gutierrez, "repostero de estrado" of the King, "criado del despensero mayor," and Rodrigo de Escovedo, native of Segovia, nephew of friar Rodrigo Perez, giving them all the powers which he had received from the Sovereigns. He left them all the merchandise which the Sovereigns had ordered purchased for trading, of which there was a large quantity, so that they might trade and barter it for gold, together with everything which the foundered ship carried. He also left them biscuit sufficient for a year and wine and much *artillery:* and the ship's boat in order that they, as they were most of them sailors, could go to discover the mine of gold when they should see that the time was favourable: so that the Admiral on his return might find much gold and a place to found a village that harbour not being to his liking: especially as the gold which was brought there he says came from the east and the more they went to the east, so much nearer were they to Spain. He also left them seeds for sowing and his officials, escribano and alguacil, and among the others a ship's carpenter and calker, and a good gunner who knows a great deal about engines, and a cooper and a physician and a tailor, and all, he says, are seamen.

[1] The Admiral does not include in this number the three officers, Diego de Arana, brother of his friend Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, Pedro Gutierrez, the lad who stood with Columbus on the deck of his vessel that eventful night of October 11, 1492, when he saw the moving light, and Rodrigo de Escovedo, the nephew of the good priest of La Rabida, Father Juan Perez, whose visit to Queen Isabella in December, 1492, more than any other one influence, brought to the aid of his project the Crown of Castile. With those three added, the total number was forty-two.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3.

He did not leave to-day because at night he says that *three of the Indians he had taken from the islands and who had remained on land, came and told him that the other Indians and their wives were coming at sunrise.*[1] The sea was also somewhat changed and the boat could not go to land. He determined to depart the next day, the grace of God permitting. He said that if he had had the caravel *Pinta* with him he would have been certain to obtain a cask of gold, because he would have dared to follow the coasts of these islands, which he did not dare to do because of being alone: as he did not wish anything inconvenient to happen to him and prevent his returning to Castile and informing the Sovereigns of all the things which he had found. And *if he were certain that the caravel Pinta would reach Spain in safety with that Martin Alonso Pinzón, he said that he would not relinquish doing what he desired.* But as he did not know about it, and as Pinzón in going would be able to tell falsehoods to the Sovereigns, to avoid the punishment which he merited for doing so much harm in going away without permission and preventing all the good which might have been done and learned at that time, the Admiral says he felt confident that our Lord would give him good weather and everything would be remedied.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 4.

At sunrise he weighed the anchors in a light wind and the boat went ahead on a course to the north-west to get outside of the bank, by another channel wider than that by which he entered. This channel and others are very suitable to go to the *Villa de la Navidad*[2] and in all that channel the least depth was three fathoms up to nine fathoms, and these two channels extended from north-west to south-east along the banks which extend from *Cabo Santo* to *Cabo de Sierpe*, which is more than six leagues and out into the sea a good three leagues, and beyond *Cabo Santo* a good three: and a league beyond *Cabo Santo* the water is not more than eight fathoms in depth and inside the said cape to the east there are many shoals and channels to enter among them, and all that coast extends north-west and south-east and is all a beach, and the land is very level for a distance of four leagues inland. Then there are very high mountains, and it is all well settled with large villages and good people, as had been shown to the Christians. He navigated thus to the east toward a very high mountain, which appears like an island but is not, because it connects with some very low land, which is shaped like a very beautiful "pavillion." He named this mountain *Monte-Cristi* and it is exactly east of *Cabo Santo*

[1] In speaking of the Indians who went with the Admiral, Las Casas says:

"I did not know how many he took from this island, but I believe he took some, and in all he took to Castile ten or twelve Indians, according to what the Portuguese history relates, and I saw them in Seville, although I did not look nor remember to have counted them."

[2] This name was bestowed upon the fort and settlement by the Admiral because it was on Christmas Day that they arrived at the place, the day of the Nativity of our Lord.

at a distance of about eighteen leagues. That day as there was a very light wind he was only able to arrive within six leagues of *Monte-Cristi*. He found four very low small sandy islets with a reef which projected well out to the north-west and extended well to the south-east. Inside there is a large gulf which extends from the said mountain to the south-east a good twenty leagues, which must all be very shallow and have many banks: and inside the gulf along all that coast there are many rivers which are not navigable although that sailor whom the Admiral sent with the canoe to learn news of the *Pinta*, said that he saw a river in which ships could enter. The Admiral anchored there at a distance of six leagues from *Monte-Cristi* in nineteen fathoms of water, having occasionally put out to sea to avoid the many shoals and banks which were found there, and he remained there all night. The Admiral says that whoever is obliged to go to the *Villa de la Navidad* must take his bearing from *Monte-Cristi* at a distance of two leagues on the sea, etc., but as the land is already known and that lying near there, he does not give all the details here. He concludes that Cipango [1] was on that island and that there is a great deal of gold and a great quantity of spices and mastic and rhubarb.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5.

As the sun was about to rise he made sail with a land breeze. Then it blew from the east and he saw that to the south-sou h-east of *Monte-Cristi*, between it and a small island, there appeared to be a good harbour to anchor this night and he took the course to the east-south-east and then to the south-south-east to within six leagues of the mountain: and having gone the six leagues he found the water seventeen fathoms in depth and very clear, and he went three leagues thus with the same depth. Then it was only twelve fathoms as far as the head of the mountain and beyond the head of the mountain at a distance of a league he found it nine, and clear, the bottom being all fine sand. He followed the route thus until he entered between the mountain and the small island [2] where he found a

[1] Under date of January 5 Las Casas in the *Historia* alludes to this:

"It appears that in making conjectures the day before,—I do not know for what occasion—he said decidedly that Cipango was on this island and he imagined it to be the Cipango which he was carrying on the chart or map which Paul, the Physician, had sent him, of which we have many times made mention. But in any event this land was Cibao which he also desired to see."

Thus we find Las Casas representing the Admiral as he turns his face away from the first settlement again asserting that he was on the island of Cipango. Listen to the words of Toscanelli:

"*For that island [Cipango] abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones, and they cover the temples and palaces with solid gold.*"

How could the Admiral imagine himself on this famed island when he saw no signs of civilisation, little gold, no pearls, never a temple or palace? Naked people do not live in the neighbourhood of temples or palaces. Before man builds a home for his god he clothes himself and fashions a house to cover his own head. A single temple, the glory of a single palace would have its influence like a lively leaven, throughout such an island as *Española*, and no traveller could fail to read its progress and cultivation.

[2] The island of Cabra.

depth of three and one-half fathoms at low tide, a very remarkable harbour where he anchored.[1] He went with the boat to the small island where he found fire and signs that fishermen had been there. He saw there many stones tinted in colours, or a quarry of such stones, very beautiful and formed naturally [he says], so that they would be suitable for church edifices and other royal works, being like those he found on the island of San Salvador. He also found on this small island many trunks of mastic trees. He says that this *Monte-Cristi* is very beautiful and high and accessible, and of very pretty shape: and all the country near it is low, forming a very pretty field, and it is so high that on seeing it from a distance it appears like an island which does not communicate with any land. Beyond the said mountain to the east at a distance of twenty-four miles he saw a cape which he called Cabo del *Becerro*[2]: from this cape as far as the said mountain for a distance of two leagues a line of shoals appears in the sea, although it seemed to him that there were channels between them by which one could enter: but it is necessary to try it in the day-time and the boat must first make soundings. To the east from the said mountain toward the Cape of *Becerro* the four leagues are all a beach and the land is very low and beautiful, and the other is all a very high land with large mountains cultivated and beautiful: and a chain of mountains extends inland from the north-east to the south-east,[3] the most beautiful that he had seen, as it appears exactly like the sierra of Cordova. Other very high mountains also appear very far toward the south and south-east and very large valleys very green and beautiful, and many rivers of water. All this is in such quantity and so pleasant that the Admiral said he did not believe he exaggerated it by the thousandth part. Then he saw to the east of the said mountain a country which appeared like another mountain, similar to *Monte-Cristi* in size and beauty. Then in the quarter of the east to the north-east the land is not as high, and must be about one hundred miles in extent.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 6.

That harbour is sheltered from all the winds except the north and north-west winds, and he says that they prevail very little in that country and refuge can be obtained from even these winds behind the small island: the water is from three to four fathoms in depth. After sunrise he made sail to go forward along the coast all of which extends to the east, but it is necessary to look out for many reefs of rock and sand which are on the said coast. It is true that inside them there are good harbours and good entrances through their channels. After mid-day the wind blew strongly from the east and he ordered a sailor to ascend to the top of the mast

[1] The Bay of Monte-Cristi.

[2] The Cape Rucia.

[3] This chain of mountains of Monte-Cristi runs from the north-north-west to the east-south-east, and it is evident Las Casas has failed to copy the exact language of the Admiral.

to look for shoals, and he saw the caravel *Pinta* coming from the east and she came up to the Admiral: and as there was no place to anchor on account of shallow water, the Admiral returned to *Monte-Cristi*, going back ten leagues which he had sailed, and the *Pinta* went with him. Martin Alonso Pinzón came to the caravel *Niña* upon which was the Admiral, to excuse himself, saying that he had separated from him against his will, and giving reasons for it: but the Admiral says that they were all false and that Martin Alonso Pinzón had acted with much pride and covetousness that night when he went away and left him: and that he did not know [says the Admiral] from whence had come the haughty actions and dishonesty he had shown toward himself on that voyage. But the Admiral wished to dissemble these actions in order not to give place to the bad deeds of Satan who wished to hinder that voyage, as he had done up to that time.[1] An Indian from among those whom the Admiral had recommended to Martin Alonso Pinzón with others who were on his caravel, had told Pinzón that on an island which was called *Baneque* there was a great deal of gold, and as his ship was light and a good sailer, he wished to withdraw and go by himself, leaving the Admiral. But the Admiral wished to delay and coast along the island of *Juana* and the island of *Española*, since it was all on a course from the east. After Martin Alonso went to the island of *Baneque* he says that he found no gold, and he came to the coast of Española because of information from other Indians who told him that there was on that island of Española which the Indians called *Bohio*, a great quantity of gold and many mines: and through this cause he arrived near the *Villa de la Navidad*, within fifteen leagues, and it was then more than twenty days ago From this it appeared that the news given by the Indians was true on account of which the King Guacanagari sent the canoe, when the Admiral despatched a sailor, and that the *Niña* must have been gone when the canoe arrived. And the Admiral says here that the caravel traded for a great deal of gold, and that for the end

[1] Las Casas in the *Historia* speaks of the Pinzóns as being rich and important men, and says they were doubtless presumptuous and brave, as riches elevate the minds and make the souls of men ambitious. He says, as the Admiral was a foreigner and alone they did him many injuries on that voyage, and after the return to Castile published many things which were not true. He then goes on and refers to the Fiscal, and speaks of the false testimony given, and sums it up by saying that he has spoken of all these things that the truth may be known and that the honour and glory may not be usurped by others to whom it does not belong, and because he (Las Casas) "*was always displeased by the persecutions I saw and understood which were unjustly moved against this man, to whom the world owes so much.*"

The testimony of Las Casas to the persecution of the Admiral, to the injuries he suffered at the hands of the Pinzóns, to the false witnesses on the occasion of the great trial before the Fiscal, and the acknowledgment of Columbus *as the one to whom the world owes so much*, is most important, for Las Casas speaks always the truth. He never could bring himself to forgive Columbus for having been a link in the chain which was finally shackled about the Indians, but in his heart he knew that the Admiral was only an unconscious agent in the events which culminated in the cruelties. No one who reads his address to the forty-two men left behind in *La Navidad* can accuse Christopher Columbus of proposing or permitting any offence to the Indians.

of a strap they were given good pieces of gold the size of two fingers, and at times as large as the hand, and Martin Alonso took the half and divided the other half among his people. The Admiral says further to the Sovereigns: "So that, Lords and Princes I know that our Lord miraculously ordered that the ship should remain there because it was the best place on all the island to make the settlement and is near to the mines of gold." He also says that he learned that behind the island of *Juana* to the south, there is another large island [1] on which there is a larger quantity of gold than there is on this one, so that they find pieces of it larger than beans and on the island of Española pieces of gold were taken from the mines as large as kernels of wheat. That island, he says, was called *Yamaye*. He also says that he learned that yonder toward the east there was an island where there were only women, and he says that he learned this from many persons. And that the island of *Española* or the other island of *Yamaye* were near the mainland distant ten days' journeys in canoes, which might be sixty or seventy leagues, and that the people were clothed there.

MONDAY, JANUARY 7.

This day he caused the caravel, which was leaking, to be pumped out and calked and the sailors went on land to bring wood, and he says that they found a great quantity of mastic and aloes.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8.

On account of the strong east and south-east wind which blew he did not start this day, so he ordered the caravel supplied with water and wood and everything necessary for all the voyage; because, although he was desirous of coasting all along the coast of Española which he could have done going on his course, yet as those he had placed on the caravels for captains were brothers, that is to say Martin Alonso Pinzón and Vicente Anes, and those who followed them were haughty and covetous and did not regard the honour which the Admiral had shown them and had not obeyed and did not obey his commands, but rather had done and said many unmerited things in opposition to him, and as Martin Alonso had left him from November 21 to January 6 without cause or reason but from disobedience: and all this the Admiral had suffered in silence, in order to finish his voyage successfully: on account of all this, in order to get out of such bad company, with whom he says it was necessary to dissemble, although they were a disobedient people, and although he says he had with him many good men yet it was not the time to occupy himself with matters of punishment,—he decided to return with the greatest possible haste and not stop longer. He entered the boat and went to the river which is near there,[2] a long league from *Monte-Cristi* toward the south-south-west,

[1] Jamaica is here mentioned for the first time, and its Indian name *Yamaye* has been fairly well preserved.

[2] This is the river *Yaqui*, called below *El Rio del Oro*, the River of Gold.

where the sailors were going to take water for the ship, and he found that the sand at the mouth of the river which is very wide and deep, was, as he says, all full of gold in such quantity that it was wonderful, although it was in very small grains. The Admiral believed that in coming down that river it crumbled into small pieces on the way, although he says that in a short space he found many grains as large as lentils: but of the very smallest grains he says there was a great quantity. And as the sea was calm and the salt water entered with the fresh water, he ordered the boat to ascend the river a stone's throw. They filled the barrels from the boat and returning to the caravel they found caught in the hoops of the barrels little pieces of gold and the same in the hoops of the casks. The Admiral named the river *El Rio del Oro*, which is very deep inside the entrance, although the entrance is shallow and the mouth very wide, and it is seventeen [1] leagues from the river to the village of Navidad. There are many other large rivers between; three in especial, which he believed must have much more gold in them than that one, because they are larger [2] although this one is almost as large as the Guadalquivir by Cordova: and from these rivers to the mines of gold it is not twenty [3] leagues. The Admiral says further that he would not take the said sand which contained so much gold, since their Highnesses had it all in their possession and at the door of their village of La Navidad; but that he wished to come at full speed to bring them the news, and to rid himself of the bad company which he had, and that he had always said they were a disobedient people.

Wednesday, January 9.

At midnight he raised the sails with the wind south-east and navigated to the east-north-east: he arrived at a point which he called *Punta Roja* [4] which is exactly to the east of the *Monte-Cristi* a distance of sixty miles, and in the shelter of this point he anchored in the afternoon, three hours before nightfall. He did not dare to go out from there in the night as there were many reefs, until they were investigated because afterward they would be useful if they had, as they must have, channels, and the water inside is very deep and forms a secure anchorage from all winds. These lands from *Monte-Cristi* as far as the place where he was anchored are high and smooth lands and are very pretty fields and back of them there are

[1] The distance is not correctly given here. Ober, who has been over this coast carefully for the particular purpose of identifying the various places named by Columbus, gives the distance as eight leagues, which is the correction first made by Navarrete.

[2] The river *Yaqui* appears to be the largest in that region.

[3] Las Casas remarks, as correcting the Admiral's estimation of the distance: "It is not more than four leagues from these rivers to the mines."

[4] This is Point Isabella, and near it the Admiral, as we shall see, cast his anchors for the night. It is at this place, at the close of the same year and on his second voyage, that Columbus built the city of Isabella. The distance from *Monte-Christi* is exaggerated, being forty-two Italian miles instead of sixty.

very beautiful mountains which extend from east to west, and are all cultivated and green, so that it is a wonderful thing to see their beauty, and they have many rivers of water. In all this land there are many tortoises, of which the sailors took a great many which came on land to lay their eggs, on *Monte-Cristi*, and they were very large like a great wooden shield. The day before this when the Admiral was going to the *Rio del Oro*, he said he saw three sirens which came up very high out of the sea: but they were not as beautiful as they are painted,[1] as in some ways they are formed like a man in the face. He said that at other times he saw some in Guinea on the coast of Manegueta. He says that this night in the name of our Lord he will start on his journey without delaying himself further for any matter, since he had found what he had sought, and as he did not wish to have more trouble with that Martin Alonso until their Highnesses learned the news of the voyage and what he has done. "And then [he says] I will not suffer the bad deeds of persons without virtue, who, with little respect, presume to carry out their own wills in opposition to those who did them honour."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10.

He started from the place where he had anchored and at sunset he reached a river [2] which he named *Rio de Gracia*. It is distant three leagues to the south-east. He anchored at its mouth on the eastern side, which is a good place to anchor. On going inside, a bank is found which has but two fathoms of water and is very narrow. Within there is a good sheltered harbour, but there are a great many ship-worms [3]: and the caravel *Pinta* upon which was Martin Alonso, suffered very severely from them there because he says Martin Alonso remained there trading for sixteen days, and they traded for a great quantity of gold, which was what Martin Alonso desired. Martin Alonso, after he learned from the Indians that the Admiral was on the coast of the island of Española itself and that he could not avoid him, came to find him. And he says that Martin Alonso would have liked to have all the people on the ship swear that he had been there only six days. But he says that his wickedness was so public that he

[1] This animal is supposed to be the manatee or sea-cow. It gets its name from the hand-like use it makes of its fore limbs. The naturalists call the order to which it is assigned, *Sirenia*, thus perpetuating the impression Columbus received. They are found on the African coast between 16° north and 10° south latitude, as well as in the interior. Columbus declared he had seen these on the coast of Malagueta or Manegueta.

[2] This is a river which Las Casas says was called after Martin Alonzo Pinzón, and Navarrete identifies it as the river Chuzona Chico, three leagues and a half from the Puerto de Plata. It received its name probably from the circumstance related in the text that Martin Alonzo had remained there sixteen days trading with the Indians.

[3] These ship-worms, the teredo, have been the pest of navigators in those waters. They have in their heads two small shells or valves through which they work their destruction. The insect is from a few inches to three feet in length. This insect is known in some form in almost all seas.

could not hide it. The Admiral says, that Martin Alonso had made rules that half of the gold which was traded for or obtained should be for himself. And when he had to leave that place he *took four Indian men and two young girls by force, whom the Admiral ordered given clothing and that they should be returned to their country* that they might go to their houses. "*Which* [says the Admiral] *is for the service of your Highnesses, because men and women all belong to your Highnesses on this island especially as well as on the other islands. But here where your Highnesses already have a settlement honour and favour must be shown to the people, since there is so much gold on this island and such good lands and so much spice.*"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 11.

At midnight he went out from the *Rio de Gracia* with a land breeze, and navigated to the east as far as a cape which he called *Belprado*, a distance of four leagues: and from there to the south-east is the mountain which he called *Monte de Plata*,[1] and he says it is a distance of eight leagues. Eighteen leagues from the cape of *Belprado* to the east, quarter south-east is the cape which is called *Angel;* and extending from this cape to the *Monte de Plata* there is a gulf [2] and the best and most beautiful countries in the world, all high and beautiful fields, which extend a long distance inland, and beyond, there is a chain of mountains which extend from east to west, very high and beautiful; and at the foot of the mountain there is a very good harbour, and it is fourteen fathoms deep at the entrance and this mountain is very high and beautiful, and it is all well populated, and the Admiral believed it must have contained good rivers and much gold. Four leagues from the cape *Angel* to the east, quarter south-east there is a point which he named *Hierro* [3]; and four leagues farther in the same direction there is a point which he named *Punta Seca;* and from there six leagues in the same direction is the Cape which he called *Redondo* [4]; and from there to the east is the *Cabo Frances* and in this cape on the east there is a large bay but it did not appear to him to have anchorage. A league from there is the *Cabo del Buen Tiempo:* a long league from here to the south quarter south-east there is a cape which he called *Tajado;* toward the south from this cape he saw another cape and it appeared to him to be a distance of fifteen leagues. He made great head way to-day because the winds and the currents were favourable to him. He did not dare to anchor for fear of the shoals, and therefore he lay off and on all night.

[1] Las Casas remarks that the mountain was called *Monte de Plata* because its summit is always surrounded by a fog which gives it a white or silvery appearance. He also says that the harbour which lies at its foot takes from it its name and is called *Puerto de Plata.*

[2] This is the harbour *Puerto de Plata*, the sea-port of Santiago.

[3] Point Marcuris. Under this date in the *Historia*, in speaking of the capes named by the Admiral, Las Casas says that "of all these names none remains to-day."

[4] *Cap de la Roca.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12.

At the quarter of the dawn he navigated to the east with a fresh wind, and went in that way all day and made twenty miles, and in two hours after that he went about twenty-four miles. From there he saw land[1] to the south, and he went toward it and it was at a distance of about forty-eight miles and he says that after having made the ship secure he went this night twenty-eight miles to the north-north-east. When he saw the land he named a cape which he saw the *Cabo de Padre é Hijo*,[2] because at the eastern point it has two small rocky points, one larger than the other.[3] Then two leagues to the east he saw a large and very beautiful inlet between two large mountains, and he saw that it was a very large harbour, good and with a very fair entrance: but as it was very early in the morning and in order not to lose time because for the greater part of the time the wind there blows from the east and one is then carried north-north-west, he would not delay longer. He continued his course to the east as far as a very high and beautiful cape all of jagged rock, which he named *Cabo del Enamorado* [Lover's Cape]; this cape was thirty-two miles to the east of that harbour, which he named *Puerto Sacro;* and on reaching this cape he discovered another much more beautiful and higher and more rounding, all of rock like the Cabo de San Vicente in Portugal, and it was twelve miles to the east of the *Enamorado*. After he arrived off *Enamorado* he saw that there was a very large bay between it and the other cape which was three leagues wide, and in the middle of it an exceedingly small island. It is quite deep from the entrance as far as the land. He anchored there in twelve fathoms of water and sent the boat on land for water and to see if they could have speech with the people, but they all fled. He anchored to see also if all that land was one with Española; and what he called a gulf he suspected might be another island by itself. He was astonished to find that the island of Española was so large.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 13.

He did not go out of this harbour on account of there not being a breeze from land so he could get out. He would have liked to have gone out in order to go to another better harbour, because that harbour was somewhat exposed, and because he wished to observe the conjunction of the moon with the sun which he expected to take place the 17th of this month, and the opposition of the moon with Jupiter and conjunction with Mercury, and the sun in opposition with Jupiter,[4] which is the cause of great winds.

[1] Navarrete identifies this as the isle of Samana.

[2] Cape of Father and Son.

[3] Navarrete thinks this other isle was *Yazuel*. He also identifies the *Cabo del Enamorado*, or Lover's Cape, with the Cape Cabron; *Puerto Sacro* with *Yaqueron;* the round rocky cape near by with *Cap Samana;* the very large bay that of *Samana*, and the very little island the *Cayo de Levantados*.

[4] Here in the *Historia* occurs a most remarkable passage, and which would suggest that Las Casas had the assistance of another hand in making the abridged copy

He sent the boat to land on a beautiful beach that the sailors might get "ajes" to eat and they found certain men with bows and arrows with whom they stopped to talk and they bought two bows and many arrows from them, and begged one of them to go and speak with the Admiral on the caravel: and he came and the Admiral says that he was very much more ugly in the face than the other Indians they had seen: his face was all smutted with charcoal although everywhere the Indians were accustomed to stain themselves different colours.[1] He wore his hair very long and drawn back and tied behind and afterward placed in a "rebecilla" of parrots' feathers, and he was naked like the others. The Admiral judged that he must have been one of the Caribs [2] who eat men and that the gulf which he had seen yesterday divided the land and that this was an island by itself.[3] The Admiral asked him about the Caribs and he made signs to the east, near there, which the Admiral says he saw yesterday before he entered that bay: and the Indian told him that there was a great deal of gold in that country, pointing out the poop of the caravel which was very large and indicating that there were pieces as large as that. He called gold *tuob* and did not understand it by *caona* as it was called in the first part of the island nor by *nozay* as it is called in *San Salvador* and in the other islands. On Española they call copper or a base quality of gold *tuob*. That Indian told of the island of *Matinino* [4] and said that it was all settled by women without men and on it there was a great deal of *tuob* which is gold or copper, and that it is farther to the

of the *Journal*. Or it may be that at that time, the year 1542, he was depending not on the original holograph *Journal*, but on a copy which he had caused to be made.

". . . aunque creo que la letra está en esto corrupta, por el vicio del que aquesto trasladó del libro de la navegacion del Almirante, al ménos, colígese de aquí tener el Almirante perecia de Astrología, que es ciencia que de los movimientos y cursos de los cielos, estrellas y planetas trata."

". . . although I believe that *the writing* is wrong in this, through the error of the *one who transcribed it from the book of navigation of the Admiral*, at least, it may be deduced from here that the Admiral had a knowledge of Astrology, which is the science which treats of the movements and courses of the heavens, stars and planets."

[1] In speaking of the Indians whom the Admiral thought were blackened with charcoal, Las Casas in the *Historia* says: " It was not charcoal, but from a certain fruit they had."

[2] In speaking of the Admiral's thinking they were Caribs who ate men, Las Casas goes on and says:

". . . but it was not so, because there never were any on this island."

[3] Las Casas says:

" It must be known here, that a great piece of this coast, much more than 25 or 30 leagues, and a good 15 and even 20 wide as far as the mountain ranges, which composes the northern part and which includes the great vega, was populated by a people called 'mazoriges' and others 'cyguayos,' and they had different languages from the universal language on all the island. I do not remember whether these differed in language, as it has been so many years, and there is no one to-day to ask, although I conversed many times with both generations, and *fifty years have already passed:* this at least I know certainly, that the 'cyguayos' where the Admiral now was, were called 'cyguayos' because they wore their hair very long, as the women do in our Castile."

The reader will be able from this allusion to fifty years having passed to fix the period at which Las Casas was then writing his *Historia* as about the year 1542.

[4] This island, of which we shall often hear, we take to be Martinique.

east of *Carib*. He also told of the island of *Goanin* [1] where there is a great deal of *tuob*. The Admiral says that he had been told of these islands by many persons some days before. The Admiral says further that in the islands they had passed the inhabitants were in great fear of the *Carib* and in some they called it *Caniba*, but in *Española* they called it *Carib*. And that they must be a very bold people since they go to all the islands and eat the people they are able to capture. He says that he understood some words and by this he says that he learned other things, and that the Indians he had with him understood more, although he found the languages different on account of the great distances of the lands from each other. He ordered that the Indian should be given something to eat and he gave him pieces of green and red cloth and very small glass beads which they like very much, and he sent him to land again and told him to bring gold if he had it which he suspected on account of some little things which he wore. As the boat reached land there were behind the trees fully fifty-five men, naked and wearing their hair very long [2] as the women wear it in Castile. On the back part of their heads they wore head-dresses of the plumes of parrots and other birds, and each one carried his bow. The Indian in the boat went on land and made the others lay aside their bows and arrows and a piece of stick which is like a [lacuna] very heavy, which they carry [3] in place of a sword. These Indians then came to the boat and the people from the boat landed and began to buy the bows and arrows and the other arms, because the Admiral had ordered them to do so. Having sold two bows they did not wish to give any more, but rather they prepared to attack the Christians and capture them. They went running to get their bows and arrows where they had laid them aside, and returned with cords in their hands, he says, to bind the Christians. On seeing them come running toward them the Christians, who were ready [as the Admiral always advised them to be on guard], attacked the Indians [4] and gave one of them a great cut in the buttock and wounded another on the breast with an arrow. When they saw that they were able to gain little although the Christians were only seven and they were fifty and over, they took to flight until not one remained, one leaving his arrows here and another his bow there. The Admiral says that the Christians would have killed many of them if the pilot who went as captain of them

[1] Las Casas here remarks that the *Goanin* was not an island in his opinion, but the name of an inferior quality of gold which had a peculiar odour much esteemed by the Indians. It is a singular fact that the Indians thought more of brass than of gold, and on every opportunity seemed to enjoy the smell of that baser metal.

[2] In speaking of these people Las Casas says that he believes they were the "Cyguayos" on the northern coast of Española, from the Puerto de Plata to Higuey.

[3] Las Casas says that these are called by the Indians "macana," and are made of the wood of the palm, which is very hard, and they are four palms long.

[4] This is the first instance since the Europeans and Indians met of any hostile proceedings, and the first instance where an Indian was injured by a white man. This occurrence took place in the Bay of Samana.

had not prevented it. The Christians then returned to the caravel with their boat and the Admiral having learned of the affair, said that in one way it troubled him and in another it did not, that they might be afraid of the Christians; because without doubt [he says] the people in that place do evil, and he believed they were from the island of Carib, and that they eat men: and if the boat which he left with thirty-nine men in the fortress and *Villa de la Navidad* comes to that place, they may be afraid to do them any harm. And if they did not belong to the Caribs at least they must be inhabitants of lands fronting them and they have the same customs and must be a people free from fear, not like the others on the other islands who are cowards and without arms, except reason [*fuera de razon*]. The Admiral says all this and that he wished to take some of them. He says that they made many fires according to the custom on that island of *Española*.

MONDAY, JANUARY 14.

He would have liked to send this night to search for the houses of those Indians to take some of them, believing that they were Caribs, and was prevented by the strong east and north-east wind which blew and by the high sea: but when day came, they saw many Indians on land. The Admiral ordered the boat to go to land with people well prepared, and the Indians then all came to the stern of the boat and especially the Indian who the day before had come to the caravel, and to whom the Admiral had given the articles of barter. With this Indian, he says there came a King who had given the said Indian some beads [*cuentas*] to give to the people in the boat in sign of security and peace. This King with three of his people entered the boat and came to the caravel. The Admiral ordered that honey and biscuit should be given them to eat and he gave the King a red cap and beads and a piece of red cloth and to the others also pieces of cloth, and the King said that to morrow he would bring a gold mask, saying that there was a great deal of gold there in *Carib* and *Matinino*. Then the Admiral sent them to land well pleased. The Admiral says further, that the caravels were leaking badly at the keel and he complains a great deal of the calkers who calked them very badly in Palos and says that when they saw that the Admiral had noticed their poor work, and desired to constrain them to mend it, they fled. But notwithstanding the great quantity of water which the caravels were taking, he confides in our Lord who brought him there to lead him back in His pity and mercy, for his High Majesty well knew how much controversy he had before he was able to start from Castile as no other was favourable to him except God because He knew his heart, and after God their Highnesses favoured him, and all the others had opposed him without any reason whatever. And he says further as follows: "And they have been the cause that the Royal Crown of your Highnesses does not possess one hundred millions more revenue than it has, since I came to serve them, which is now seven years

ago, the 20th day of January this very month [1] and furthermore the accumulation which would have been the natural increase. But that powerful God will remedy everything." These are his words.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15.

He says that he wishes to depart because nothing is gained by remaining here now on account of the disagreements which have taken place. He must mean the trouble with the Indians. He says also that to-day he has learned that all the bulk of the gold was in the vicinity of the *Villa de la Navidad* of their Highnesses, and that on the island of *Carib* [2] there was a great deal of copper and in *Matinino*, although it would be difficult to obtain it in *Carib* because he says the people eat human flesh: and he says the island of the *Caribs* appeared from where he was and that he had determined to go there, since it is on his course and to the island of *Matinino* which he says was all inhabited by women without men, and he says he wished to see both these islands and to take some of the inhabitants. The Admiral sent the boat to land and the king of that country had not come because he says the village was a long way off, but he sent his crown of gold as he had promised and many other men came with cotton and with bread and "ajes," all with their bows and arrows. After they had traded everything with the Indians he says there came four youths to the caravel and they appeared to the Admiral to give such good account of all those islands which lay toward the east on the same course that the Admiral had to follow, that he determined to take them to Castile with him. He says they had no iron or other metal there which could be seen, although in a few days much cannot be learned in regard to a country both on account of the difficulty of the language which he understood only by intuition and as the Indians did not learn what was asked of them in a short time. The bows of these people he says were as large as those of France and England: the arrows are just the same as the spears of the other peoples he had seen up to that time, which are made from the stalks of the canes when they go to seed, which are very straight and a yard and a half or two yards long, and then they put in the end a piece of sharp stick, a palm and a half long, and at the end of this little stick some insert a fish's tooth and most of them place there an herb, and they do not shoot as in other places, but in a certain manner which cannot do much harm. There was a great deal of cotton there, very fine and long and there is a great deal of mastic and it appeared to him that the bows were of yew-trees and that there is gold and copper: also there is a great deal of "aji," which is their pepper, which is worth more than our pepper, and none of the people eat without it as it is found to be very salutary. Fifty caravels can be loaded with it each year on that island of Española. He says that he

[1] Thus, according to this entry in the *Journal*, Columbus entered the service of the Sovereigns, January 20, 1486.

[2] Navarrete calls this island of Carib, *Puerto Rico*.

found a great deal of grass in that bay the same as they found in the gulf when they came to make the discovery, on which account he believed there were islands to the east in a straight line from where he began to find them; because he is certain that that grass grows in shallow water near the land and he says that if it is so, these Indies were very near the islands of Canary: and for this reason he believed that they were distant less than four hundred leagues.

Wednesday, January 16.

Three hours before day he started from the gulf which he called the *Golfo de las Flechas*,[1] with a land breeze, then with a west wind, turning his prow to the east quarter north-east, to go, he says, to the *Isla de Carib*[2] where were the people whom all the inhabitants of all those islands and countries feared so greatly; because, he says, they cross all those seas in their canoes without number and he says they eat the men they are able to capture. He says one of the four Indians he had taken yesterday in the *Puerto de las Flechas* had showed him the course. After having gone, in his opinion, sixty-four miles, the Indians indicated to him that the island lay to the south-east. He wished to follow that course and ordered the sails trimmed, and after they had gone two leagues the wind again blew, very favourably to go to Spain. He noted that the people began to grow sad on account of departing from the straight course, as both caravels were taking a great deal of water and they had no help save in God. He was obliged to leave the course which be believed was taking him to the island and he returned to the direct course for Spain—north-east quarter east, and he went thus until sunset forty-four miles, which are twelve leagues. The Indians told him that on that course he would find the island of *Matinino*, which he says was inhabited by women without men, and the Admiral says he would much like to carry five or six of them to the Sovereigns. But he doubted whether the Indians knew the course well or not, and he was not able to delay on account of the danger from the water which the caravels were taking. But he says he was certain there was such an island, and that at a certain time of year the men came to these women from the said *Isla de Carib*, which he says was ten or twelve leagues from them, and if they gave birth to a boy they sent him to the island of the men and if to a girl they kept her with them. The Admiral says that those two islands could not have been distant from where he had started, fifteen or twenty leagues, and he believed they were to the south-east, and that the Indians did not know how to point out the course. After losing

[1] Las Casas declares that this is the Bay of Samana, where the river Yuna has its mouth.

[2] Identified by Navarrete as *Puerto Rico*. The course after leaving the Bay of Samana would not suggest this island, but the subsequent direction given by the Indians as to its lying to the south-east makes it probable that the Isla de Carib was our island of Puerto Rico.

from sight the cape which he called *San Theramo*,[1] on the island of Española, which lay sixteen leagues to the west, he went twelve leagues to the east, quarter north-east. Very good weather prevailed.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17.

Yesterday at sunset the wind calmed some. He went during fourteen *ampolletas* [sand glasses], which are each a half hour or a little less, until the passing of the first quarter, at the rate of about four miles an hour, which are twenty-eight miles. Then the wind revived, and he went thus during all that quarter which are ten "ampolletas" and then another six until sunrise, at the rate of eight miles per hour, and so he went in all about eighty-four miles which are twenty-one leagues to the north-east quarter east, and until sunset he went more than forty-four miles to the east, which are eleven leagues. Here a pelican came to the caravel and then another, and he saw a great deal of grass of the kind which is in the sea.[2]

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18.

He navigated with little wind this night to the east quarter south-east forty miles, which are ten leagues: and then to the south-east quarter east thirty miles, which are seven and one-half leagues, until sunrise. After sunrise he navigated all day with little wind east-north-east and north-east and east more and less, turning the prow sometimes to the north and sometimes to the quarter of the north-east and to the north-north-east, and thus counting both he believed he went about sixty miles, which are fifteen leagues. Little grass appeared in the sea: but he says that yesterday and to-day the sea appeared coagulated with tunny-fish and the Admiral believed that from there they must go to the tunny-fisheries of the *Duke* of *Conil* and *Caliz*. A fishing-bird which is called the frigate-pelican which went around the caravel and then went away to the south-south-east, caused the Admiral to believe that there were some islands near there. And he said that the island of *Carib* and the island of *Matinino* and many other islands, lay to the east-south-east of the island of *Española*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19.

He went this night fifty-six miles to the north, quarter north-east, and sixty-four to the north-east, quarter north. After sunrise he navigated to the north-east with a strong wind east-south-east and then to the quarter of the North, and he went about eighty-four miles which are twenty-one leagues. He saw the sea coagulated with small tunny-fish. There were pelicans, ring-tails, and frigate-pelicans.

[1] Las Casas says:

"I believe it is certain that the Cape of Yheramo [*San Theramo*] is that which is called to-day *Cabo del Engaño*."

Navarrete identifies this as the Cape Samana.

[2] He was again in the vicinity of the Sargasso Sea.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20.

The wind calmed this night and at intervals gusts of wind blew, and he went in all about twenty miles to the north-east. After sunset he went about eleven miles to the south-east, then to the north-north-east thirty-six miles which are nine leagues. He saw an infinite number of small tunny-fish. The breezes he says were very soft and sweet the same as in Seville in April or May, and the sea, he says, God be given many thanks, was very calm all the time. Frigate-pelicans and "petrels" and many other birds appeared.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the north quarter north-east, with the wind east and north-east. He went about eight miles an hour until midnight which would be fifty-six miles. Then he went to the north-north-east at the rate of eight miles an hour, and this would be in all the night one hundred and four miles, which are twenty-six leagues, to the quarter of the north inclining to the north-east. After sunrise he navigated to the north-north-east with the same east wind, and at times to the quarter of the north-east and he went about eighty-eight miles in eleven hours which was the duration of the day, which make twenty-one leagues, deducting one which he lost because he fell off to the leeward toward the caravel *Pinta*, to speak her. He found the winds cooler, and he expected, he says, to find them more so each day the more he went to the north, and also because the nights were longer on account of the narrowing of the sphere.[1] Many ring-tails and "petrels" appeared, and other birds; but not as many fish, [he says] because the water was colder. He saw a great deal of grass.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the north-north-east with the wind east and veering to the south-east. He went eight miles an hour during five "ampolletas" and during three before the watch commenced, which were eight ampolletas: and thus he must have gone seventy-two miles, which are eighteen leagues. Then he went to the quarter of the north-east to the north six ampolletas which would be another eighteen miles. Then he went during four ampolletas of the second watch to the north-east, six miles an hour, which are three leagues to the north-east. Then until sunrise he went to the east-north-east during eleven ampolletas, six leagues[2] an hour, which are seven leagues. Then to the east-north-east until eleven o'clock in the day, thirty-two miles. And then the wind calmed and he went no farther that day. The Indians swam. They saw ring-tails and a great deal of grass.

[1] Here Columbus is the scientist, explaining the diminishing length of the degrees in travelling from the equator to the pole.

[2] This is evidently another error in copying on the part of Las Casas. Each ampolleta lasted a half-hour.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23.

This night he experienced many changes in the winds, and having been on the alert for everything and having taken the precautions which good sailors are accustomed to take and must take, he says he went this night to the north-east quarter north about eighty-four miles, which are twenty-one leagues. He waited many times for the caravel *Pinta* which was sailing badly close to the wind because the mizzen helped her little, the mast not being good: and he says that if her captain, who is Martin Alonso Pinzón, had taken as much pains to provide himself with a good mast in the Indies, where there are so many and such good ones, as he did to separate himself from him thinking to fill the ship with gold, he would have made it good. Many ring-tails appeared and much grass: the sky was all disturbed these days: but it had not rained and the sea was very calm all the time as in a river, many thanks be given to God. After sunrise he went about thirty miles for a certain part of the day straight to the north-east, which are seven leagues and a half, and then the rest of the day he went to the east-north-east another thirty miles, which are seven and a half leagues.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24.

He went during all this night, many changes which the wind made to the north-east considered, about forty-four miles, which were eleven leagues. From sunrise until sunset, he went to the east-north-east about fourteen leagues.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25.

He navigated this night to the east-north-east, a part of the night which were thirteen ampolletas, nine leagues and a half: then he went to the north-north-east another six miles. The sun having risen, during all the day, as the wind calmed, he went to the east-north-east about twenty-eight miles, which are seven leagues. The sailors killed a tunny-fish [*tonina*] and a very large shark and he says that they were very necessary to him because he did not then have anything to eat except bread and wine and "ajes" from the Indies.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26.

This night he went to the east, quarter south-east, fifty-six miles, which are fourteen leagues. After sunset he navigated at times to the east-south-east and at times to the south-east; he went about forty miles up to eleven o'clock in the daytime. Then he made another tack and then went "á la relinga," [1] and until night he went toward the north twenty-four miles, which are six leagues.

[1] "Anda á la relinga" is to navigate close to the wind.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 27.

Yesterday after sunset he went to the north-east and to the north and to the north quarter north-east, and he went about five miles an hour and in thirteen hours that would be sixty-five miles, which are sixteen and one half leagues.[1] From sunset until mid-day he went toward the north-east twenty-four miles, which are six leagues, and from that time until sunset he went about three leagues to the east-north-east.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28.

All this night he navigated to the east-north-east, and went about thirty-six miles, which are nine leagues. From sunrise until sunset he went to the east-north-east twenty miles, which are five leagues. He found the winds temperate and soft. He saw ring-tails and "petrels" and much grass.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29.

He navigated to the east-north-east and went during the night with the wind south and south-west about thirty-nine miles, which are nine and one half leagues.[2] In all the day he went about eight leagues. The winds were very temperate as they are in Castile in the month of April: the sea was very calm. Fish which they call dorados came to the side of the ship.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30.

During all this night he went seven leagues to the east-north-east. During the day he ran to the south quarter south-east, a distance of thirteen and a half leagues. He saw ring-tails and much grass and many tunny-fish [*toninas*].

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

He navigated this night to the north, quarter north-east a distance of thirty miles and then to the north-east thirty-five miles, which are sixteen [*sic*] leagues. From sunrise until night he went to the east-north-east thirteen and a half leagues. They saw ring-tails and petrels.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

He went this night to the east-north-east a distance of sixteen leagues and a half. During the day he ran on the same course a distance of twenty nine leagues and a quarter. The sea was very calm, thanks be to God.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

He went this night to the east-north-east forty miles, which are ten leagues. To-day with the same wind in the stern he ran seven miles an

[1] Really 16¼ leagues.

[2] Really 9¾ leagues.

hour: so that in eleven hours he went seventy-seven miles which are nineteen leagues and a quarter. The sea was very calm, thanks to God, and the winds very soft. They saw the sea so thickly covered with grasses that if they had not seen it, they would have feared it was shoals. They saw petrels.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3.

This night going with the wind astern and the sea very calm, thanks be to God, they went about twenty-nine leagues. The North Star appeared to him very high, the same as on the Cape San Vicente: he could not take the latitude with the astrolabe or quadrant, because the waves would not permit it. During the day he navigated on his course to the east-north-east, and went about ten miles an hour, and thus in eleven hours he went twenty-seven leagues.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

This night he navigated to the east quarter north-east, part of the time twelve miles an hour and part ten miles, and thus he went one hundred and thirty miles which are thirty-two leagues and a half. The sky was very tempestuous and rainy, and it was somewhat cold, on which account [he says] he knew that he had not reached the islands of the Azores. After the sun rose, he changed his course and went to the east. He went during all the day seventy-seven miles, which are nineteen leagues and a quarter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5.

This night he navigated to the east and he went in all fifty-four miles. which are fourteen leagues less a half. During the day he ran ten miles an hour, and so in eleven hours he went one hundred and ten miles, which are twenty-seven leagues and a half. They saw petrels and some little sticks which was a sign that they were near land.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

He navigated this night to the east, and went about eleven miles an hour: in thirteen hours of the night he went about one hundred and forty-three miles, which are thirty-five leagues and a quarter.[1] They saw many birds and petrels. During the day he ran fourteen miles an hour, and so he went during that day one hundred and fifty-four miles, which are thirty-eight leagues and a half: so that they went between day and night seventy-four leagues, a little more or less. Vicente[2] Anes said that to-day in the morning the island of Flores lay to the north, and the island of Madeira to the east. Roldan said that the island of Fayal or of San Gregorio lay to the north-north-east, and Puerto Santo to the east. Much grass appeared.

[1] Really 35¾ leagues.

[2] Vincente Yañez Pinzón.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7.

He navigated this night to the east: he went about ten miles an hour, and so in thirteen hours he went one hundred and thirty miles, which are thirty-two leagues and a half: during the day he went eight miles an hour, in eleven hours eighty-eight miles, which are twenty-two leagues. On this morning the Admiral was seventy-five leagues to the south of the island of Flores: and the pilot Pedro Alonso going to the north, passed between Tercera and Santa Maria: and in going to the east, he passed to the windward of the island of Madeira, at a distance of twelve leagues on the north.[1] The sailors saw grass of a different kind than that they had passed, of which there is a great deal in the Azores Islands. Then they saw the same kind they had seen before.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8.

He went this night three miles an hour to the east, for a short time, and then went to the quarter of the south-east: he went during all the night twelve leagues. From sunrise until mid-day he ran twenty-seven miles: then until sunset as many more, which are thirteen leagues to the south-south-east.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

For a short time during this night he went about three leagues to the south-south-east, and then to the south, quarter south-east: then to the north-east until ten o'clock in the day a distance of another five leagues, and then until night he went nine leagues to the east.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

After sunset he navigated to the east during all the night a distance of one hundred and thirty miles, which are thirty-two leagues and a half: from sunset until night he went nine miles an hour, and thus he went in eleven hours ninety-nine miles, which are twenty-four leagues and a half and a quarter. On the caravel of the Admiral, Vicente Yañes and the two pilots Sancho Ruiz and Pedro Alonso Niño and Roldan shaped the course and they all passed much beyond the islands of the Azores to the east, according to their charts, and navigating to the north no one of them located the island of Santa Maria, which is the last of all the Azores islands: rather they would be five leagues beyond it and in the vicinity of the island of Madeira or in that of Puerto Santo. But the Admiral reckoned himself much out of his course, finding his position a long way behind that reckoned by the others, because this night the island of Flores lay to the north of him and he was going to the east toward Nafe in Africa, and he passed to the windward of the island of Madeira on the northern side [lacuna] leagues. Thus these pilots according to their reckoning were one hundred and fifty

[1] These were the reckonings of Pedro Alonzo Niño, according as he might go to the north or due east.

leagues nearer to Castile than the Admiral. He says that the grace of God permitting, as soon as land is seen it will be known who is calculating the surest. He says here also that on the voyage west he went two hundred and sixty-three leagues from the island of Hierro before he saw the first grass.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

He went on his course this night twelve miles an hour, and so in all the night he counted thirty-nine leagues, and during all the day he ran sixteen leagues and a half. He saw many birds and on this account he believed he was near land.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

He navigated to the east six miles an hour during this night, and went until day a distance of seventy-three miles, which are eighteen leagues and a quarter. Here he began to encounter a high sea and tempest: and if the caravel had not been very good and well equipped, he says he would have feared to be lost. During the day he ran about eleven or twelve leagues with much difficulty and danger.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

From sunset until day he experienced great difficulty from the wind and from the high and stormy sea: it lightened toward the north-north-east three times, which he said was a sign that a great tempest was to come from that direction or from the direction contrary to his course. He went under bare masts most of the night: then he raised a little sail and went about fifty-two miles, which are thirteen leagues. This day the wind abated a little; but then it increased, and the sea became terrible and the waves crossed each other which racked the ships. He went about fifty-five miles, which are thirteen and a half leagues.[1]

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

This night the wind increased and the waves were frightful, coming in contrary directions. They crossed and obstructed the ship which could not go forward or get out from between them and they broke on her: he carried the "papahigo"[2] very low simply that it might keep him above the waves: he went in this way during three hours, and made about twenty miles. The wind and the sea increased greatly: and seeing the great danger he began to run before the wind, where the wind took him, because there was no other remedy. Then the caravel *Pinta*, on which was Martin Alonso, commenced to run also, and disappeared, although all the night the Admiral showed lights and the other ship responded; until it appeared

[1] Really 13¾ leagues.

[2] Navarrete says that the "papahigo mayor" was called the studding-sail, while the "papahigo menor" was the fore stay-sail.

that the latter was not able to do so any longer on account of the force of the tempest, and because she found herself very much out of the course of the Admiral. The Admiral went this night to the north-east, quarter east, a distance of fifty-four miles, which are thirteen leagues.[1] After sunrise the wind became stronger and the cross sea more terrible: he carried only the "papahigo" low, that the ship might get out of the waves which broke across her and not sink. He went on a course to the east-north-east and then on the quarter as far as the north-east: he went about six hours thus and during that time made seven and a half leagues. He ordered that a pilgrimage should be vowed to go to Santa Maria de Guadaloupe and a wax candle weighing five pounds should be carried and that every one should vow that whoever was elected by chance should fulfil the pilgrimage. For this purpose he ordered as many peas brought as there were persons on the ship and one was marked by a knife with the sign of the cross, and they were well shaken and placed in a cap. The first to put in his hand was the Admiral and he took out the pea marked with the sign of the cross, and thus he was selected by chance, and from that time he considered himself obliged to fulfil the vow and make the pilgrimage. Lots were again drawn to make a pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Loreto,[2] which is in the province of Ancona, the land of the Pope, which is the house where Our Lady has performed and performs many great miracles, and chance selected a sailor from the port of Santa Maria, who was called Pedro de Villa, and the Admiral promised to give him money for the expenses of the pilgrimage. He decided that another pilgrim should be sent to watch one night in Santa Clara de Moguer and say a mass, and for this purpose lots were again drawn with the peas marked with a cross, and the choice fell to the Admiral himself. Then the Admiral and all the people made a vow that the first land they reached they would all go in their shirts in procession to pray in a church under the invocation of Our Lady.

Besides the general or common vows each one had made his vow in especial, because none of them expected to escape, all considering themselves lost through the terrible tempest they were experiencing. The danger was increased by the fact that the ship was short of ballast as the load had been lightened by the consumption of the provisions, water and wine: the Admiral had not provided these in sufficient quantity, as he hoped for the favourable weather he experienced among the islands, and

[1] Really 13½ leagues.

[2] The legend of the Holy House dates from somewhere about the close of the Crusading period. The house at Nazareth in which Mary had been born and in which she lived during the childhood of Jesus and after His Ascension was said to have been converted by the Apostles into a church. When Jerusalem was threatened with destruction by the Turks in 1291 it was carried by the angels through the air and deposited on a hill at Tersatz in Dalmatia. In the year 1294 the angels carried it across the Adriatic to a wood near Recanati. The proprietress of this wood was called Laureta, and the chapel derived its name from her and was called *Sacellum Gloriosæ Virginis in Laureto*. The following year the house was again removed by the same celestial agency to its present site in Ancona, Italy.

proposed to order the ship ballasted on the islands of the *Mugeres* where he intended to go.[1] The remedy he found for this necessity was when he was able to do it, to fill the pipes which were empty of water and wine with sea-water, and by this means the evil was remedied.

The Admiral here writes the causes which made him fear that our Lord willed that he should perish in that place, and the other causes which gave him hope that God would lead him in safety, in order that such news as he was carrying to the Sovereigns might not perish. It appeared to him that the great desire he had to carry this wonderful news and to show that he had been proved truthful in what he had said and volunteered to discover, caused him to feel the greatest fear that he would not succeed in doing so, and he says that it seemed to him that each gnat could disturb and impede it. He attributed this to his little faith and lack of confidence in the Divine Providence. He was comforted on the other hand by the favours which God had shown him by giving him such a victory, in discovering what he had discovered: and God had fulfilled for him all his desires, as after he had experienced in Castile so many adversities and contradictions, everything had been brought about as he desired. And as before, he had directed his purpose to God and had conducted his enterprise for Him, and He had heard him and given him all that he had asked, it was to be believed that God would fulfil what was commenced and deliver him in safety. Especially since he had delivered him on his departure when he had greater reason to fear *on account of the difficulties he had with the sailors and people who were with him, who all with one voice determined to return and to rebel against him*, making protestations, and the eternal God gave him strength and courage against them all; and because of many other wonderful things which God had manifested in him and by him on that journey, besides those which their Highnesses knew from the persons of their house. So that [he says] he ought not to fear the said tempest. But his weakness and anxiety [he says] would not allow his mind to become reassured. He says moreover, that he also felt great anxiety on account of *the two sons whom he had in Cordova at school, as he had left them orphaned of father and mother in a foreign land*,[2] and the Sovereigns did not know of the services which he had rendered them on the voyage he had made and the very favourable news he was taking them, on account of which they would be moved to succour his sons. For this reason, and that their Highnesses might know how our Lord had given him the victory in everything which he desired about the Indies, and that they might know there were no tempests in those regions, which he says may be known by the fact that the grass and trees spring up and grow almost into the sea,

[1] This phrase reads in the original "á donde lleva propósito de ir." It should be " á donde llevaba [or llevó] propósito de ir." This allusion to the island of women — Mugeres — is to Matinino, or Martinique, whither the Admiral intended to go after departing from Española.

[2] We believe this passage has not been fully understood by Las Casas. Certainly the son of Columbus and Beatriz Enriquez de Arana would not have been left an entire orphan, for Beatriz was alive in Cordova.

and that if he should be lost in that tempest the Sovereigns might have information about his voyage, he took a parchment and wrote upon it all that he was able in regard to everything which he had found, earnestly beseeching whomsoever might find it to carry it to the Sovereigns. He enveloped this parchment in a waxed cloth, tied it very securely, and ordered a large wooden barrel brought, and placed the parchment in the barrel without any person knowing what it was, as they all thought it was some act of devotion, and thus he ordered it thrown into the sea. Then with showers and disturbances the wind changed to the west, and he sailed thus before the wind with only the foresail for about five hours; the sea was very rough and he went a distance of about two and a half leagues to the north-east. He had taken down the "papahigo" from the mainsail, for fear that some wave of the sea would carry it all away.[1]

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

Yesterday after sunset the skies commenced to clear toward the west, and indicated that the wind was about to blow from that direction. He had the bonnet[2] placed on the mainsail: the sea was yet very high, although it was subsiding a little. He went to the east-north-east at the rate of four miles an hour and in the thirteen hours of the night they went thirteen leagues. After sunrise they saw land: it appeared to them at the prow to the east-north-east. Some said that it was the island of Madeira, others that it was the Rock of Cintra in Portugal, near Lisbon. The wind changed and blew ahead from the east-north-east and the sea came very high from the west: the caravel must have been five leagues from land. The Admiral, according to his navigation thought himself to be off the Azores Islands, and believed that the land they saw was one of them: the pilots and sailors believed that they were already off Castile.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

All this night he beat against the wind in order to gain the land, which he already recognised as an island, at times going to the north-east, at others to the north-north-east, until sunrise, when he directed his course to the south in order to reach the island which they no longer saw because of the very murky weather, and he saw at the stern another island which was distant about eight leagues. From sunrise until night he tacked about to reach land, in spite of the strong wind and high sea which it

[1] Las Casas in the *Historia* under date of February 14, when he is talking of the tempests encountered by the Admiral at that time, mentions the fact that when the Admiral went out on his voyage he experienced no tempests and not even in sailing among the West Indian islands, and therefore thought there were no tempests there, whereas they are the most terrible in the world. He says it may be seen that it shows the wisdom of God, for if he had encountered any of these tempests on his outward voyage, with his discontented and rebellious crew, they would have flatly refused to go on, and he could not have prosecuted his voyage.

[2] The bonnet is supposed to have been a small or light sail added above the mainsail.

raised. At the hour of *Salve* which is at the beginning of the night, some saw light to the leeward, and it appeared that it must be the island which they first saw yesterday: and all night he continued beating about and drawing as near as he was able to see if at sunset he could distinguish any of the islands. This night the Admiral rested a little, because he had not slept nor had been able to sleep since Wednesday, and his legs had become very much crippled from being always exposed to the cold and water and from having had little nourishment. At sunrise [1] he navigated to the south-south-west and at night he reached the island and on account of the very dark and cloudy weather he could not recognise what island it was.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

Yesterday after sunset he went around the island to see where he could anchor and get tidings: he anchored with one anchor and afterwards lost the anchor: he set sail again and beat about all the night. After sunrise he again approached the northern part of the island and cast anchor where it appeared best to him, and sent the boat to land: and they had speech with the people of the island and learned that it was the island of Santa Maria, one of the Azores; and the inhabitants indicated to them the harbour [2] where they could enter with the caravel and they said they had never seen such a tempest as that which had prevailed during the past fifteen days, and that they wondered how they had escaped: they offered many thanks to God [he says] and rejoiced greatly on account of the news they heard of the Admiral's having discovered the Indies. The Admiral says that his navigation had been very true [3] and that he had steered well, for which many thanks should be given to our Lord, although he made them a little beyond their true situation; but he had considered it sure that he was in the region of the Azores Islands, and that this island was one of them. And he says he pretended to have gone a longer distance to confound the pilots and sailors who steered, and to remain Master of the course to the Indies, as he had done, because no one of them all was certain of his course, so that none could be sure of his course to the Indies.[4]

[1] This was Sunday, February 17, no other event being recorded under that date.

[2] This harbour is the port San Lorenzo.

[3] The ability of Columbus as a navigator is nowhere better exhibited than in the correctness of his dead reckoning, and we now see him vindicated. The other pilots insisted they were nearer the coasts of Europe by many scores of leagues and in a latitude greatly removed from the position calculated by the Admiral.

[4] Here is evidence of a spirit which might well be interpreted as selfish and discreditable if we have not the key to the character and purpose of Columbus. By this key, we recognise that the project, the ultimate project of Columbus, demanded that he and the Sovereigns should control the new Indies and the route thereto. The success of this project, the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land,—that act which must have its place before the Millennium was announced—depended on the wealth to be dug from the New World and the mighty flow of revenue must not be dissipated into countless insignificant streams by the adventurers of Europe. It was, then, no exhibition of selfishness. It was not commercial cunning. It was the skill of the workman in following the Divine design.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

After sunset three men came to the shore of the island and called. He sent them the boat in which they came to the ship and brought fowls and fresh bread, and it was a Carnival Day: and they brought other things which the captain of the island sent, who was called Juan de Castañeda, saying that he knew the Admiral very well and that he did not come to see him on account of its being night: but that at dawn he would come and bring him more refreshment, and bring with him three men from the caravel who remained there, and that he did not send them back on account of the great pleasure he had with them, hearing about their voyage. The Admiral ordered that the messengers should be paid much honour and ordered beds to be given them in which to sleep that night, because it was late and the village was distant. And as on the Thursday past, when they were in the midst of the anxiety occasioned by the tempest, they made the vow and vows aforesaid, and the vow that on the first land where there was a house of Our Lady they would go in shirts, etc., he decided that half of the people should go to fulfil it at a small house which was near the sea, like a hermitage, and he would go afterward with the other half. Seeing that the country was safe, and confiding in the offers of the Captain and in the peace reigning between Portugal and Castile,[1] he begged the three men to go to the village and send a priest to say a mass for them. Half of the people went in their shirts, in fulfilment of their vow, and being at their prayers, they were attacked by all the villagers on horseback and on foot with the Captain, who captured them all. Then the Admiral remained unsuspectingly until eleven o'clock in the day, expecting the boat, in order to go himself with the other people and fulfil his vow, and seeing that the people did not come, he suspected that they were detained or that the boat was wrecked, because all the island is surrounded by very high rocks. The Admiral could not see this affair, because the hermitage was behind a point. He raised anchor and set sail directly toward the hermitage and he saw many horsemen who alighted and entered the boat armed, and came to the caravel to take the Admiral. The Captain arose in the boat and asked for his personal safety from the Admiral and he said that it was assured to him. But: why was it that he saw none of his people in the boat? And the Admiral added that if he would come and enter the caravel, that he would do all that he wished. And the Admiral tried with smooth words to get him to come so that he could take him to recover his people, not believing that he violated faith in giving him security, since he, having offered him peace and security, had broken his promise. He says that as the Captain had a bad purpose he did not trust himself to enter. Having seen that the Captain did not approach the caravel, the Admiral begged him to tell him the cause for his detaining his people, and said that it would

[1] Las Casas in the *Historia* says that the King of Portugal had ordered that wherever the Admiral might land on his return voyage, if it was in his dominions, he was to be taken, and that his people would never have dared to do as they did without orders.

annoy the King of Portugal and that in the land of the Sovereigns of Castile the Portuguese receive great honour and they enter it and are as safe as in Lisbon: and that the Sovereigns had given them letters of recommendation for all the Princes and Lords and men in the world, which he would show the Captain if he would approach: and that he was their Admiral of the Ocean-sea and Viceroy of the Indies, which now belonged to their Highnesses, the provisions for which, signed with their signatures and sealed with their seals, he would show him and which he did show him at a distance: and that the Sovereigns felt much love and friendship for the King of Portugal and had ordered him to pay all the honour he was able to the ships of Portugal which he might encounter: and that even if he would not give him his people, he would not give up going to Castile, since he had sufficient people to navigate to Seville, and the Captain and his people would be well punished for offering them that insult. Then the Captain and the others replied that they did not know a King and Queen of Castile here, nor their letters, neither were they afraid, and rather they would have them know that it was Portugal,—almost menacing them. When the Admiral heard this he felt great resentment and he says he thought some differences had taken place between the Kingdoms after his departure, and he could not suffer that they should not reply to the Portuguese, which was right.

Then that Captain again rose at a distance [he says] and told the Admiral to go away with the caravel to the harbour and that all he was doing and had done, the King his Lord had sent him orders to do. The Admiral called on those who were in the caravel to witness this and the Admiral again called to the Captain and to them all and gave them his faith, and promised, by right of his authority, not to descend from or leave the caravel until he had taken a hundred Portuguese to Castile, and had depopulated all the island. And so he anchored again in the harbour where he was first, as the weather and wind were very unfavourable for anything else.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

He ordered the ship repaired and the pipes filled with sea-water for ballast, because he was in a very bad harbour and he feared his cables might be cut, and it was so. For this reason he set sail toward the island of San Miguel, although in none of the Azores Islands is there a good harbour for the weather which prevailed then, and he had no other safety than to put out to sea.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

He started yesterday from that island of Santa Maria for the island of San Miguel to see if he could find a harbour in which to endure such bad weather as prevailed, with a great deal of wind and a high sea and he went until night without being able to see either one land or the other on account of the extreme darkness and obscurity which the wind and sea caused.

The Admiral says that it was with little pleasure because he had only three sailors who knew the sea, as the most of those who were there knew nothing of the sea. He beat about all this night in a very great tempest and in great danger and difficulty; and that in which the Lord was merciful to him was that the sea or the waves, only came from one direction, because if there had been a cross-sea as in the past, he would have undergone very serious injury. After sunrise, having found that he did not see the island of San Miguel, he decided to return to Santa Maria to see if he could recover his people and the boat and the cables and anchors he left there.

He says he was astonished at such bad weather as there was in those islands and regions, because in the Indies he navigated all that winter without anchoring and it was good weather all the time, and that, for one hour alone he did not see the sea so that he could not navigate well, and in these islands he had experienced such a serious tempest, and the same happened to him on his departure as far as the Canary Islands: but having passed them, he always found the winds and the sea very temperate. In conclusion the Admiral says that the sacred theologians and learned philosophers well said that the earthly Paradise[1] is at the end of the Orient, because it is a most temperate place. So that, those lands which he had now discovered, are [he says] the end of the Orient.

Friday, February 22.

Yesterday he anchored at the island of Santa Maria in the harbour or port where he had first anchored, and then a man came and called from some rocks which were facing them, telling them not to go away from there. Then the boat came with five sailors and two priests and an escribano [notary]. They asked for guarantee of security, and the Admiral having given it, they mounted upon the caravel and as it was night they slept there, and the Admiral paid them what honours he was able. In the morning they required him to show them the authority from the Sovereigns of Castile, in order to prove to them that he had made that voyage by authority of the Sovereigns. The Admiral felt that they did that in order to make it appear that they had not done wrong before, but that they were right, as they had not been able to take the person of the Admiral which they must have intended to get into their hands when they came armed in the boat; but they saw that the game did not turn out favourably to them and they feared what the Admiral had said and threatened, which he intended to do and believed that he could carry out successfully. Finally in order to obtain the people they had, he was obliged to show them the general letter from the Sovereigns for all the Princes and Lords of High Degree, and the other provisions; and he gave them what he had and they went to land satisfied and then they let all the people go with the boat, from whom he learned that if they had

[1] This is the first reference by Columbus to his belief in the location of the Earthly Paradise. We shall see him again in the Gulf of Paria in his third voyage expressing the same belief.

taken the Admiral they would never have allowed him to go free, because the Captain said that the King, his Lord, had commanded him to do as he did.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

Yesterday the weather commenced to show signs of becoming better, and he raised the anchors and went around the island in search of a good anchorage where he could take wood and stone for ballast, and he could not find an anchorage until the hour of "completas."[1]

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

He anchored yesterday in the afternoon to take wood and stone, and as the sea was very high the boat could not reach land and at the passing of the first night watch the wind commenced to blow west and south-west. He ordered the sails raised on account of the great danger there is in those islands from remaining at anchor with a south wind, and a south-west wind easily shifts till it blows south. And having seen that it was good weather to go to Castile, he abandoned his purpose of taking wood and stone and ordered the course steered to the east, and he went until sunrise, which would be six hours and a half, at the rate of about seven miles an hour, which are forty-five miles and a half. From sunrise until sunset he went six miles an hour, which in eleven hours was sixty-six miles and with the forty-five and a half travelled in the night, it made one hundred and eleven and a half, and consequently twenty-eight leagues.

MONDAY FEBRUARY 25.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated to the east upon his course, five miles an hour: in thirteen hours of this night he went about sixty-five miles which are sixteen leagues and a quarter. From sunrise until sunset he went another sixteen leagues and a half with the sea calm, thanks be to God. A very large bird came to the caravel which appeared to be an eagle.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated on his course to the east, the sea calm, thanks be to God: the most of the night he went about eight miles an hour, which was one hundred miles or twenty-five leagues. After sunrise there was little wind: there were showers, and he went a matter of eight leagues to the east-north-east.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

This night and day he went out of his course on account of the contrary winds and the great waves and high sea and he found himself one hundred and twenty-five leagues from the Cape of St. Vincent and eighty from the island of Madeira and one hundred and six from the island of Santa Maria.

[1] Nine o'clock in the evening. See our note on *completas* in Vol. II., Chapter lxxxxi.

He was very much troubled with such tempests, now that he was so near the end of his journey.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

He went in the same manner this night with diverse winds, to the south and to the south-east and to one side and the other and to the north-east and to the east-north-east, and in this manner he went all this day.

FRIDAY, MARCH 1.

He went this night to the east quarter of the north-east, twelve leagues: by day he ran to the east quarter north-east, twenty-three leagues and a half.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2.

He went this night on his course to the east, quarter north-east, twenty-eight leagues, and in the day he ran twenty leagues.

SUNDAY, MARCH 3

After sunset he navigated on his route to the east. A hurricane came upon him which split all his sails, and he saw himself in great danger, but God willed that they should be delivered from it. They drew lots to send a pilgrim [he says] to Santa Maria de la Cinta in Huelva, who was to go in his shirt, and the lot fell to the Admiral. They all made a vow also to fast the first Saturday after, on bread and water. He went about sixty miles before the sails were split. Then they went with bare masts on account of the great tempest of wind and sea which rolled over them from two directions. They saw indications of being near to land, and found themselves quite near to Lisbon.

MONDAY, MARCH 4.

Last night they experienced a terrible tempest, and they thought they would be lost from the seas which came from two directions, and the winds which it appeared would raise the caravel in the air, and the water from the sky and the lightnings from many directions. It pleased our Lord to sustain them and they went thus until the first watch when our Lord showed them land, the sailors seeing it: and then in order not to approach the land until they might know it and see if there was any harbour or place to save themselves, he raised the "papahigo" as there was no other remedy and they sailed some distance although with great danger, putting to sea, and thus God guarded them until day, and he says that it was with infinite labour and fright. Day having come he recognised the land, which was the Rock of Cintra, which is near the river of Lisbon, where he determined to enter as he was not able to do anything else: so terrible was the tempest which prevailed in the village of Cascaes, which is at the entrance of the river. He says the people of the village were offering prayers for them all

the morning and after he was inside the river the people came to see him, through wonder as to how they had escaped, and thus at the hour of tercia he came to stop at Rastelo, inside the river of Lisbon, where he learned from the sea-faring people, that there was never a winter with so many tempests, and that twenty-five ships had been lost in Flanders, and others were there which had not been able to go out for four months. Then the Admiral wrote to the King of Portugal, who was nine leagues from there, that the Sovereigns of Castile had ordered him not to fail to enter the harbours of his Highness to ask what he might need in return for his money: and he asked the King to give him authority to go with the caravel to the city of Lisbon, as some dishonest persons thinking that he carried a great deal of gold and he being in a depopulated [*despoblado*] harbour, might undertake to commit some dishonest action: and also that his Highness might know that he did not come from Guinea but from the Indies

TUESDAY, MARCH 5.

To-day Bartholomew Diaz [1] of Lisbon, the Patron of the large ship of the King of Portugal which was also anchored in Rastelo and which was better furnished with artillery and arms [the Admiral says] than any ship he ever saw, came with a small vessel armed to the caravel, and told the Admiral to enter the small vessel in order to go and give account to the factors of the King and to the Captain of the said ship. The Admiral replied that he was the Admiral of the Sovereigns of Castile, and that he did not render such accounts to such persons, nor would he get off from the ships or vessels where he was, unless he was obliged to by force of arms. The Patron replied that he might send the Master of the Caravel: the Admiral replied that he would neither send the Master nor any other person unless it was by force, because he considered it the same to allow a person to go as to go himself, and this was the custom of the Admirals of the Sovereigns of Castile to die rather than to give up their people. The Patron moderated his demands, and said that since he had formed that determination that it should be as he wished; but that he begged him to order the letters from the Sovereigns of Castile shown to him, if he had them. It pleased the Admiral to show them to him and then the Patron returned to the ship and related the matter to the Captain, who was called Alvaro Dama, who came to the caravel in great state with kettle-drums and trumpets and pipes, making a great display: and he talked with the Admiral and offered to do everything that he ordered him to do.

[1] Here is a strange union, if but for a passing hour, of two illustrious men, two famous sailors, representing the two great maritime Powers of the earth; the one the first to push his way southward till he turned the southern extremity of the Old World; the other the first to make his way to the West and to verify the prophecy of the ancients in the discovery of other lands; the one winning for Portugal a southern route to Old India; the other gaining for Spain a New India and a New World. Diaz must have comprehended at once that, great as his own work had been, he stood in the presence of one to whom a far greater deed had been vouchsafed.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6.

Having learned that the Admiral came from the Indies so many people came from the city of Lisbon to-day, to see him and to see the Indians, that it was a wonderful thing to see them and the way they all marvelled, giving thanks to our Lord and saying that through the great faith of which the Sovereigns of Castile possessed and their desire to serve God, his High Majesty had given them all this.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7.

To-day an exceedingly large number of people came to the caravel and many knights, among them the factors of the King, and they all offered infinite thanks to our Lord for such great good and increase of Christianity, which our Lord had given to the Sovereigns of Castile, which he says they attributed to the fact that their Highnesses laboured and applied themselves for the increase of the Religion of Christ.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8.

To-day the Admiral received a letter from the King of Portugal by Don Martin de Noroña, in which letter the King begged him to come where he was, since the weather was not suitable for the departure of the caravel: and he did so in order to avoid suspicion, although he did not wish to go and he went to sleep at Sacanben:[1] the King ordered his factors to give the Admiral and his people everything they needed for the caravel without money, and that everything should be done as the Admiral wished.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9.

To-day he left Sacanben, to go where the King was, which was at the valley of Paraiso, nine leagues from Lisbon: as it rained he was not able to reach there until night. The King ordered that he should be received with great honour by the principal persons of his house, and the King also received him with great honour, and showed him much favour, and ordered him to be seated and talked with him very well, and told him that he would order everything done which would be of use to the Sovereigns of Castile and to their service, and more fully than as if it were for his own service. And he showed that he felt great pleasure that the voyage had terminated favourably, and that it had been made; although he understood that in the capitulation between the Sovereigns and himself, that this conquest belonged to him. The Admiral replied to this that he had not seen the capitulation and did not know anything other than that the Sovereigns had commanded him not to go to the Mine nor to any part of Guinea, and that this had been proclaimed in all the ports of Andalusia

[1] Sacavem, a village in Estremadura on the west bank of the estuary of the Tagus and seven miles north of Lisbon.

before he started on the voyage. The King graciously responded that he was certain that mediators would not be necessary in this matter. He gave him as a host the Prior of Clato, who was the most important person who was there, from whom the Admiral received many honours and favours.

SUNDAY, MARCH 10.

To-day after mass the King repeated to the Admiral that if he needed anything it would be given to him at once: and he talked with the Admiral a great deal about his voyage, and always ordered him to be seated and paid him great honour [1]

MONDAY, MARCH 11.

To-day the Admiral took leave of the King, who told him some things to say to the Sovereigns on his part, showing great kindness toward him all the time. The Admiral departed after eating and the King sent Don Martin de Noroña with him, and all those cavaliers came to accompany him, and paid him honours for quite a length of time. Then he came to a

[1] The following very interesting episode is found narrated in the *Historia*. Although it is not stated in the *Journal*, it would seem from this account that some of the Indians accompanied the Admiral on his visit to the King of Portugal, and we, who have followed them from the time they joined voluntarily or involuntarily the ship of Columbus and have noted the difficulty with which they made themselves understood, may well marvel at the intelligence exhibited by them according to this anecdote.

Las Casas says the story was much told at the time, and that he also heard it related in the island of Española. He says:

"While the King was talking with the Admiral, he ordered a dish of beans brought and placed on a table near them, and by signs ordered an Indian from among those who were there, to designate the many islands of his country that the Admiral said he had discovered. The Indian at once showed, Española and Cuba, and the Lucayos and others. The King noted it with morose consideration and in a moment, as though he did it inadvertently he undid with his hand what the Indian had constructed. In a few moments he ordered another Indian to do the same with the beans, and this Indian quickly and diligently showed with the beans what the other Indian had shown, and perchance added more islands and lands, giving the reason in his language for all he had shown, although no one understood it. And then the King recognising clearly the greatness of the lands discovered and their riches, was unable to conceal his grief at the loss of such inestimable things, and cried out loudly and impetuously, giving himself a blow with his fist in the breast: 'Oh! man of miserable understanding. Why didst thou let an undertaking of such great importance go out of thine hands!'"

Las Casas says he heard all this in those first or early times from those who talked about it, and says if it is true it must be asked why the Admiral did not tell of it in his relation of the voyage, but that it can be replied it was better to tell it to the Sovereigns alone than to publish it abroad; and Las Casas thinks it was the hand of God which directed the Admiral back there where he would see the King and tell him of his discovery, as a punishment to the King for his ill treatment of the Admiral and the trick he played upon him. Las Casas then remarks that a Portuguese historian, Garcia de Resende, relates the affair of the meeting of the Admiral with the King, and says the King was so troubled and pained by what the Admiral said of the discoveries that those present attributed his grief to the boldness of the Admiral and begged leave to kill him so that the news of the discovery would not go back to Castile, but that the King was afraid of God and forbade it, and even honoured and favoured the Admiral.

monastery of San Antonio, which is near a place which is called Villafranca,[1] where the Queen was staying; and he went to present his homage to her and to kiss her hands, because she had sent to say that he must not go away until she saw him: and with her was the Duke and the Marquis, and the Admiral received great honour. The Admiral took leave of her at night and went to sleep at Llandra.[2]

TUESDAY, MARCH 12.

To-day as he was about to start from Llandra for the caravel, a squire from the King arrived, who offered him on the part of the King, if he wished to go to Castile by land, to go with him, and procure lodgings and beasts of travel for him and everything he might need. When the Admiral parted from this squire, the squire sent him a mule for himself and another for his pilot, whom he had with him, and he says he learned that the squire had ordered that twenty small short swords [*espadines*] should be given to the pilot; and he says that it was said that this was all done that the Sovereigns might learn of it. He reached the caravel in the night.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13.

To-day at 8 o'clock in a high sea and with the wind north-north-west, he raised the anchors and set sail to go to Seville.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14.

Yesterday after sunset, he pursued his course to the south and before sunrise he found himself off the Cape of San Vincent, which is in Portugal. Then he navigated to the east to go to Saltes, and he went all day with a light wind until the present, when he is off Furon.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15.

Yesterday after sunset he navigated on his course until day, with a light wind, and at sunrise he was off Saltes, and at the hour of mid-day with the tide rising, he entered by the bar of Saltes until he was inside the harbour from which he had departed August 3 of the past year; and thus he says that this writing is now finished, excepting that he intended to go by sea to Barcelona in which city he was informed that their Highnesses were staying and this was in order to make them a relation of all his voyage which our Lord had permitted him to make, and for which He had inspired him. For certainly besides that, he knew and held to it firmly and

[1] *Villafranca de Xira* is a village on the right bank of the Tagus some twenty miles north-east of Lisbon. This is the same site named Cornualla, or Cornwall, by the English settlers about the year 1147. The Mohammedans had been driven out of Lisbon by the German and English Crusaders on their way to Palestine, and when under Alfonso Henriques the country was taken, some of the English remained as colonists.

[2] *Llandra*, Alhandra, a town on the right bank of the Tagus and eighteen miles north-east from Lisbon.

strongly without scruple, that His Exalted Majesty does all good things, and that everything is good except sin and that nothing can be estimated or thought which is not with His consent. "This voyage I know [says the Admiral] has miraculously proved it to be so, as can be learned from this writing by the many remarkable miracles which have been shown on the voyage and for me, who have been such a long time in the Court of Your Highnesses, with the opposition and against the advice of so many of the principal persons of your house, who were all against me, treating this matter as a hoax. I hope in our Lord that it will be the greatest honour for Christianity, although it has been accomplished with such ease [*que así ligeramente haya jamas aparecido*]." These are the final words of the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus in regard to his first voyage to the Indies, and his discovery of them.[1]

[1] "This is a copy of the one [*Journal*] which, in the handwriting of the Bishop, Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, exists in the archives of the most Excellent Señor Duke del Infantado, being in a small folio volume bound in parchment, consisting of 76 leaves written in a small and compact hand. There is another ancient copy there [in the same archives], something later [in the time of its writing] to that of Las Casas, also in folio, with the same kind of binding and with 140 leaves. Both have been before us in the lengthy comparison which the Chief Cosmographer of the Indies, Don Juan Bautista Muñoz and I have made, in Madrid, February 27, 1791. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete."—Navarrete, vol. i., p. 1660.

In the *Historia* Bartolomé de las Casas has made quite a full relation of the reception given Columbus by the Sovereigns at Barcelona, and as it is almost the only authority we have for that interview, we quote it in full.

The second event which the citizens of Barcelona were celebrating will be found mentioned in our essay on "Peter Martyr." * This was the escape of King Ferdinand from an attempted assassination.

Las Casas says:

"He [Columbus] made the most haste he possibly could to reach Barcelona where he arrived the middle of April, and the Sovereigns were extremely solicitous to see him: and, having learned of his arrival, they ordered that a solemn and very beautiful reception should be given him, for which all the people came out and the whole city, filling the streets and marvelling on seeing in that venerable person the one who was said to have discovered another world, and on seeing the Indians and the parrots and the many nuggets and jewels and things made of gold which he had discovered and was carrying, and which never had been heard of or seen.

"For his reception the Sovereigns, with more solemnity and pomp, ordered their estrade and Royal throne placed in public where they were seated and with them the Prince Don Juan, very joyful in appearance and accompanied by many great Lords, Castilians, Catalonians, Valencians and Aragonese, all breathless and anxious for the arrival of the man who had accomplished such a great and heroic feat, and one which was a cause for rejoicing to all Christianity. Then he entered the room where the Sovereigns were, accompanied by a multitude of noblemen and people of the highest rank, among all of whom, as he was tall and of commanding presence and looked like a Senator of the Roman people, his venerable countenance was distinguished crowned with grey hairs and with a modest smile showing plainly the joy and glory with which he came. Having first made them a profound acknowledgment, according to what was due to such great Princes, they arose to meet him as though he were one of the great Lords, and then drawing nearer, he knelt and begged them to give him their hands: they yielded to his entreaty with some reluctance and he having kissed their hands, they with most joyful faces ordered him to arise, and what was the supreme honour and favour among those which their Highnesses were accustomed to grant to very few Grandees, they ordered a stool [*silla vasa*] brought and that he should be seated in their Royal presence. He related very quietly and modestly the favours

* Chapter ix., page 54

which God, in the venture of such Catholic Sovereigns, had shown him on his voyage, gave a particular account, as far as the time and season admitted of his route and discovery, and enumerated the greatness and felicity of the countries he had discovered, affirming the many more to be discovered, especially as at that time he thought the Island of Cuba was the main-land, according to what will be related farther on. He showed the things which he brought which had not been seen, bringing out the large specimens of gold in beaten pieces although not very polished, and many large and small grains for smelting as they were taken from the earth, which he also carried; and he certified to the infinite amount which there was shown to be in those lands, and the confidence which must be reposed in their royal treasures as if the Sovereigns already had them gathered under their keys: and likewise what was the most precious treasure and to be thought most of, he told of the multitude and simplicity, meekness and nudity and customs of the people of these countries, and the very apt disposition and ability which he recognised in them to be brought to our Holy and Catholic faith: and there were present the Indians he took with him. Having heard all this and pondered upon it profoundly, the Catholic and most devout Princes arose and knelt down upon the floor and having joined their hands and raised them to Heaven, and with their eyes filled with tears, they commenced to give thanks to the Creator from the depths of their hearts: and as the singers of the Royal chapel were there, in readiness and prepared, they sang *Te Deum Laudamus* and the high minstrels responded, so that it appeared that in that hour the celestial delights were opened and manifested to them and they communicated *with* them. Who can describe the tears which sprang from the Royal eyes and from the eyes of many Grandees of those realms who were there, and of all the persons of the Royal House? What joy, what pleasure, what ecstacy bathed the hearts of all! How some commenced to animate others and to propose in their hearts to come and settle these countries and aid in converting these people! Because they heard and saw that the most serene Princes and particularly the holy Queen Doña Isabella, by words and by the examples of their heroic works, gave all to understand that the principal pleasure and rejoicing of their souls proceeded from their having been found worthy before the Divine Presence; so that through their favour and by the expenditures [although very small] of their Royal Treasury, there should have been discovered so many unbelieving nations and so disposed, that in their times they might recognise their Creator and be reduced to the pale of His Holy and Universal Church, and His Catholic faith and Christian religion would be so immensely expanded.

. . . . . .

"This immense and new joy was increased beyond comparison because our Lord ordered that it should come just at a time when the Catholic King, Don Ferdinand, was entirely recovered from a cruel knife-thrust which an unfortunate madman had given him in the neck, and which if he had not had on a golden collar like those which were worn then, would have wholly severed his throat. The demon inspired this man with the idea that if he killed him, he would be King. His Highness lay at the point of death from this wound, and as he was recently restored to health, inestimable festivities and rejoicings took place throughout all the Kingdom.

. . . . . .

"So that Divine Providence ordained, in order to give to the Sovereigns and all the realms inestimable reason for rejoicing, that two such notable and joyful and new causes should occur together, which should spread among all kinds of persons such an abundance of spiritual and temporal happiness.

"Finally the Most Serene Sovereigns gave permission to the Admiral for that day, that he should go to rest at the inn, to which he went, honourably accompanied by all the Court, by command of the Sovereigns.

"During all the time that the Admiral remained in Barcelona, the Sovereigns increased his honours and favours each day. It was said that when the King rode through the city on horseback, he ordered the Admiral to go on one side of his Highness and the Infante on the other side, a favour which was for the Royal blood and which was not permitted to any other Grandee.

"Recognising these privileges, honours and favours which the Sovereigns bestowed upon the Admiral, as upon a person who had gained so much for them and merited so much, all the Grandees honoured and venerated him and were pleased only in doing so. They invited him to eat with them, each one when he was able to have him, some in order to serve the Sovereigns whom they beheld honouring and loving him so much, some because they saw that all had an interest in the service which he had rendered to the Sovereigns and the benefit which he was to all Spain, some from a desire to learn particularly of the great and wonderful countries and peoples and riches which he had discovered and the marvels which befell him, going and coming on his voyage.

" At that time, the Most Illustrious Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, brother of the Duke of Infantado, was triumphant in those realms of Castile and prosperous at the Court. He was a great and eminent personage, not only because of the generous blood from which he sprang—as the Lords of that house manifest themselves to be—but he was greater and more distinguished by his generous and notable deeds, so much so, that he alone appeared to hold all Spain in peace, and in love, and grace, and obedience to the Catholic Sovereigns: and he was especially powerful with the Grandees of the Kingdom, as, when the Sovereigns had only commenced to reign and had had terrible wars with Portugal, at a time when some people in the Kingdom had an opportunity to conceive diverse opinions [the King Don Henry IV. being dead] the most Noble Cardinal had rendered great service to the Sovereigns and very felicitously, on account of which he was very much loved and protected by the Royal persons, with the most just reason. His wisdom, industry, grace and affability and also his commanding and gracious presence [as he was one of the handsomest and largest men in all Spain] were such, united with his honourable esteem and reputation and the reverence that every one felt for him, that he never allowed a Grandee or Nobleman to become vicious or discontented with the Sovereigns, but he at once placated him, soothed him, persuaded him to forget the grievance he felt, and reduced him to the grace and service of their Highnesses: and although it might be dangerous to the Sovereigns to dissimulate or pardon, or not to deny the favours which were asked of them, he brought everything to a due, harmonious and happy conclusion, soothed everyone, agreed with everyone, pacified everyone and placed everything in the best of order, on account of which all the Kingdom named him most meritoriously the angel of peace.

" For all these causes and for his many merits he was very much loved by the Catholic Sovereigns and was the most protected and favoured of all, without a shade of envy being felt by anyone, small or great, on account of his prosperity; which very seldom happens with those who are singularly favoured by the Sovereigns, but all loved and esteemed him, and were pleased with his power over the Grandees, because they all knew his fortune to be for the good of all.

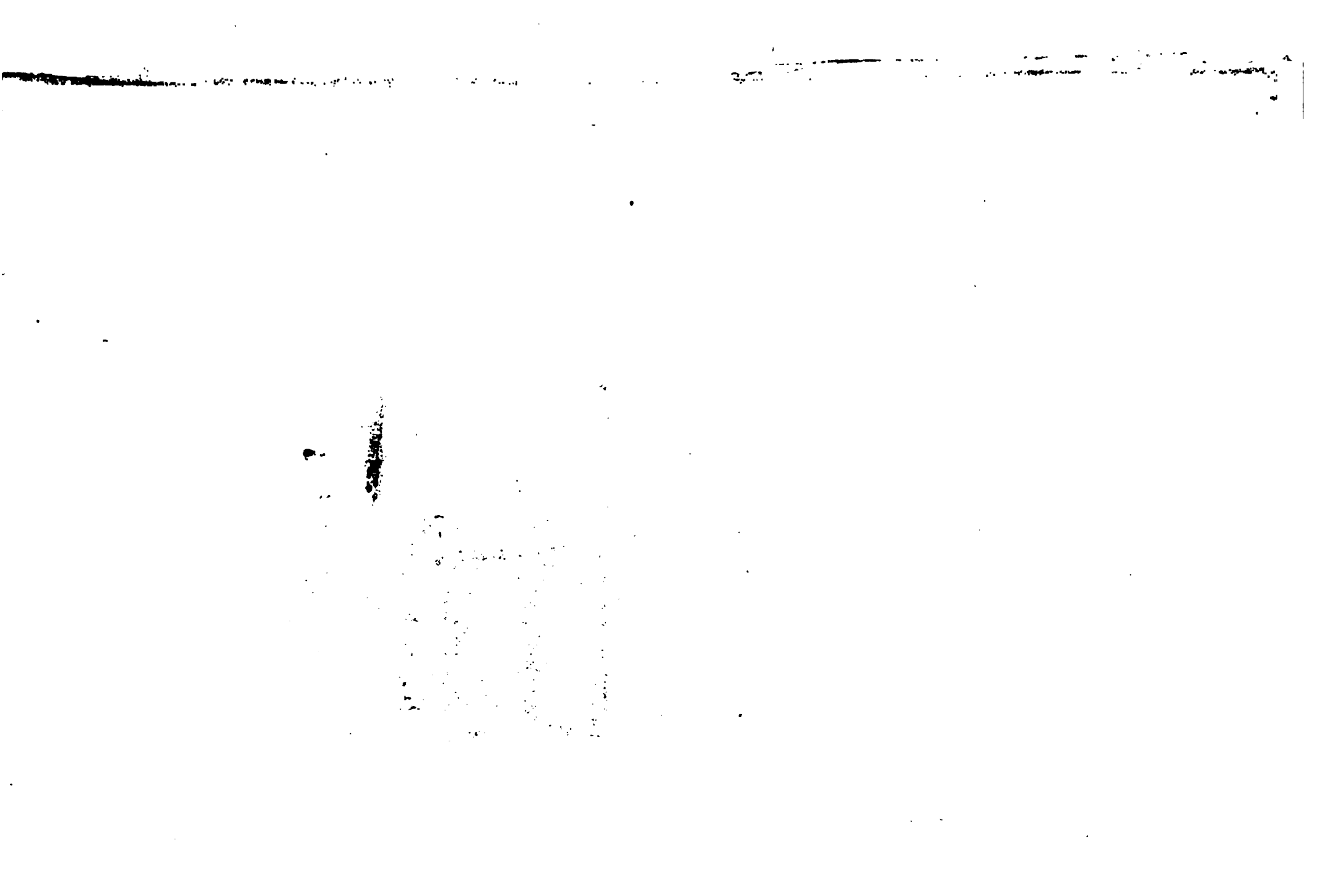
" He was most munificent in the expenditures and arrangements of his house, and continually furnished very sumptuous daily fare for all the Grandees and noble persons who were worthy of his most noble and ample table: and he was well able to do it as the Sovereigns had given him more than forty millions of revenue, which in those times was more, and more could be done with it, than in these times with much more than a hundred millions.* There was not a Grandee or Lord in the Court, however great he might be, who did not consider himself favoured and joyful on the day that he left his own table and house of state, either because the Cardinal invited him or because he of his own will offered to remain and eat with him to enjoy his presence, sharing in his repast. He honoured everyone, each one according to his rank and dignity, and God gave him among others this grace that everyone was content, and it did not appear to anyone that there was more due him than the Cardinal gave him in words and interviews and other points of honour. It was also said and believed that he never injured a man, nor was there anyone who murmured or complained of him. From all these virtues it almost came to be a proverb with everyone, that the Cardinal carried the Court with him and that he being at Court, there was a Court, and having left the Court there was no Court.

" This most munificent Lord and great ecclesiastic, seeing the merits and labours of the said First Admiral of these Indies, and the fruit which began to appear from them, and how the most grateful Sovereigns had honoured and exalted him, also honoured and exalted him and ordered that he should be honoured and venerated. So much so, that he, before any other Grandee, carried him away one day to dine with him, as he was leaving the Palace, and seated him at the table in the highest place and the one nearest to himself and ordered that he should remain covered when his food was served to him and that it should be tasted before it was served [*é le hiciesen salva*]: and that was the first time that this latter honour was rendered to the said Admiral and that he was served while remaining covered, the same as a Lord: and from that time henceforward he was served with the solemnity and pomp which was required by his dignified title of Admiral."

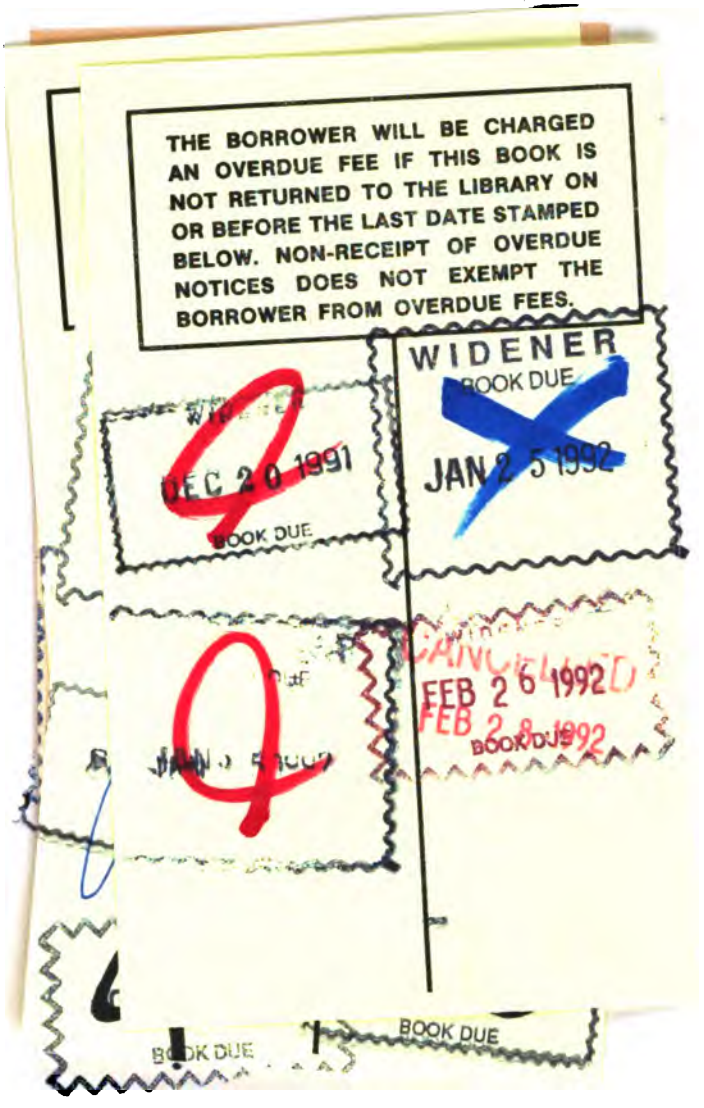
---

* The reader interested in political economy will here notice the increased purchasing power of money, two and one half times, after the passage of just fifty years.

END OF VOL. I



3 2044 009 917 428


THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.
WIDENER
BOOK DUE
DEC 20 1991
BOOK DUE
WIDENER
BOOK DUE
JAN 25 1992
CANCELLED
FEB 26 1992
FEB 28 1992
BOOK DUE
BOOK DUE
BOOK DUE